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**A Contested Space in Transformation:
Rave Culture and Club Culture in Metropolitan Toronto**

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Of
Sociology and Anthropology

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Abstract

**A Contested Space in Transformation:
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Bill Blackstock, Jr.

Rave culture and club culture in Toronto are used in this investigation as a case study for the examination of the transformation of contested space and its implications brought about through internal and external agents of change that are based on differing discourses and practices. Drawing on textual research in the disciplines of sociology, philosophy, and geography concerning various spatial dimensions and field research conducted through personal telephone interviews and documentary work carried out in City Hall, the transformation is seen as the result of media reports, commercialism and co-optation, legislation, and inner fragmentation.

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General Introduction:

I would like to paint a picture - so to speak - for the reader before proceeding by describing what a rave, club, and city-owned property event are like through my own personal experiences of them over the past six or seven years. By providing descriptive personal accounts of what these events and venues are or were like serves to strengthen my examples as they are utilized later in following chapters.

Early Saturday afternoon we rushed downtown to a record store to purchase our tickets. The location of the event was not on the ticket. Part of the allure of these earlier rave events was in not being able to find out the location of the event until the day of. We called the hotline on a ticket and were given directions to the location. It did not sound like a familiar space which was always a good sign.

Later that evening we headed over to a friends house to get ready for the night. The main difference between going to a rave and a club is the length of time you stay at the venue. At a rave you may be there up to 10 hours, but in a club the longest would only be 3-4 hours. The result is it takes longer to prepare your gear for the night such as a camera and film, pen and paper, some fruit is always good, cigarettes, and gum.

It was always a constant debate over what time we should leave and head to the space. If we go early we did not have to stand in line, but it took hours for the space to fill up and the decent DJ's never came on until later in the night. However, if went later we ended up standing in line for what seemed like forever, but when we got in the space was already alive.

We headed out about 11:00pm and made our way to the venue. We parked about a block away and could hear the music before we had turned the car off. I felt nauseous with expectation, but they were the good butterflies I got before heading to any event. We made our way to the entrance and as expected the line-up to get in was enormous. About an hour later we made it past the ever light security with their half-assed pat downs and were finally in. I handed in my ticket and walked through arch ways and my butterflies melted away.

The warehouse had been divided into the standard two rooms of house music and harder techno. We opted for the house room first. Immediately we set up a home base area in case anyone got lost we would meet back here at some point. The music had not yet absorbed me, but played more like a soundtrack surrounding me. We checked out the line-ups posted on wall to see what DJ's were spinning and at what times. We bought our bottled water and immersed ourselves in the crowd and the dancing began. The gathering was a medium sized event with probably about 500 people in attendance.

It was two am and I began feeling slightly chilled by the sweat on my body. The tingle rose up my arms and then it was through me. There was a familiar warmth that came from within me and it enveloped me whole. I took a

deep breath and felt so overwhelmed I could not move. I relished the way my body felt and reached for the hand nearest to me which happened to be one of my friends I had come with. We looked at each other, smiled, shook our heads, exhaled, and closed our eyes (McCall, 2001).

The room had become music. Its beats were made of liquid and permeated my body. Thoughts disappeared and all that remained were bodies in motion moving to the beat. Sound became distorted by thoughts, visuals, and lights. Strangers started looking familiar and everyone looked wide-eyed and beautiful. My mind became a succession of thoughts in tune with the music and they melted away as fast as they appeared. I glanced at a stranger and he smiled back. If I were to have asked him for water he would have given me whatever he had. A connection had been made and the bond was indefinite. He knew the rules and the dancing continued (McCall, 2001).

I caught up with my friends around 4am. I seemed to have lost them in the last few hours, but it felt like we had not seen each other for years. We hugged and talked, shared a cigarette, and danced till our feet would not stop aching. It was 5am and I reached into my bag for a Tylenol. I felt dodgy and shifty and was anticipating the headache that would undoubtedly follow. A variety of DJ's had already spun and been replaced by others. This one took us in a different direction. The music was slower and gentler. He- realized people were getting tired and could not keep up the intensity. A glimmer of light traced through a window. Morning had come. The crowd began to dissipate. There is a feeling of satisfaction with making it to the end of a rave; it feels like a

completed marathon. A connection had been made between all of us in attendance through our dancing movements, smiles, hugs, and sharing of water. A connection based on our closeness, so it was felt, that could never be dissolved. Similar events to this one, but with a limited number of organizers and promoters were held in Toronto over the span of three-four years from 1993-1997. However, with increasing pressures from citizens, police, and the media some smaller rave organizing companies began hosting their events in specific clubs and on a more frequent basis.

Fast-forward five years later. I am standing in line at a club with a few friends waiting to get into the place. We have made this a ritual, so it seems, every Friday night. The same people are here each week and the same type of music we love is featured. We get closer to the head of the line and security looks tight; as it has become over the past few years. I hide whatever I think may get confiscated and, after a rigorous search, I am finally in. I wait to see if my friends get passed security and after everyone is inside we proceed to the ticket window. You can still get tickets for some larger events, most held on city owned properties, but now we are faced with cover charges. We pay the \$20.00 cover charge – not too bad - and head up to the bar for a drink after all this is a club not a rave. We chat about the weeks past events with other friends and acquaintances we meet inside, have another drink, and proceed to the dance floor. We notice a few people we have not seen before and they look oddly out of sorts. This is because the routine of a club is based on the same physical

environment in the same place with generally the same people attending each week. However, we will come to learn as the night progresses that most have come with a friend of a friend of someone one of us has inevitably heard of or so we let on. I ponder what had happened to the earlier rave philosophy that existed only two or three years early. What an odd reaction I had when I simply did not recognize someone in this place.

It is around 11pm now and the place is filling up, some are recognizable, others are not. The commercialism of clubs is apparent in this place, but less so than events on city-owned terrain. I dismiss this though as a fleeting thought. The music is starting to take me over. The cymbals and high hats keep my legs moving while the bass moves my upper body. Friends and acquaintances surround me and we melt together as one in bliss with the music. The DJ ends his set soon after and last call is heard. An hour later the venue will close. We dance the evening away taking intermediate breaks for a hug, idle chit-chat, to share water or a cigarette, and then continue dancing to the music. It does not slow down and the lights come on always so abruptly and without warning. It is either 2 or 3am and it is still dark outside, but the venue is closing until the next night. We head to the coat check to pick up our belongings and slowly make our way to the exit. We chat with a few people outside the club and decide to make our way over to a friend's place that is having people over. The marathon element existent with a rave event is not present in this setting. The night is still young and we have energy to burn.

When new clubs began opening their doors towards the end of the 1990s in Toronto some smaller rave companies began featuring their events in these locations. Promoters could hold events more frequently because the organizational problems that were faced when trying to hold a rave in a warehouse did not have to be dealt with. The commercialism of club land was unavoidable for them, but lesser than events held on city-owned venues. Furthermore, by moving their events into commercialized club land provided a degree of security from external forces such as the media, concerned citizens, and the police.

Happening at the same time as club events were enormous gatherings held on city-owned land. I have been to one of these events on New Year's Eve in 1998. It was held at the Automotive Building close to the CN Tower. A group of us had bought the \$50.00 tickets about a week earlier. Upon trying to gain admittance I was frisked by a security officer and then the police. This was an invasive process and immediately set the tone for the evening in somewhat of a negative manner. After gaining admittance I noticed three police officers standing at the entrance of the music area closely monitoring various activities. There was one large room and the DJ line-up was enormous. Some of the acts were more popular and worth seeing, but most were obscure unknown names. I really did not know what to expect.

The numbers of people in attendance was astonishing, probably in excess of 10 000, but the intimacy of a rave was missing as was the closeness of a club

environment. Other than the six to seven people I had come with, I did not recognize a single person. Security, ambulance attendants, and police presence was heavy all night. They were walking around keeping a close eye on everything and everyone waiting for something to happen.

Later that night, I came to learn afterwards, there had been a few fights between individuals in attendance. It did not surprise me. I remember thinking part way through the evening that the event was attempting to capture the early rave events atmosphere and experiences, but it was too large, commercialized, and detailed and monitored. I thought to myself, who are these people attending? The crowd was so young. I was about 23 at the time and felt some what out of sorts. I would imagine the average age was probably not over fifteen to sixteen years old. There was no alcohol on site at these events due largely in part to the average age of most of those in attendance.

We stuck around until about 5am. At an earlier rave event we would have stayed for a few more hours and would have been some of the last people to leave. However, when we left the crowd had not diminished in the least. The event itself was not all that bad, but it was definitely lacking something.

Larger rave organizations opted for commercialized events on enormous city-owned properties. They can be seen as an extension of the earlier rave events, but noticeably commercialized and tightly regulated and monitored by various agencies. Examples of this can be seen in circuit parties and electronic music festivals in various cities that provide them a means of attracting tourists and consumers.

The differences between these events and venues are apparent on many levels. While the last two existed at the same time in Metropolitan Toronto the first space as rave events became almost obsolete when club culture began to emerge. It is important to point out though that club and city-owned events have specific ties to earlier rave culture and its residual affects are still apparent in each. However, club events attempt avoiding the overt commercialism and tight regulation that happens with city-owned events. Nonetheless, it still exists in both to varying degrees.

These events, venues, and participants/consumers are portrayed in this discussion as existing in a 'contested space' in which each of these components has a specific point of departure. My academic interest in this space began when I realized that underground rave events had become a significant cultural trend in various North American and European cities. There may have been a juncture when early rave culture felt uncontested, but this was short lived. There were always internal conflicts and competing discourses over a variety of issues such as promoter versus promoter, commercialized versus underground, and rave event versus club event.

With the dawn of increasing external pressures - including concerned citizens, police, the media, and encroaching legislation coupled with the popularization and commercialisation of these events as a whole - a transformative process was set in motion from outside and within this space. Rave culture diminished but as a reaction to the external pressures mentioned previously, it gave birth to specialized electronic music clubs. Large city-owned

events were born out of the excessive commercialization of the space. As a result, there are still internal conflicts within the larger contested space between organizers and promoters within conventional club land and those holding large events on city-owned properties.

The majority of discussion that has surrounded this space has dealt with its connections to adolescent drug use and studies on its internal dynamics. However, in wanting to provide a unique perspective I have avoided any significant discussion of its connections to adolescent drug usage for two reasons. The first reason deals with the notion that what this space entails internally, such as the PLUR ideal principle (to be discussed later), is not grounded in drug use. The second reason being the transformation of this space was not a direct result of it being portrayed as a drug culture, but a response and course of action to and from internal and external dimensions.

The examination of this contested space and its transformation is not carried out through a historical, nostalgic or a romanticized view, but what is important in this discussion is its alteration which leads to the events I have described previously. Recently the argument has been proposed by writers such as Naomi Klein that adolescents and young adults suffer from a lack of free and public space. The early rave events held in warehouse venues and the PLUR principle could potentially have been this sort of space. However, the transformation of it through its commercialisation and subsequent co-optation has now brought it under control and tight surveillance. These implications do not serve to give new blood or vibrancy to Toronto's nightlife, but elucidates what

rave culture has transformed into in the present day in Toronto. As such, this exploration offers larger insight into cultural and subcultural spaces in transformation.

The structure of this project is segmented into three interconnected chapters. The first part provides a theoretical framework through which my understanding of this contested space is laid out. A variety of spatial concepts that different theorists utilize in order to examine space are discussed and shown to be important with how I conceptualise this contested space and its transformation such as the spatial triad; the material and ideal; boundaries in space; the specificity of contested space in urbanity; and place and non-place which these changes bring about. Moving from an abstract theoretical framework to a more concrete analysis is provided in the second chapter where the rise of the transformation is examined. First, the impossibilities of rave culture are explored through their internal dynamics. Moving beyond this I argue that Lefebvre's spatial triad is useful as a means of examining the internal and external dimensions which acted on this space bringing about its transformation. The agents of change and their implications are discussed through varying mass media reports of this space and differing pieces of municipal legislation that were enacted. The next step in the final section is an exploration and analysis of differing internal discourses and practices through five personal interviews conducted with a store owner, a participant, and several promoters. While the rise of the transformation becomes important, it examines the after-affects of it on

those within the now fragmented and contested space(s). The remaining spatial concepts are brought to the forefront including the material and ideal, boundaries in space, the specificity of this now fragmented space, and place and non-place. I would argue that these chapters and their contents - presented in this manner - provide the reader a means of critically examining this contested space in transformation.

Chapter 1: *Theories of Space, Place, and Non-Place.**Introduction:*

When conceptualising the transformation that took place in Metropolitan Toronto's after-hours disputed space from rave culture to club culture, dimensions pertaining to space, place, and non-place come to my attention. Particularly important with this investigation are the concepts: social space; the spatial triad; the material and ideal congruents of space, boundaries in space; the specificity of contested space pertaining to urbanity and 'supermodernity;' and place and non-place and their differences. The diversity of things said about space and place/non-place reflects the abstract nature of these concepts. However, their interrelationships provide some kind of unity in comprehension. These are the general themes I will trace throughout this preliminary chapter.

Central to this discussion is the concept of space. Because of the transformation that unfolded in Toronto from rave culture to club culture it can best be illustrated as a contested space comprised of competing discourses and practices. This space eventually erupts resulting in the transformation. To be sure there is not a clean break from the original rave culture when this eruption transpires, but it has undergone noticeable

changes which I will discuss later.

These contested space(s) that individuals occupy are both generated and conceived socially and culturally and their internal boundaries and dimensions are at once material and ideal. The boundaries become significant in terms of the dispersal and fragmentation which results. For my purposes here these boundaries are at the same time rigid and fixed, but also fluid and dynamic. Henri Lefebvre, the French Marxist philosopher, was one of the first theorists who discussed social space and its related elements. In his influential work, **The Production of Space**, he tells us that space is divided up into designated areas for work and leisure, and day and night time spaces.¹ Space by its very nature is fragmented, but it also has the effect of separating individuals based on class, sex, and ethnicity. In the case of Toronto's rave culture a similar process coupled with other elements set this contested space in transformation.

Anthony Giddens, Edward Soja, and Peter Saunders have argued space should be incorporated into the centre of social theory. It would seem logical then that the main area of study would become 'different socio-spatial arrangements' including cities and towns.² Urban space represents the dominant productive relations of power and knowledge in society and in this discussion it is important in giving specificity to contested space that might be otherwise portrayed as a multiple and fragmented concept. The contemporary Western city, appearing within a larger capitalist space, portrays

itself as the centre of decision making and objective knowledge. The effect homogenizes yet separates users of the city centre where they become passive consumers marked as 'a historical and without identity.' This separation is important in conflictual space because it is based on various internal and external discourses which produce and maintain it as such. Furthermore, urban space had a similar affect on the now prevalent club culture in Toronto. Where this space was once predominantly free from the effects of commercialisation and popularisation in its initial stages, it now exists to a degree in conventional club land but more so with larger city-owned property events. Individuals are seen in the latter as consumers more often than actual participants in what is now a mainstream phenomenon.

Furthermore in urban space, during the night specifically, the city colonizes time. Nigel Thrift and David Parkes posit that the city shifts from day or co-ordinated actions, to night-time unconnected or segregated ones.³ Pertaining to this topic under investigation this idea initially sounds comparable. Rave culture exists as a night time activity separate and segregated from day time events as such it has been created and established as a contested space from and with differing discourses. Although this is not central to this discussion, we could question whether or not the city colonizes time during am or pm in that both consist of co-ordinated actions through time - airports, janitors, and shift work?

Place has come to occupy a less prominent position in discussions of space. With

the merging of time and space, place has become separated from space. Place, though, implies individuation and is experience related. As such it will become important in later discussions when examining this space after its fragmentation into club culture which has come to be based on similar venues, events, and differing forms of electronic music. These places lend themselves to the individual who exists as a separate and isolated body situated on a map of isolated bodies co-ordinated by standardised, externally imposed time. Michel Foucault is important in illustrating that each individual body occupies a place in space (Foucault, 1979). His work becomes integral not on an individual per se basis, but more so when studying the collective with regards to normalised club land and city-owned property events.

Following the post-structuralist injunction of the late 1970s and 1980s, we must recognize that bodies also exist in non-places. By confronting the place of the individual (a stable, isolated, co-ordinate in space) with Lefebvre's thesis that space is realized socially, we cannot omit a discussion of non-place. I will follow Marc Auge's argument that the distinction between place(s) and non-place(s) derives from the separation of place from space.⁴ Through Auge, non-place can be considered a place of transit - endless motion - of supermodernity which is the condition which brings this phenomenon about. This is significant in this study because this contested space in which the transformation from rave culture to club culture transpired can now be illustrated as places and non-places at the same time existing within an urban

environment to be discussed later.

My aim is to map through the field of literature on space and set up a theoretical framework at the same time from which an understanding of this contested space in transformation can be laid out. The six sections which follow are useful tools in explaining this space in which the transformation from rave culture to club culture came about. The initial section on space is essential because it is from this which the other components pertain to. Lefebvre's triad, while spatial in nature, becomes tantamount in signifying the production and reproduction process of differing yet interconnected spaces. Following this although the material and ideal components of space are not central to many theorists, they become important in this study in representing its fractured and dialogical nature. The next section pertaining to boundaries in space is central to this discussion. The boundaries in contested space are at the same time rigid, fixed, and also fluid and dynamic for insiders of the space and outsiders. Preceding this component urban space becomes useful not as a tool, but as that which specifies this space within urbanity. Within the larger urban space supermodernity becomes the condition which establishes non-place. The final section pertaining to place and non-place is significant in that it becomes that which this space transforms itself into both at the same time.

1/ Space:

In general terms yet central to this discussion is the premise that space is socially and culturally constructed. This is a common theme which runs through this theoretical framework. Space is multi-faceted and also a site of social interaction. Lefebvre's underlying critique of space recognizes spatial multiplicities which he posits are '...distinct from that multiplicity which results from segmentation and cross-sectioning of space.'⁵ He believes these multiple spaces are produced through social and historical practices, divisions, and networks. He claims even though there exists a multiplicity of spaces some are never completely independent from one another. Despite this Lefebvre points to the specificity of spaces that he believes every mode of production aids in creating through the work of collective and independent individuals. Contested space illustrates this specificity made up of differing discourses and practices within urbanity in club environments and on city-owned properties.

Lefebvre's insight is the recognition of (social) space being a (social) product; that the social production of space creates and reproduces a particular configuration existent on dominant representations. For the production of space, '...produces only reproductions, it can generate nothing but the repetitive...because reproducibility is what ensures the renewal...of existing social relations.'⁶ An example is the belief that subcultures exist in every decade as a reaction against mainstream society from rock

music, to hippies, and the punk movement. These subcultures all attempted to avoid mainstream co-optation, but were inevitably defenceless from it.

Edward Soja, a critical geographer who is important in integrating spatial components, explains succinctly the social production of space needs to be understood as both the physical space of materiality and the mental space of cognition and representation; together they constitute social space.⁷ The material and ideal elements of space become evident here. The material component consists of lived reality within space while what I have termed the ideal is made up of spaces of depiction and reflection brought to individuals through a mental process and through various technologies ranging from television to the printed word.

Space is generated and conceived socially and culturally and is both the ideal and the material (social relations including interaction and communication within physical space) in our contemporary age. It encompasses human activity and is a map of relations inscribed onto space to be read and understood. Social space is produced / reproduced in lived materiality and also includes the space of the text, the computer screen, and television. Terming this second congruent of space the ideal is merely a means used for discussion purposes. It does not presuppose that one constituent of contested space is more important than the other nor that one should reign supreme.

Space is a social context which is dialectically related to the context's antipode - the outside - somewhere beyond the boundary of local social action. The immediate context and the universe is a primary tension in the concept space. In attempting to bridge this apparent gap those interested should not to reduce differences to epiphenomena, but rather conceptualise a re-connection of discrete places - the bounded contexts of isolated bodies - to one another. To argue that our similarities as human beings in possession of our senses - including interaction and communication – sharing similar interests and concerns can potentially initiate the process of re-envisioning commonality. I do not seek to erase difference in this manner, but to bring it into the orbit of similarity. For example, participants/consumers in/of rave culture as a contested space in Toronto share similar interests and concerns with those in the United Kingdom – negative media reports, repressive legislation. Even though they inhabit separate geographical spaces/places a potential reconnection is possible not through the material congruent of space, but perhaps the ideal.

Contested space parallels this previous discussion on space as I have noted. However, different theorists elucidate space and its relations through differing concepts. The transformation of this space which unfolds from rave culture to club culture echoes these concepts which follow that pertain to space and its social and cultural constructedness.

2/ *The Spatial Triad and Contested Space:*

Lefebvre's spatial triad is useful as a means of illustrating the continually changing and conflictual nature of this space. It demonstrates how space is produced and reproduced and can be utilized as a means of analysing this contested space and the external and internal spatial dimensions acting on it thus bringing about its transformation. He characterises this triadic grouping as a collection of practices associated with the production of space. David Harvey neatly summaries these practises comprising Lefebvre's triad in the following manner: 'Material spatial practices' make reference to the 'physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and reproduction.'

'Representations of space' 'encompass all the signs and significations, codes and knowledge that allow such material practices to be talked about or understood.' Lastly, 'spaces of representation' refer to 'codes, signs, spatial discourses, utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, and even material constructs such as symbolic spaces, particular built environments...that imaginatively dramatise new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices.'⁸

Material social practices parallel this space through which the transformation transpires because it has its inner workings which are key in its production and outside influences such as citizens, media, and law-makers ensure its reproduction as a

contested space. For the purposes of this investigation representations of space are the space of planners and legislators ‘...all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.’⁹ By this I mean legislators identify this space and become informed of its dynamics through representational spaces or the media and they enact legislation based on what is envisioned. As a result, these laws often have the affect of excluding the perceived realities of the inhabitants of this space. Lastly, the idea of representational spaces parallels various mass media reports about raves. Although Lefebvre defines these spaces as ‘directly lived through,’ this is somewhat different. What leads to the problematic is that most writers of these activities and events do not live through this space; however their imaginations seek to change and appropriate it by bringing it into mainstream consciousness and highlighting only its shortcomings.

In the preceding chapter I will focus on representations of space or enacted legislation and representational spaces – the media - through Lefebvre’s spatial triad. His triad offers a compelling means of paralleling the two because that which connects these dimensions is the contested space itself. Spatial practice could then be said to be made up of this space itself and its internal dynamics where the previous mentioned parts act as those which carry out the transformation.

3/ The Material and Ideal Components of Contested Space:

Although Lefebvre is important in discussing the material component of space his exclusion of spaces of cognition and representation as Soja illustrates warrants the construction of another component termed the ideal. Both these elements exist in contested space and at the same juncture. Even though this is not a central concept in discussions of space it is important in connection with contested space because it illustrates not only these physical spaces individuals inhabit, but also the differing and similar ways in which it is depicted and described from within.

The distinction between the ideal and material constituents of contested space is relevant not as a dialectical relation, but as a heuristic separation which serves to lay bare the similarity underlying the fractured nature of social space. The 'ideal' component includes technological spaces and the traditional textual field where discourses are produced / reproduced on the printed page. On the other hand, the materiality element exists in more concrete terms as the physical space individuals inhabit together. Contested space is bounded for sure, and these boundaries become significant in terms of those on the inside versus those on the outside as well as within the space itself when it later fragments into smaller sub-spaces to be discussed later.

What seems important here is the infinite multiplication of spaces from which

discourse and action may emanate complicates our easy recognition that all individual activity is reducible to some type of material operation. Thrift points out that space now consists of 'multiple discourse networks' which construct new forms of... communication that depend on the networks for their very generation.¹⁰ He terms these 'disembedded electronic spaces' and suggests their reliance on the materiality element of social space is that which re-embeds these as features of materiality rather than an outcome.¹¹ This begs the question: what makes up the material and ideal rudiments of this contested space in transformation? The material aspect exists early within this space in underground warehouse events and later in club land. Furthermore, in a later discussion an examination of the PLUR ideal principle within the earlier space will be explored. However, for now it is a lifestyle propagated widely in a technological space by means of the internet and the printed word by participants in this contested space.

4/ Specificity of Contested Space:

This section serves not as a tool as the others per se, but illustrates the specificity of this space within urbanity. It is integral in this discussion because this is the larger urban setting where this space finds itself. Lefebvre is useful in that he identifies an important contradiction which emerges in urban spaces. He notes the tendency of capital to become centred in the urban landscape which has the exclusionary affect of increasing property values near business centres. This is intended to preserve finance

capital's representation of its space as the centre of decision making, wealth generation, and objective knowledge. The centre, in urban space, 'becomes a place that sorts.' Moreover, since class relationships are written onto (social) space: 'The strategy of classification distributes the various social strata and classes...across the available territory, keeping them separate.'¹² The result is urban space classifies individuals and groups, but has 'homogeneity as its goal.'¹³ Individuals and groups, although separated and dispersed from the city centre, become marked as consumers and distinct identities become blurred. Marc Auge introduces the term 'supermodernity' as the condition which produces this process previously mentioned. The end result of this are what he defines as non-places, '...the ones we inhabit when we are driving down the motorway, wandering through the supermarket or sitting in an airport lounge waiting for the next flight...they are defined partly by the words and texts they offer us, 'instructions for use,' which may be prescriptive, prohibitive, or informative.'¹⁴

'Supermodernity,' similar to urban space, contains a contradiction that

Auge identifies:

When individuals come together, they engender the social and organize places. But the space of supermodernity is inhabited by this contradiction: it deals only with the individual (customers, passengers, users, listeners), but they are identified (name, occupation, place of birth, address) only on entering or leaving.¹⁵

The question must then be posed: Are non-places frequented out of necessity or in pursuit of leisure activities, perhaps both? If the latter were the case then earlier

contested space and non-place do not appear markedly different. The only exception being that individuals of the former are better defined as participants whereas the later come more so to be viewed by organizers and promoters as consumers.

Urban space represented prior through selective dispersal and decentralization has the affect of emptying the centre of activities and populations. The city centre as such experiences a submergence of power in some respects. As Soja explains though the centre holds: 'Even as some things fall apart, dissipate, new nodalities form and old ones are reinforced.'¹⁶ The tensions and conflict underlying relationships in contested space made up of unregulated spaces and regulated places can be examined as an extension of the problematic arising between centre and margin. Early deregulated rave events in Toronto took place outside of the city centre attempting to stay beyond notice and subsequent control. As these events grew more popular and commercialised, coupled with other processes discussed in the following chapters, these activities transformed to regulated and controlled club land. For certain the contested space as a whole still exists, but it has shifted from unregulated rave culture to fragmented club land leading to the emergence of place and non-place.

There is little doubt that the proliferation of service sector employment surrounding city centres reflects the concentration of wealth in these areas. As a result, the centre around which service industries are able to flourish rests on the business and

middle classes consumption habits. The more capital concentrates, the more disposable income there is around the centre of accumulation, around the 'locus of fictitious capital formation.'¹⁷ Seemingly these spaces of transit, non-places, become the dominant representational strategies of power and control in the urban environment. Perhaps these become tools users of the centre – police, council members - utilize in attempting to re-establish control of the margin and its associated activities – contested space.

Conversely, product differentiation functions through urban designers and architects in the post-Fordist phase wherein spaces are suited to users, appealing to particular 'taste cultures.' This concept is not meant to blur the notion that a homogenisation of users of the centre occurs (consumers), but to lay bare the point that this contested space and its later sub-spaces are no doubt based on both subtle and explicit forms of exclusion or socially-sanctioned spatial boundaries. This is evident in the tensions in urban and contested space around power differences, social classes, ethnicity, and gender not in the least.

Manuel Castells suggests that cities may be losing their functional necessity as there has been in the last decade an increasing dissociation between spatial proximity and everyday life functions.¹⁸ However, he fails to recognize as Soja alludes to that attention in urban studies has focussed recently on the measurable surface appearances of urban spatiality even as subjective imaginings.¹⁹ For where Soja implicitly makes

reference to the place-ness that cities can imply, Castell's vision of cities is such that they exist in forms of placelessness not based on situatedness or locale. Contested space which underwent the transformation from rave culture to club culture is important here. Rave culture existed as placelessness because it was not based on a specific locality or gathered experiences. The way in which earlier raves were organized in illegal and unregulated spaces and the need for promoters to stay ahead of law enforcement gave them this attribute. However, club land today has come to acquire placeness. Established venues featuring electronic music exclusively are visited on a weekly basis generally by the same individuals. These venues acquire immediate situatedness and attendee's are able to gather collected experiences of them. However, larger events held on city-owned properties possess non-place attributes. Venues are merely passed through during the event and due to the large numbers of attendee's, participants become marked as homogenized consumers without identities by organizers and promoters who are more interested in the financial potential of the event.

5/ Boundaries and Contested Space:

The boundary is important in discussions of contested space in that it creates a concurrent inside and outside, therefore socially sanctioned boundaries can be imagined, represented, signified, or real zones which either facilitate interaction and communication or divert them. Boundaries are useful in this study because they raise

challenges for those who are on the inside of this space with those on the outside as well as the divisions within that become more apparent later.

The bounded nature of social life is such that each (social) space suggests the character of discourse within it. Or put differently, that social-spatial relations facilitate or prevent communication through concealing people from each other in separate neighbourhoods, workplaces, and leisure activities. Rave culture as a contested space in transformation, portrayed as a leisure activity for young adults, undergoes a similar process. Generally it is seen as an activity for insiders, seemingly inaccessible to outsiders. The outsider is viewed by people within this space as someone being unknowledgable and naïve who could potentially misrepresent or tarnish the space. Communication and interaction is difficult to apprehend for the outsider and gaining acceptance – making the transition to insider - often takes expended effort.²⁰ Similarly this process elucidates itself within the genres of electronic music that aid in creating their own sub-spaces. Social relations pertaining to these smaller fragmented spaces are often blurred and difficult to pursue for outsiders - even if they are participants within the larger contested space - not being in the know of current events, music, and fashion.

As I see it boundary dissolution is dependent on social re-construction. Although my task is not an investigation of the social re-construction process(es), I believe it is about the movement and flows of individuals through and across boundaries. ‘Visible

boundaries' such as walls give the appearance of separation when there is actually and 'ambiguous continuity.' For example, the home appears separate, but is contained within a neighbourhood space or the mental space of users of the home are separate from each other but become colonized by what Habermas would term 'systemic steering media,' such as textual space, cyberspace, and television. This becomes important if we consider the affects that negative media reports pertaining to this contested space in transformation had on varying components of society including: Toronto citizens, City Council, and the police. Although these institutions and groups had varying opinions on this space and its inhabitants – the participants – their perspectives were framed and structured by the same media reports.

Microelectronic networks, such as the Internet, could be viewed as that which promotes boundary dissolution on the ideal level. While the materiality of face-to-face communication becomes less pertinent, boundaries are able to be transcended that are spatial and biological. Here lies the connection with re-envisioning commonality between discrete places as was mentioned previously. Microelectronic networks informing discrete places of other spaces encountering similar concerns and predicaments for example, negative publicity and encroaching legislation.

6/ *Place/Non-place:*

As was mentioned earlier with the merging of time and space, place became separated from space. However, place is significant in this discussion of contested space because the transformation it underwent brought about place and non-place at the same time. In abstraction place(s) involve the networks and linkages which connect varying and multiple social space(s) and individuals. It can also be understood as representing the locale of individuals - as such the meaning of place to the individual needs stressing. Ian Roderick echoes these sentiments by claiming that place cannot be reduced to formal organizing principles, but instead is invested with both the formalised and localised living arrangements of its residents.²¹ Castells illustrates, most individuals inhabiting the advanced industrial world live in place(s) as a result they perceive their space as place-based. For him place is 'a locale whose form, function and meaning are self-contained with the boundaries of physical contiguity.'²² Here, it is evident that place is difficult to distinguish from space. As a result, Thrift and Parkes' suggestion that the space-time merger creates place could be more plausible. Their 'place' is such that experience links with environment thus time begins to exert its influence on place-making because these spaces come to have meaning in terms of human tasks and lived experience.²³ Time becomes essential in the realization of place(s) because repetitive tradition re-establishes place and expresses its continuity and stability. Similarly, with this contested space in transformation, early rave spaces, due to promoter's needs to

stay ahead of the authorities, were held in one-off spaces: abandoned warehouses, industrial buildings, and airport hangars. As a result participants were unable to gain an experience of the space because these events were rarely held in an environment for more than one event or evening. However with the emergence of club land, which this transformation brought about, individuals were able to frequent certain establishments on a weekly basis thus gaining a tradition and experience with the place.

Auge in **Non-Places** contrasts anthropological place and non-place as applied to the contemporary West. He sees place as historical and concerned with identity whereas non-place represents the a historical and is not concerned with identity.

Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed; they are like...which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten...non-places are the real measure of our time; one that could be quantified with the aid of conversations between area, volume and distance – by totalling all the air, rail and motorway routes...called 'means of transport' [with] the airports and railway stations, hotel chains, leisure parks, large retail outlets [with] the complex skein of cable and wireless networks.²⁴

He proposes that non-place has two distinct 'realities' – 1/ spaces 'formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, and leisure),' 2/ the relationship between individuals and these non-places.²⁵ Auge's non-place(s) are similar to the contradiction Lefebvre identifies in urban space where the city centre becomes a place that sorts and classifies.²⁶ Is it feasible then to consider these non-place(s) within urban space, or is it simply as Auge suggests that the distinction between place and non-place is blurred as a result urban space consists of both?

Non-place(s) are sites of cultural consumption, where the subject is 'alone but one of many, the user of a non-place is in a contractual relation with it (or the powers that govern it).'²⁷ In non-place(s) we become passive subjects, our attention diverted, temporarily distanced from 'the environment of the moment,' we lose our identities and enter the realm of the performative event.²⁸ In sum, non-place disassociates the subject from a singular individuality, a name, and specific place of residence, and substitutes it with the generic role of a passive consumer. This begs the question: within contested space were earlier rave space(s) inhabited by participants whereas now club land consisting of place(s) and non-place(s) are frequented by consumers?

It would seem Auge's non-places are inhabited primarily by Foucault's 'docile bodies.' Auge does not make this connection with Foucault, however he is useful in setting up the detail and control elements which individuals are subjected to in both places and non-places. He describes the 'docile body regime' under dominant configurations of detail and control: 1/ the time table; 2/ each task has 'a collective and obligatory rhythm imposed from the outside...the act is broken down into elements [of which] time [is seen as] penetrating the body with it all the meticulous controls of power; 3/ correlations of body and gesture; 4/ body/object articulation which are the relations the body has with the object it controls. He states, 'Over the whole surface of contact between the body and the object it handles, power is introduced, fastening them to one another.'²⁹ Roderick suggests the 'production of useful docile bodies' entails a

mechanism of temporal-spatial control where bodies are fully subjected to a regime of detail.³⁰ As such, if bodies are to be used, transformed, and improved, than the urban spaces they occupy, the time they utilize, and the activities they engage in, must be supervised and controlled. Herein lays the connection with earlier unregulated events in contested space which through its transformation shifted into regulated club land as a reaction to increasing external pressures and also in urban spaces centre and margin tensions discussed previously.

Unregulated rave events were free from most forms of control and monitoring. When the transformation of this space began unfolding with an increase in media reports and the legislation which was passed down it shifted into club land as a reaction where events inevitably came under greater surveillance. However, events held on city owned properties possessed even greater forms of regulation and control. The city attempts to capture this space from the margins in abandoned areas into the centre and some promoters react by retreating into club land which has its advantages and disadvantages to be discussed in the following chapter. The alternative is larger more regulated events on city-owned properties which the majority of small promotion companies can not afford to host if they so choose.

Conclusion:

In this initial chapter a theoretical framework was constructed through which an understanding of this contested space in transformation and its dynamics was arrived at. It was shown how different theorists analyse space and its relations through differing concepts and how they relate to this space under examination such as: the spatial triad; the material and ideal elements of space; boundaries in space, the specificity of contested space, place, and non-place which came about as a result of the transformation. The following chapter recognizes the importance of these tools different theorists utilize in elucidating space pertaining to this topic under examination particularly the spatial triad; boundaries in space; and the specificity of this space in urbanity. These concepts are best suited for exploring the rise towards the climax of the transformation of this space. Particularly important will be the discussion on the way in which external spatial dimensions, as expounded through Lefebvre's triad, brought about this transformation into commercialised club land and city-owned property events. By establishing a synthesized discussion on space and place in this chapter and the way in which they relate to contested space; sifting through differing perspectives and approaches to these concepts, helps to illustrate that the transformation from rave culture to club culture may be a useful case study for further expounding these spatial dimensions.

Key arguments which emerge from this preliminary chapter deal with the material and ideal elements of contested space; the multiplicity nature of space and the boundaries which are created outside and within these; the specificity of contested space within urbanity; and the emergence of place and non-place which the transformation of this space brings about and consists of at the same time. Elements existent in rave culture and club culture correspond with themes highlighted in this discussion on space and its related concepts. In order to examine this premise closely it is necessary to shift from these abstract theoretical concepts to a more concrete investigation of the transformation of this contested space in Metropolitan Toronto and the external spatial dimensions which aided in this process by acting on it.

Notes

- ¹ Lefebvre, H. (1991) **The Production of Space**, Oxford: Blackwell.
- ² Saunders, P. (1985) 'Space, the City, and Urban Sociology' in **Spatial Relations and Social Structure**, London: Macmillian Press, pp.67-68.
- ³ Thrift, N. and D. Parkes (1980) **Times, Spaces, and Places**, Wiley and Sons, p.325.
- ⁴ Auge, M (1995) **Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity**, London: Verso, p.79.
- ⁵ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.27.
- ⁶ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.377.
- ⁷ Soja, E. (2000) **Postmetropolis**, Oxford: Blackwell, p.92.
- ⁸ Harvey, D. (1989) **The Condition of Postmodernity**, Oxford: Blackwell, pp218-219.
- ⁹ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.38.
- ¹⁰ Thrift, N. (1996) **Spatial Formations**, London: Sage, p.230.
- ¹¹ Thrift, N (1996) p.231.
- ¹² Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.375.
- ¹³ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.287.
- ¹⁴ Auge, M. (1995) p.96.
- ¹⁵ Auge, M. (1995) pp.110-111.
- ¹⁶ Soja, E. (1989) **Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Theory**, London: Verso.
- ¹⁷ Harvey, D. (1989) p.90.
- ¹⁸ Castell's, M. (1996) **The Rise of the Network Society**, Cambridge: Blackwell, p.394.
- ¹⁹ Soja, E. (2000) p.11.
- ²⁰ Former Participant (Participant 1). *Personal Interview*. August 7, 2002.
- ²¹ Roderick, I. (2000) web site, www.carleton.ca/~rshields/space
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Thrift, N. and D. Parkes. (1980) p.25.
- ²⁴ Auge, M. (1995) p.79.
- ²⁵ Auge, M. (1995) p.94.
- ²⁶ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.375.
- ²⁷ Auge, M. (1995) p.101.
- ²⁸ Auge, M. (1995) p.103.
- ²⁹ Foucault, M. (1979) **Discipline and Punishment**. New York: Vintage, p.151-153.
- ³⁰ Roderick, I. (2000) web site, www.carleton.ca/~rshields/space

Chapter 2: *The Transformation of Contested Space.**Introduction:*

It was either the summer of 94 or 95 that I was invited by a friend in Toronto, who had discovered these all-night dance events fuelled by electronic music only a few months earlier, to accompany her for an evening of debauchery. I remember not being able to find out the location of the party until the afternoon of the day of. Secrecy was integral as these parties initially were mostly held in illegal spaces often rundown and abandoned urban warehouses, old airport hangars in the northern part of the city, and vacant subway stations. This admittedly though was part of the intrigue. So we went. The parties name was UTOPIA and the DJ was then a much younger English gentleman named Carl Cox. I became hooked, not necessarily on the drugs, but more on the music. The novelty of the drugs for most eventually wears off because without an interest in something other than drug use, falling out of this activity for most is inevitable. I must admit I have not been to a 'rave' for years, in fact now that I think about it I am not sure if I have ever been to such a thing. There have always been problems for both legislators and participants in defining what a rave is. Does it take place in a club or is it an event held in an illegal space? Having attended both I can say for certain that similar elements exist in both spaces. However, in the beginning there were predominantly only warehouse parties usually catering to between 400-600 people,

but these events lasted only a few years before changes began to unfold.

I remember a year or so later early one morning about 2-3am being crammed into an old warehouse in the Cherry Beach district of Toronto. The music was blasting, but I remember thinking to myself that there were a lot of people inside for such a small space. All of a sudden the music stopped and the lights came on. The promoter of the event stood up on the DJ booth and announced the fire marshall had shut the event down due to overcrowding and an inadequate number of fire exits, among other things, and that the event was being moved to a legal venue – an after-hours club as an alternate space. I remember being slowly hoarded to a huge pair of bay doors at the rear of the building. The doors opened and there in a row were six ambulances and two dozen of Toronto's finest leaning against their vehicles looking almost as surprised as the majority of us surely did. I am not sure what they were expecting to happen – a riot, fighting, drunken madness? Everyone simply walked away shivering in the cold – some getting in vehicles and driving to the alternate venue, others hailing cabs and heading in the same direction. It was early that morning when I realized this leisure activity had become too large and things would not be the same for long.

Academics of popular culture, subcultural studies, and music have stipulated both here in North America and overseas in places such as England and various corners of Western Europe that the flourishing 'rave culture' of the late 1980s and early 1990s is

now depleted. This begs the question then: What has taken its place or better yet what form has it mutated into if anything? I do not wish to dwell in this discussion on what rave culture transformed itself from - some have drawn correlations between it and the 1960s hippie culture, but I want to examine what it has metamorphosized itself into in the last half decade focussing particularly on Metropolitan Toronto.¹

Rave and club culture in this discussion will be generally conceived as a contested space in transformation. Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad is useful as a means of examining this space and the varying discourses and practices which influenced on it bringing about its alteration. It also illustrates the dynamic and conflictual nature of this space and those acting on it. Boundaries in contested space are significant in highlighting problems pertaining to those on the inside of the space with those on the outside. Furthermore, it serves to illustrate the separations existent within the space itself. Lastly, the specificity of this space within urbanity becomes important when dealing with representations of it. Where this space once existed as deregulated and lawless in some respects, wanting to stay beyond notice and subsequent control by the city, legislation has the affect of bringing it into the centre where it can be closely monitored and controlled.

The initial section dealing with the impossibilities of rave culture brings certain issues to the forefront pertaining to contested space notably: boundaries created in

space and place/non-place. The second part discussing various mass media reports on rave events are representational spaces while the final segment pertaining to legislative aspects are representations of space within which the specificity of urban space is discussed. Both representational spaces and representations of space become integral with material social practice or our contested space in transformation from rave culture to club culture which they both act upon at the same time bringing about the change.

The agents of transformation acting upon this space are portrayed in media coverage of these events in Toronto which aided in the subsequent popularisation and commercialisation of this space and enacted municipal legislation. Together these external dimensions were cumulatively integral in transforming rave culture into what exists today as multiple and fragmented club cultures. Steve Redhead explains in the case of Britain - the process of the criminalisation of raving has led, during the 1990s, to its attempted confinement within conventional club land.² I would argue this transformation elucidates itself noticeably in the shift from what were initially de-regulated and lawless rave spaces to regularized post-rave club cultures. Careful investigation reveals that this restructuring is not unique to Toronto, but instead replicates itself in various North American and European cities; some earlier, some later than others.

1/ The Impossibilities of Rave Culture in Toronto:

Preceding a discussion of particular external spatial elements that were integral in transforming this contested space, it is important to explain its internal dynamics that were also significant in bringing about this alteration through the popularisation and commercialisation of this space and the boundaries and fragmentation which occurred within it. The parallels of this space with Lefebvre's first component of his conceptual triad - spatial practices - or the inner workings of this space are key in its production and maintenance. For example, new organizing companies beginning to host events, up-and-coming DJ talent, and the production of new clothing lines, to name a few. Outside influences also aid in its production, but more so its reproduction as a contested space.

To be certain contested spaces are found in all corners of society. In a sense, electronic music is that which this space is founded on. Over the last five years society has witnessed the emergence of this musical type and its mainstream incorporation; the result of which affected this space that at one point called this music their own. In this discussion I do not want to delve into any type of musical analysis or critique because it is not warranted; this being a thesis on its own. However, the affects of the emergence of different electronic musical genres on individuals within this space is important and will be elaborated on later.

In the early 1990s 'raving' arose as a distinctive youth phenomenon in Toronto. Characterized as all-night dance parties driven by electronic music, it had yet to be widely distinguished as consisting of different musical styles; as a result the music often possessed a universal all-encompassing quality. The most frequent academic reading from Steve Redhead and Georgina Gore of early 1990s rave culture sees it as accepting of difference and diversity to large degrees - very true in the case of Toronto pre 1995. The acronym PLUR (Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect) emerged during this time and became the participant's philosophy to abide by.

The PLUR phenomenon has its origins in the early 1990s. Sometime in 1992 in New York the popular DJ Frankie Bones was hosting an underground warehouse event when in the midst of it a scuffle broke out between rival gangs. Bones jumped up on the DJ table and shouted 'If you guys don't show some Peace, Love, and Unity right now I'm going to throw your asses out.' The respect portion arrived the following year. A popular promoter from the West Coast visited Bones and his promotion crew in New York and had brought along literature about the '4 pillars of the house community' One of those pillars was respect and it was subsequently adopted by Bones' East Coast crew and their West Coast affiliates.³ The reason as to why Toronto adopted this slogan is unknown; however because this activity arrived later here than in New York or San Francisco it is expected that it merely filtered down through people in the know including promoters and participants. Another reason for PLUR's emergence was due

to the lack of musical styles yet available. As Dan Sicko points out in the early stages the supply of music was limited and it had yet to be distinguished as to what constituted a 'rave' record.⁴

Early within this space where the PLUR acronym was apparent and music supply was limited, Georgina Gore explains that rave events included festivals, both indoor and outdoor, warehouse parties, often held in abandoned, urban, industrial spaces, and club nights.⁵ Club nights in Toronto though in the mid 1990s featuring electronic music were limited. A small proportion of venues in the downtown core, of which most catered to a gay crowd, remained open after-hours and supported the newly emerging electronic music culture, however most remained apprehensive and ambivalent towards this phenomenon. The main problem in the early to mid 1990s was that many club owners were not willing to remain open past the one am 'last call' due to licensing stipulations and possible noise complaints. The result was promoters were forced to hold their events illegally in inappropriately zoned often decrepit industrial spaces. Similarly in Britain, according to Hillegonda Rietveld, 'the main reason for organizing these events (warehouse rave parties) seems to be the fact that in England clubs generally close at 2 or 3 a.m.'⁶ Furthermore, obtaining proper licensing for night clubs to legally remain open past two-three am became increasingly difficult which left promoters no choice but to hold their events elsewhere and illegally in spaces ranging from farmers fields to abandoned warehouse spaces.⁷

These early events held in illegal spaces ranging from abandoned warehouses to vacant airport strips possessed placelessness, before the commercialisation of these events began, and were not based on a specific locale or gathered experiences of the participants of a place. The reason for this was rave promoters constantly needed to stay ahead of the authorities in organizing these events, because they were held in unzoned spaces usually without permits, if the event was to be a success. Furthermore their one-offness, only holding events in a space once or twice maximum, prevented participants from generating meaningful or any type of longful experience with the space. It is important to remember that as this space grew more popular in Toronto and became more commercialised, police and city officials began clamping down on these events and one-off parties held in illegal spaces became increasingly difficult to organize for promoters. As a result they switched tactics and began holding events in legal venues, again trying to stay ahead of the authorities, ranging from nightclubs to after-hours venues. Some of the first after-hours clubs in Toronto were used to feature electronic music such as Circus, 23 Hop, and 318 Richmond to name a few.

A discussion of boundaries is important not necessarily based on those on the inside of this contested space versus those on the outside, but more so the separations which come about from within at the onset of the transformation process. Sarah Thornton argues that club cultures, fragmented by their nature, are heavily dependent on an individual's 'taste' for a particular musical style.⁸ This premise is difficult to refute,

yet she seems unconcerned that this fragmentation is also directly related to sex, age, and ethnicity. Put more succinctly: musical tastes like space are socially and culturally constructed. A notion club designers and event promoters would eventually use to their advantage in Toronto with the featuring of specialized electronic music nights and clubs. However, the question remains whether electronic musical genres fragment individuals based on the prior classifications mentioned or were event promoters and nightclub owners responsible for this dispersal? For example, techno music clubs cater to a predominantly white male, middle-class, late-adolescent populace whereas jungle and drum-and-bass venues see higher numbers of Black and Asian attendee's that are younger in age. The beginning of the transformation of this space in Toronto underwent a similar process towards the mid 1990s when it began fragmenting and separating individuals based on sex, age, and ethnicity which in turn designated them into particular spaces due largely in part to the popularisation and commercialisation of this space as a whole. An example which comes to mind is the nightclub Element in Toronto. Although this club features differing types of electronic music on different evenings of the week, crowds on any given night pertaining to what style of music is being played are fragmented based on certain criteria's. Where many academics write of the homogenisation of users or participants that unfolds at the onset of these processes, it also opens up or creates new spaces which otherwise would or could not have existed. While individuals seemingly make the choice as to what space they shall frequent or inhabit - often traversing fluid boundaries from one space to another - in a

sense it is already established for them based on the aforementioned categories.

Will Straw argues that a musical scene, in contrast to a community is a cultural space where different musical practices (styles or forms for our purpose here) co-exist.⁹ While initially in Toronto different types of rave music did not exist in time new electronic musical forms emerged as their means and the demand for them grew. Indeed, it is accurate to classify many of these new types of electronic music as hybrids or bastardisations of original forms of house and techno music for example garage, dub-step, and ghetto-tech. Furthermore, these hybrids and classifications inevitably create internal boundaries. This is important not to denounce Straw's point, but to illustrate the internal separations which appeared within the larger contested space. For certain co-existence between different musical forms takes place in some respect, but noticeable boundaries also appear between them such as: being in the know of a particular musical form, labels, artists, and events and venues featuring exclusive musical genres.

The impossibilities of a sustainable rave culture in Toronto were the result of many processes namely the popularisation and commercialisation of this contested space and the boundaries and fragmentation which came about from within. These processes coupled with other elements brought about the demise of the once popular PLUR lifestyle. Many believe that any subculture based largely on the consumption of illegal drugs is destined to recede and eventually falter over time due to a variety of

contributing factors for example the media, public and police scrutiny, and increasing legislation. Simon Reynolds states ‘This moment of burn-out, when the scene crosses over into the “dark side,” seems intrinsic to any drug culture.’¹⁰ In a later text Reynolds rephrases, ‘Any given rave scene seems to enjoy a honeymoon period of two years tops before problems begin to appear.’¹¹ Therefore, the problems which began to surface in Toronto in the mid 1990s perhaps could have been anticipated if the United Kingdom had been utilised as a model of understanding. With these problems comes attracted attention. As a result the local media began reporting on these events more frequently which brought about its own outcomes. One of them being the popularisation and commercialisation of this space, but also fear and prejudice from the general public.

2/ Representational Spaces or Media Reports in Toronto:

Another dimension which led up to the transformation of this contested space is the influence ‘representational spaces’ had on it. Lefebvre’s second element in his spatial triad closely parallels an array of media reports pertaining to this space. By an array of media reports I am making reference to local widely read papers in Toronto. Although I recognize the diversity of print media in this city, the affect took place through large distribution newspapers. Lefebvre defines these spaces as those directly lived through by associated images and symbols and as spaces of inhabitants and users.¹² Interestingly, he argues this is the dominated space that the imagination seeks to

change and appropriate.¹³ Furthermore, their writings according to Lefebvre may be qualified in various ways either directional, situational, or relational, and in this case also alarmist and reactionary. The only difference being when the media first began reporting on these events in Toronto they were purely from observer standpoints. As a result of this boundaries become apparent pertaining to those inside of the contested space versus those writing on the space from the outside. Most journalists were not writing on this space, as Lefebvre illustrates, by directly living through it. What transpired were reports that were often inaccurate and misleading as opposed to informative or accurately descriptive.

During the mid 1990s in Toronto, as a result of growing public concern and awareness increased surrounding raves, numerous media reports began to surface highlighting the impossibility of adequately controlling and monitoring these events - in a sense, criminalizing these activities. These media reports not only signified a form of urban disorder, but also further supported societies general concerns and fears - specifically, rampant drug usage during these activities and their overall unsafe conditions. Headlines in the **Toronto Star** from 1993-1997 discussing these events for the most part took a reactionary and alarmist stance: 'Danger Parties' 1997; 'Young People's Safety Should be a Priority at Rave Events' 1996; and one of the earliest articles written from 1993 discussing this emerging youth culture reads 'Rave Love-In's: No Booze, but lots of Music and Drugs' 1993. In the 'Danger Parties' piece parents are

urged by the writer to be wary and to look for warning signs that their son or daughter may be attending these events. It also suggests that rave events must be stopped and that it will take nothing short of a fatality to make a change.¹⁴ Unfortunately, within the next two years a death did occur and changes were slowly brought about.

Interestingly, media reports on these events in other cities throughout North America possess similar alarmist and reactionary tones and for the most part are based on adolescent drug use. For example, an article in the Denver Post entitled 'Break-ins for Rave Drug Troubles Veterinarians' draws the correlation between raves and the drug ketamine and how it is believed this drug is being stolen by these individuals for use and sale at raves.¹⁵ However, it is not considered that it may be another segment of the population conducting the break-ins. Another example is provided in a Pennsylvania based newspaper the Tribune-Review. In an article published entitled 'Ecstasy demands Answers' facts are loosely utilized and not referenced '1 out of 10 kids has tried ecstasy.'¹⁶ Not only this, but several important points in the article are left unexplained such as the definition of a designer drug. The Media Awareness Project located at www.mapinc.org is a useful site in highlighting over fifty articles written in the last five years pertaining to media reports on rave culture.¹⁷

Academics - including Steve Redhead, Sarah Thornton, and Simon Reynolds - writing on rave culture in England unanimously agree that it was not police scrutiny nor

their tight surveillance of these activities that caused a 'moral panic' to take hold, but more so the mass media and their controversial and often inaccurate reporting of these all night events.¹⁸ Although evidence in Toronto, to the best of my knowledge, is inconclusive regarding this, M. Silcott illustrates in an informative history of Toronto's rave scene that the police, 'from the start assumed a non-reactionary stance, seeing the benefits of parties that could keep kids off the streets.'¹⁹ She continues with her explanation of this stating: 'After a short investigation of rave parties, Sergeant Guy Courvoiser stated 'It's going to be a long, hot summer. Unemployment is high. People need something to do. Raves don't need to be a problem they can be a solution.'²⁰ Whether the police were yet unaware of the most fundamental aspects of raves or perhaps they believed, like many nightclub owners and managers, they may just be a passing fad remains to be seen. To be sure the media were integral in bringing raves into mainstream consciousness not the police. Furthermore, it seems likely that the media's reporting techniques which were often false or inaccurate were those which would become the basis of not only the public, but also the police's perception of these events. Two examples of this provide a useful illustration. In the **Toronto Sun** on May 11 a piece read 'Council bans rave parties' a quote taken, 'When people take ecstasy...they go nuts and you cannot control them. The cops cannot control them.'²¹ Furthermore, on a local newscast *CityPulse* Mayor Lastman is quoted as saying 'we will not tolerate illegal after-hours clubs and raves. We will do everything in our power to shut them down...padlock these dens of drugs and guns.'²² The inaccurate correlation

of after-hours clubs with raves fostered the belief in the general public that raves were sites of violence.

The overall media representation of this contested space, coupled with other elements to be discussed shortly, had the affect of causing a public panic to take hold. As Lefebvre informs us representational spaces 'imaginatively dramatise new meanings for spatial practices.'²³ By understanding this space as a whole and its internal dynamics as material spatial practice then these representational spaces – media reports – act upon the former and seek to change it by giving it new meaning. This has the affect of presenting to the public reports which are often misleading and inaccurate as has been shown above.

Sarah Thornton in her book **Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital** (1995b) points to interesting relationships between the mass media and youth cultures and aids in explaining this previously mentioned process. In a convincing manner she argues that the media exists as a necessary resource for youth subcultures - including this contested space - because it is their negative coverage of these groups which has a direct role in legitimising and authenticating this culture. She states it is derogatory media coverage that frames youth cultures as such and is the essence of their mainstream resistance.²⁴ The result is the media, she believes, do not just represent but also participate in the assembly, demarcation, and development of music cultures.²⁵

Without this negative representation, which ultimately leads to moral panic, media reports of these events lead to demystification, explication, and access which are important in elucidating aspects of commercialisation. In a sense, the media acts as a double-edged sword with the unfortunate ultimately being that which it is reporting on. For if the media refrains in reporting negatively on this space it fails to be a contested space as such. However, if the media reports informatively or sympathetically on it then they set in motion popularisation and commercialisation. Both lead to the transformation of this space in that the media is reinforced in commercial culture and it is through its various outlets such as servicing and merchandising that they bring this space into the mainstream through co-optation.

Tim Weber, in one of the few studies conducted on rave culture in Toronto, suggests that media coverage of this space has been mixed but for the most part one-sided.²⁶ Negative media reports remain more common than those that are descriptive/informative or sympathetic to this contested space. Furthermore his study, through the use of seventy-five personal interviews, ascertains that individuals/participants believe television and the print media predominantly contribute to the popularisation of the space which is something they do not see in a positive manner.²⁷ The early PLUR principle of this contested space could be portrayed as a competing representational discourse of the participants from the mainstream media.

Weber's study and others point to an interesting role the media has played in the development of this space through its own unanticipated doings. While its participants bemoan the increasing popularity of their space has brought about the demise of rave culture's early ideals, the media has also contributed to the growth of a now vibrant and world-renowned electronic music centre in Toronto. International electronic musical talent now visit this city regularly and perform because it has established itself and gained notoriety through the media. Therefore, while the media can initially be seen as potentially threatening its sustained interest in this space puts it on the map, so to speak. Furthermore, reporting techniques improved over time. Some writers and journalists began participating before writing on this space which provided more informative, descriptive, even sympathetic pieces rather than the standard alarmist, reactionary, and uninformed writings.

Ultimately though the media becomes that which the public basis their outcries for the need for legislation on. Elected city officials from downtown ridings listen to their constituents and pass motions at City Hall during council meetings that correspond with their citizens' concerns. Between July and October of 1999 there were reportedly three rave related deaths in Toronto. The perfect case to demonstrate the city's concern was the death of Allen Ho. This led to legislation pertaining to raves in Toronto being first set in motion in the fall of 1999.

3/ Representations of Contested Space - Legislation Pertaining to Raves in Toronto:

The final spatial dimension, coupled with the former, that was significant in leading up to and bringing about the transformation of this contested space from rave culture to club culture is Lefebvre's last tenet in his conceptual triad dealing with 'representations of space.' These he sees as the dominant space in any society. They are the space of planners, legislators, et cetera 'all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.'²⁸ These representations sometimes ignore social practice, but have a practical impact and a specific influence in the production and reproduction of [contested] space.²⁹ Together with representational spaces, representations of this space have the affect of continually reproducing it as such.

The specificity of urban space is also important because it serves to illustrate the problematic between city centers and their margins. In the beginning, before the popularization and commercialization of it became apparent, this space sought to stay on the margins beyond notice and subsequent city control. As a result, earlier events were predominantly held outside of the city center. However, with the popularization and commercialization of this space brought about by the media, legislation served as a tool to capture this space into the city center where it could be kept under supervision and control by various agencies.

Allen Ho, a 21 year-old student, collapsed at a large rave in Toronto in early

November 1999 and died reportedly after taking ecstasy which essentially set these processes in motion. Only a few weeks after his death in early November of 1999, City Council was forced to begin dealing with the topic of rave parties and their associated hazards. This was due largely in part to growing public concern and the fact that there were no policies or governing agencies which regulated rave / dance events.

Furthermore, because city-owned properties had been used for these events and were planned to be used in the future, it was deemed necessary this issue be dealt with promptly. During this meeting it was decided upon that a formal protocol needed establishing by the parties involved which recognized the need for safe events. The meeting concluded with a request that a dance safe protocol be submitted at the next meeting that ensures these events are 'safe for attendees and closely monitored by city staff.'³⁰

During the City Council meetings of December 14, 15, 16 1999 council agreed upon a dance safe protocol that had been constructed by the Toronto Dance Safety Committee since their previous meetings in late November. **See Appendix 1 for Dance Safe Protocol.** The Toronto Dance Safety Committee was set up to protect Toronto's rave culture from unconstitutional legislation and unnecessary police harassment. It was established by a group of city councilors, staff from various city departments, promoters, security personnel, rave participants, and lawyers.³¹ The protocol was adopted from a rave organization in New Zealand where it had been put in place a year earlier. Its basic

stipulations outline requirements for the operation of a safe dance event such as unlimited running water, safe number of participants, access to fresh air, security, and paid duty officers.

Bill 73 *Raves Act, 2000* had been heard before the 37th legislature, 1st session and had already passed its first reading by the time council met again in early May. Essentially it set out to prohibit anyone from promoting or organizing a rave unless a permit is granted by the municipality. Furthermore, it allows promoters to use force if necessary to remove persons from the event whom they deem are present for illegal purposes. Police officers are permitted in the Act to enter a rave without a warrant if they have reason to believe a permit has not be granted for the event and permitted to order to vacate the premises.

The second reading of this act took place on May 18th and involved house debate in the Legislature. It carried, however there were serious objections raised with the private member's Bill pertaining to the loose definition of what a rave constituted and the need for more dialogue to take place between politicians interested in passing this bill and the participants in rave events. **See Appendix 2 for Rave Act 2000.**

Toronto City Council met again on May 9th to 10th and 11th 2000. What resulted was a series of recommendations that sought to ban raves particularly on city-owned properties. In the months which led up to these meetings events unfolded which

resulted in this proposal. Reportedly, several raves had been raided in the city during this time period and police Chief Julian Fantino alleged that large quantities of drugs and weapons had been seized.³² Therefore, Mayor Lastman moved that where there had been rave parties at venues owned by the city of Toronto, and a large number of arrests had been made for the possession of drugs, suspending the leasing of these venues for the purpose of holding these events was necessary.³³ Furthermore, it was recommended that until further notice any gathering advertised as a rave held on city-owned land be treated as an illegal gathering and dealt with by officials as such. It is difficult to ascertain the reasoning behind this ban. It could have been that the city did not want to be held liable in case accidents occurred or in order to get the necessary controls established before allowing these events to continue. One could ask: why did the city become involved? Was it a response to the death of Allen Ho or to protect its image? Its initial involvement was a result of the death of Allen Ho and the public outcry which followed; however protecting the city's image was also a concern amongst councilors. Citizens wanted their concerns dealt with which took place initially through banning all rave events on city-owned properties, but this would be short lived.

What transpired following this was the city, including the council and the rave community, anxiously awaited the juries' verdict with regards to the Allen Ho inquest that was on-going and nearing completion. The ban on raves continued and towards the end of July the jury passed down its verdict which disagreed with the mayors' ban on

raves. Its chief recommendation was that these events should be allowed to take place, but the need for safer venues with stricter guidelines as set out in the Dance Safe Protocol and the Raves Act 2000 were needed. **See Appendix 3 for Inquest Recommendations.** Soon after the recommendations were passed down from the coroner's inquest various city agencies created a coordinated document entitled **Establishment of Late Night Entertainment Event Protocol - See Appendix 4.** This protocol outlines requirements for the safe operation of rave events as set out in the dance safe recommendations, but extends its powers to private property; however for voluntary adoption.

Despite the inquests ruling the ban continued up until the council meetings of August 1-4 2000. City Council met at this time to discuss and rule on two items which had been drawn up since their previous meetings in December: **Inquest Recommendations into the Death of Allen Ho** and the **Late Night Entertainment Event Protocol.** However, in the midst of these meetings outside City Hall a massive rally had been organized to protest Mayor Lastman's ban on rave events. Despite the work that had been done by the rave community with the establishment of the safe dance protocol and the juries' recommendations that essentially disagreed with the mayors' stand; the ban on raves continued up until the time of these meetings. Writers such Georgina Gore and Simon Reynolds suggest the disenfranchised nature of the participants in this space. In fact, one of my greatest challenges in conceptualizing this

space has been in seeing the active stance towards these pressing issues participants in Toronto possessed. It may be that these participants were not showing a political bent and were merely standing up for what they believed in. However, it is more likely that those who aided in organizing this rally were some of the only individuals within the space who were politically involved because they had financial loss to potentially deal with if the ban continued.

The turn out for this rally, featuring an impressive sound system and numerous DJ's, was unexpected; estimated numbers range from 15 000 to 20 000 individuals. It had a significant impact in that it was recognized by the council members inside city hall ruling on the ban and it became the first of an annual event called the iDance electronic music festival in Toronto held at Nathan Phillips Square. Recalling Lefebvre's spatial triad is useful in that it illustrates how competing spaces influence one another. In this case material spatial practice – contested space in transformation – aids in its own production, but its reproduction lays in the realms of other spaces particularly representations of space - legislation - and representational spaces – the media. Both these dimensions together act upon spatial practice- contested space- and assure its reproduction as such. However, this rally points in the direction of material spatial practices acting on representations of space as set out by legislators and representational spaces defined through the media. The result of this could be the solidification of the co-optation of this spatial practice by legislators and the media into mainstream commercial culture.

In essence what transpired was Council reversed their decision and the ban on raves on city-owned properties was lifted, but with far-reaching concessions. See **Appendix 5 for council minutes**. Questions to consider include: Did the lifting of the ban take place out of fear that this space may be driven underground? Did city council recognize the potential economic spin-off this space could provide for the city?

Although Toronto became the first Canadian city to enact municipal legislation pertaining to this contested space, in England comparable changes unfolded in 1994 with the enactment of the *Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill* which criminalized the rave event and its associated 'repetitive beats' in open spaces. This was impossible to enforce and as a result raves continued to thrive underground in unsafe conditions. The problem as the public saw it both there and here was not the music or the gathering, but the drugs which were reportedly destroying the youth of the day. Toronto may have learned a valuable lesson from the experiences that took place in England at the beginning of the decade. The most important being that the voice of the participants needed to be heard in any decisions that were made and that banning the rave event completely was not feasible.

Conclusion:

This chapter has served to illustrate the external spatial dimensions which acted

on this contested space thus bringing about its transformation. The goal has been to analyse varying discourses that led up to the transformation of this space from outside of it and within. Lefebvre's conceptual triad is useful in explaining the way in which this space is constructed and how it is produced and reproduced. The contested space is made up of material spatial practices that aid in its production as such. Boundaries are important because they exist not only between those outside of the space versus those on the inside, but also within. Representational spaces are media reports from local, widely distributed popular papers and television. They are significant in acting as double-edged swords where if they report negatively the space retains its contestedness as such; however if they report sympathetically or informatively they set in motion processes of popularisation and commercialism. Following this and in conjunction with it, representations of space are legislative efforts that also aid in the reproduction of this contested space. However, it is also useful in elucidating the specificity of this space within urbanity. Initially, this space exists on the margins; however the goal of legislation is to bring this space under control and supervision into the city centre. The result of these spatial dimensions acting on contested space further fragments it into smaller sub-spaces which the following chapter examines more closely and through internal discourses.

This chapter has focussed primarily on external dimensions acting on this contested space thus bringing about its transformation. The next step is a shift in focus

to varying discourses from within the space. As a result, different spatial concepts become important in the following chapter particularly: boundaries within this fragmented yet contested space, the ideal/material components of fractured space; and place and non-place that the transformation and subsequent fragmentation of this space brings about.

Notes

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- ² Redhead, S. (1993) **Rave Off...** London: Aldershot, pp.20-21.
- ³ Rave Culture Newsgroup – http://raves.org/raves/spirit/plur/Origin_of_PLUR.html.
- ⁴ Sicko, D. (1999) **Techno Rebels...** New York: Billboard Books, p.117
- ⁵ Gore, G. (1997) p.50.
- ⁶ Rietveld, H. (1993) **This Is Our House...** Brookfield: Aldershot, pp. 46-47.
- ⁷ Collins, M. (1997) **Altered State...** London: Serpent's Tail, pp. 57, 65-66.
- ⁸ Thornton, S. (1995a) 'The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital' in **The Subcultures Reader**. Sarah Thornton and Ked Gelder (eds.) London: Routledge, p.200.
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- ¹⁰ Reynolds, S (1997) 'Rave Culture...' in **The ClubCultures Reader**. Steve Redhead (ed.) Oxford: Blackwell, p.105.
- ¹¹ Reynolds, S (1999) **Generation Ecstasy...** Boston: Little and Brown, p.305.
- ¹² Lefebvre, H. (1991) **The Production of Space**. Oxford: Blackwell, p.39.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Sanders-Greer, S. "Danger Parties." **Toronto Star**. March 22, 1997.
- ¹⁵ Unknown Author. "Break-ins for Rave Drug Troubles Veterinarians" **Denver Post**. December 2, 2000.
- ¹⁶ Unknown Author. "Ecstasy Demands Answers" **Tribune Review**. November 16, 2000.
- ¹⁷ Media Awareness Project – web site, www.mapinc.org.
- ¹⁸ Redhead, S. (1993) and S. Reynolds (1997) and S Thorton (1995b)
- ¹⁹ Silcott, M. (1999) **Rave America...** Toronto: ECW Press, p.83.
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ Ruryk, Z. "City Bans Raves." **Toronto Sun**. May 11, 2000.
- ²² Znaimer, M. (producer) *CityPulse News at Six*. March 14, 2000.
- ²³ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.27.
- ²⁴ Thornton, S. (1995b) **Club Cultures...** New Hampshire: University of New England Press, p.137.
- ²⁵ Thornton, S. (1995b) p.160.
- ²⁶ Weber, T. (1998) 'Raving in Toronto' in **Journal of Youth Studies** V.2, No.3, p.319.
- ²⁷ Weber, T. (1998) p.329.
- ²⁸ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.38.
- ²⁹ Lefebvre, H. (1991) p.41.
- ³⁰ City of Toronto – web site, www.city.toronto.on.ca/legdocs.1999minutes/council/cc991123.
- ³¹ McCall, S (2001) **This Is Not A Rave**. Toronto: Insomniac Press, p.151.
- ³² Canoe web site – www.canoe.ca/Health0006/01_drugs.htm.
- ³³ City of Toronto – web site, www.city.toronto.ca/legdocs.2000minutes/council/cc000801 pp.57-64.

Chapter 3: *Internal Voices of Contested Space on the Transformation.*

Introduction:

Before proceeding it is useful to explain a notable change that the transformation brought about in this contested space as a whole. Following the implementation of City Council's recommendations and requirements the underground warehouse rave events of only a few years earlier all but ceased to exist. The transformation had reached its zenith and the after-effects were being felt, particularly the shift from lawless unregulated rave spaces to regulated and commercialized club land. As a result, the nightlife district in the downtown area of Toronto had been undergoing and underwent a significant restructuring. Numerous new clubs began to open featuring electronic music exclusively targeting adolescents and late-adolescents based on musical tastes. I do not want to leave the impression that these new clubs which opened: Element, Nasa, Liquid, Turbo, Aria, Weave, Life, et cetera, all appeared suddenly or overnight. This transformative process took place over a period of time ranging from late 1998 to late 2000 and was a result of external spatial dimensions such as the media and legislators, but also the inner workings of the space.

The contested space remains a site of conflict with competing discourses; however the affect of the transformation has led to the fragmentation of it into

smaller sub-spaces. By sub-spaces I am referring to the differing genres of electronic music which came about such as drum-and-bass, jungle, dub-step, and garage to name a few. These fragments possess their own discourses which at times compete with one another based on musical styles, record labels, fashion trends, and events and venues. Despite this the residual affects from earlier rave culture are still apparent in the smaller fragmented spaces and they remain sites of contestedness.

The previous chapter explored external spatial dimensions through representational spaces and representations of space that acted on this contested space leading to the rise of the transformation. The next stage is an examination of internal discourses from within the now fragmented space. The rise of the transformation is important through these differing voices, but also its after-affects. An investigation of these discourses is significant in this discussion because they complicate the transformation process and provide a more balanced presentation as opposed to merely exploring external dimensions which aided in the alteration.

The means of examining this contested and fragmented space from within are through five phone interviews. These individuals were contacted through the snowballing method. I had a few people in mind that I knew I could locate and interview willingly and during these discussions they provided other names of individuals who they deemed may be useful and I contacted them afterwards. I could

only locate and get in touch with five individuals who would agree to participate, but I believe this number and range of voices covers a broad enough spectrum of ideas from within the space to provide meaningful insight to this study.

The first interview was conducted with a former clothing and record store owner who was also a promoter (store owner/promoter 1). He opened a successful merchandising outlet in 1996 that sold records, clothing, promoted events, and organized events. He became disenfranchised with the space as a whole, particularly with the commercialisation aspect of it. Although he criticized the co-optation of the space, he was also active in furthering this by his position as a seller within the space. He came to believe that the space did not really stand for anything and he did not see it going anywhere in the future. He wanted to keep the space out of the mainstream, but he felt this was impossible due to how popular the space had become. Subsequently, he sold his store in 2000 and is no longer active in the space.

The second interview (promoter 2) was performed with an active promoter in the space who continues organizing and hosting events. She has been active in organizing events since 1996 and presently hosts them every few months. She provided an in-depth analysis of the organizational aspects of events in both warehouse and club environments as well as the advantages and disadvantages with both settings. She made

the conscious shift with her promotion company in 1997 at their one year anniversary event away from rave culture. They attempted to gain recognition for their organization as nineteen plus adult dance party events which she says was a difficult task. Whereas promoter 1 lost interest in the space with the commercialisation of it; promoter 2 sees this as somewhat inevitable and subsequently has taken her organization in this direction.

The third interview took place with an active promoter and organizer who has also been involved as a participant/promoter more so than the former (participant/promoter 3). He was active in the earlier warehouse days and now features club nights where he hosts a weekly event in a downtown club. He presents a differing perspective from promoter 1 and 2 in that I gathered his earlier events were always to a degree commercialized. He commented on the commercialisation of the space and how he sees this as negative, but at the same time he maintained his weekly event held in a club setting has also become mainstream to a degree. He is insightful in discussing the boundaries and divisions within the space and how these are upheld in the present day.

The fourth interview was conducted with the most long-standing of the promoters interviewed who is still active, but less so than promoter 2 and 3 (promoter 4). He was the most active out of the other promoters in organizing early warehouse events and was unique in that he attempted to hold his events in these venues when other companies had already made the shift into club land. The reason for this was his disdain for club environments and the mainstream market these venues targeted. He is observant in his

depictions of the fragmentation the larger contested space underwent; the boundaries existent in this space and the smaller sub-spaces which came about; and in his discussions of the organizational aspects of varying events.

The final interview took place with a participant who is no longer active within the space to any degree (participant 1). Her inactivity is a result of a space she now portrays as overly commercialized and popularized without a clear direction or future. She provides a different perspective from the others in that she had no financial investment in the space whereas the others did. She is keen in illustrating boundaries within the space and the affects of the transformation on her as a participant. These interviews are all integral because these individuals experienced the contested space from within before the transformation, its rise, as well as the after-affects of it from differing and at times similar perspectives.

Utilising these interviews as a reference point, this chapter brings the remaining spatial components highlighted in the first chapter to the forefront pertaining to the ideal/material rudiments of contested space; boundaries within this space; the specificity of this contested and now fragmented space; and place/non-place which this transformation brings about. These are significant in that they complicate what may seem like a simple transition with simple causes by highlighting various processes at play occurring simultaneously and acting on different space(s). Important questions to consider are: Was there already something existent within this contested space which aided in the transformation despite the external forces discussed in the previous

chapter? Was the commercialisation of this space inevitable? Could it become popular, but not commercialized at the same time?

1/ *The Material and Ideal Components of Contested Space:*

What makes up the material and ideal rudiments of this contested yet fragmented space is its physical space that differing individuals inhabit together (the material) and also the mental space of cognition and representation (the ideal). Together these two constituents of this space can be understood as those which aid in its production. The second chapter highlighted Lefebvre's spatial triad in which the first dimension was material spatial practices. In a sense, the materiality aspect of space I speak of is similar in that it is made up of physical and tangible inhabited space.¹ On the other hand, the mental space which I arbitrarily term the ideal is similar to Soja's space of cognition and representation.² However, a problem is that Soja places more emphasis on the ideal and leaves its definition as 'cognition and representation' ambiguous. By ideal I refer to the way in which this contested space is depicted or reflected upon by those within taking place through a mental process.

The previous chapter elucidated that the reproduction of this space is possible through external spatial dimensions illustrated as representational spaces (the media) and representations of space (legislation), but the production of this space - relying on the material and ideal elements of it - is dependent on its inner dynamics. By this I am

referring to happenings or occurrences which take place within the space for example the opening of a new record or clothing store, the birth of a new promotion company, the opening of a new club, or the closing of any of the previous three mentioned. A means of illustrating the material and ideal elements which the production of this contested space is made up of was by asking three promoters and organizers of events who are still active questions pertaining to the transformation of this contested space. The question was posed: In the beginning, early to mid 1990s, what went into the organizational aspects of holding an event? Promoter 2 commented that her first events took place in abandoned industrial spaces and vacant lofts. She mentioned it was difficult to locate a space that met certain conditions in that it had to have electricity, not be susceptible to noise complaints from neighbours, and meet proper zoning bylaws. If any of these conditions were not met the likelihood that the party would be a success could be compromised. For example, a New Year's Eve party she organized in 2000 lost its space the day of the event because it did not meet proper zoning requirements.³ The interview conducted also with an active promoter and organizer elicited a similar response to the same question. Promoter 3 commented that these earlier events were difficult to organize because spaces were difficult to come by that had active leases. Furthermore, he noted that everything rested on the organizer and the space – with regards to sound, lighting, zoning - as to whether or not the event was a success. He also mentioned that these earlier events had minimal security which he did not necessarily see as positive, but it was the way it was at the time.⁴ Similarly, promoter 4 explained that different spaces were difficult to locate in the city because there were

only so many spaces available that could be used. He noted that securing a space from its owner was also a challenge. He explained that space owners were often reluctant to agree to him using their venues in fear that they may be liable if an unforeseen accident occurred.

The insights from the participant in this space are also worthy of consideration because they are those who are ultimately in the majority of the space. With the production of this space, even from a non-organizational perspective, similar depictions and reflections of it could be expected. Participant 1 was asked what she remembered of the first events she attended with regards to their location and set-up? She commented that the first event she attended was in a basement of an abandoned space and that there were only around 400-500 people there. She remembered being in awe of the way in which the space had been suited to the event; however she stated that there was virtually no security on the premises and that she did not necessarily see this as a good aspect with regards to what was going on there.⁵ The typical stereotype of the rebellious, uncaring raver or club kid is shown in this example to be not entirely accurate.

These examples from interviewee's illustrate how the production of this space rested on the material aspects of it - or the abandoned industrial spaces they inhabited together, but also the way in which this space is reflected upon or depicted which takes place through a mental process in individuals or what I term the ideal or perhaps

through Soja's 'subjective imaginings.' These imaginings are important in that according to Soja, they appear to precede and fuse with the real geographies of everyday life.⁶ He sees these as affecting everything people do from where they shop to how they think and he believes that inhabitants camouflage themselves into these imaginings as such.⁷ Here lies the connection with the early PLUR ideal which is also a component in the production of this contested space. PLUR was a raver's philosophy in the early days; however the tarnishing of this ideal commenced with the commercialisation and fragmentation that occurred within this space as a result of the transformation.

2/ Boundaries within Contested Space:

Boundaries become important in this space(s) particularly with the after-affects of the transformation. While the previous chapter discussed boundaries in relation to those who are on the outside of the space versus those on the inside, this section examines boundaries existent within. These boundaries are not as firm and rigid within this space as much as those existent between those inside versus those outside of the space. They are fluid and traversable to some degree, but are still tangible and evident within sub-spaces. These boundaries become significant in terms of musical tastes and the genres of electronic music which came about, but also in relation to participants' sex, age, and ethnicity. Store owner/promoter 1 explained that at the beginning of the 1990s there were two forms of this music that existed within the space: house and techno. He

claims there were no differing genres like there is now, as a result the space had yet to fragment and was seen more as all-encompassing with diversified crowds. The result, he added, was DJ's did not have enough records of one form of music to string together a complete set because the supply of records in the city was limited.⁸

As a reaction to the increasing surveillance of this space that was occurring, different genres of electronic music emerged in the mid 1990s. They had the affect of aiding in the internal fragmentation of the contested space as a whole into smaller sub-spaces based on these genres of music which came into being such as jungle, garage, and goa trance to name a few. For example, promoter 3 discussed the stereotype that exists with techno music. For the most part he claims the contested space as a whole has always been predominantly white and middle-class.⁹ Techno music still solidifies this stereotype in the present day. He stated his events now are mainly attended by the same individuals every week. The harder and faster the music he features the more females attend, the more minimal and down-tempo the more males attend.¹⁰ Promoter 4 provided a different perspective and commented that this fragmentation was seen in a positive manner and is a sign of a healthy and vibrant space. He noted the sub-spaces which came out of the larger contested space were beneficial for participants in that it provided them with choices as to which space to frequent on a particular evening which before were non-existent. Furthermore, he added that he sees the early contested space as predominantly white because of the people organizing the events and the areas around which they were held which happened to be suburbia. As a result, he sees the

target market as mainly white, middle to upper class, but this is out of circumstance and not by choice.¹¹ Participant 1 also noted the fragmentation which came about. She recalled when she first attended events the crowds were mainly white, but with the rise of drum-and-bass and jungle she began seeing more ethnically diversified crowds that were younger in age than earlier.¹²

When the transformation began unfolding and more events were being held in conventional club land the fragmentation of this space occurred even more so. Promoters began featuring one or two types of music exclusively which brought out individuals to their events based on their musical tastes and other classifications. Not only this, but age also became important with the shift from warehouse events to club land. Anyone under the age of nineteen could not attend events held in clubs and some promotion companies, such as the one owned by promoter 2, put age restrictions on all their events wherever they were held. Promoter 2 stated that the reason behind this was to separate themselves from rave culture which was predominantly an adolescent activity that was becoming too commercialised with many associated hazards. She maintains they attempted to gain recognition as an adult dance party company, but various city agencies had an arduous time in seeing the difference between the two.¹³

I would argue that it is electronic music forms that fragment individuals based on the earlier mentioned categories and promoters and nightclub owners merely solidify certain stereotypes that are already established. The internal fragmentation of this space

invariably leads to niche markets within club land. As a result, promoters and club owners have no control over the assortment or diversity of people who attend their events and venues. However, because this space is dominated by white middle-class individuals these are the clientele they target albeit inadvertently.

3/ *The Specificity of the Contested and Fragmented Space:*

The effect of the transformation on this contested space brought about its internal fragmentation into smaller sub-spaces; however it also had the affect of specifying it into regulated club land. The problematic between city centre's and margin is useful here because it illustrates the way in which municipal legislation was successful in capturing this space into the city centre, but ultimately aided in its further fragmentation. New clubs which opened featuring electronic music exclusively, although attempting to stay beyond city control through fragmenting – which is seen as a reaction to the increasing public and police pressures on the larger contested space - ultimately landed in the downtown core where they could be more closely surveilled and monitored by city officials.

The promoters and organizers interviewed all commented to the affect that early warehouse events predominantly took place outside of the city centre. However, with the public scrutiny and increasing police awareness of these events, promoter 2 and 3 maintained that moving their events into clubs was a sound decision.¹⁴ The reason for

this being was that the problems they faced in an abandoned space had already been dealt with in a club setting such as electricity, sound, lighting, and proper zoning. However, the alternative decision was chosen by promoter 4 to hold events outside of clubs even when it had become nearly unfeasible. This could lead one to suggest that promoters 2 and 3 were perhaps becoming tired with the excitement or the uncertainty of events and the constant loss of revenue that generally goes along with holding an event in an unsecured venue. By moving their events into clubs they secure a market and some sort of income from the event.

While promoters 2, 3, and 4 commented on the commercialisation this shift has inadvertently brought about, store owner/promoter 1 stated it was always already to a degree and was one of the key reasons why the internal fragmentation happened in the first place.¹⁵ He discussed the large promotion companies that existed and propagated commercialism with their events. He claimed many smaller promotion companies started up as a reaction against their larger competitor's and their consumerist ways. Smaller companies could not afford international DJ talent, but they would feature up-and-coming local acts and the atmosphere at these events would be more relaxed with fewer people. Promoter 4 and his events provide a good example of this previous illustration. Although his company has survived for over a decade, he still portrays a strong disdain for club land and its associated commercialism. This was his reason for holding essentially none of his events in these settings. Coupled with this though is his dislike for the mainstream audience that clubs appeal to. His personal satisfaction

comes in transforming a given space to suit an event he is hosting which is what he believes participants want – unique and unexpectedly transformed spaces. For example, he provided the example of an abandoned space being transformed into a relaxed and comfortable setting for an event with reclining chairs and couches, various areas to dance in, areas to talk, et cetera. He believes that some of the excitement of events for participants is in anxiously awaiting the appearance of the venue and in seeing the way in which a space has been transformed.¹⁶

The affects of external spatial dimensions on this space together with internal dynamics brought about its transformation from a contested space to smaller and fragmented sub-spaces. These sub-spaces, or the venues where the sub-genre's of electronic music are featured nightly/weekly, begin to have forms of experience possessed of them from within by participants who regularly attend and they are now based on specific locales in downtown clubs. For example, participant 1 stated that although she no longer considers herself to be active within the larger space or its smaller sub-spaces, when she does attend an event – usually once or twice a year - it is now always in a club environment and generally at the same location. The affect of this on her is that she sees the same people when she does attend, even if it is only a few times a year, and the club comes to have experiences based on it because of this. She maintains that the commercialised aspects of clubs have brought this space as a whole into the mainstream and that she no longer considers herself a participant but more so a consumer of the space and its sub-spaces. Interestingly, this has become the main

reason she maintains why she has made the decision to no longer remain active in the space.¹⁷ The result of these processes stated has the affect of giving club land both place ness and also non-place at the same time within a larger urban setting.

4. *Place and Non-Place:*

While the transformation had the affect of smaller promotion companies moving their events into conventional club land, large organizations began holding their events on city-owned properties. Store owner/promoter 1 and promoter 2 both stated that there were always commercial and underground promotion companies within the space and there was a dynamic at play between the two.¹⁸ Large companies generated more profit due to greater numbers of people that attended and the expensiveness of admission prices. As a result, their events were held in larger spaces and they were able to hire more well-known, international DJ talent. On the other hand, smaller companies attempted to stay away from the explicit commercialism that existed with these larger events. The majority of their events took place in smaller club settings, with lower admission prices, but this did not guarantee them lower numbers of participants. A drawback for these smaller organizations was that they could not compete on a large scale due to the enormous costs that went with having an event on city property even though this is not something promoter 1, 2, 3, or 4 said they had intentions on doing.¹⁹ However, smaller companies, by moving their events into clubs were prevented from having to pay large start-up costs and for the most part had the affect of keeping their

events less congregated and out of the public's view in some respect. By this I mean smaller events held in downtown clubs get less publicity and advertising as opposed to an event on a city-owned property that is hosting 5 000 to 10 000 people at \$50.00 per admission fee.

Two of the promoter's interviewed commented that large production companies, such as Dose and Syrous, were responsible for the commercialisation of this space because they hosted enormous events where upwards of five thousand people attended.²⁰ The result, as one promoter saw it, was the music comes to be taken for granted and companies hire popular names rather than good DJ talent to get higher numbers of participants at their events. It was stated that larger companies become more interested in generating a profit rather than hosting a decent event.²¹

The internal fragmentation of the larger contested space into smaller sub-spaces based on differing sub-genre's of electronic music came about as a reaction to the increasing surveillance of this space due to its popularisation and commercialisation. The shift into club land and city-owned terrain came to give this space placeness and non-placeness at the same time. Place results from collective human tasks and lived experiences. These early warehouse events possess placeless ness and were not based on a specific locale or collected experiences. Their one-off hastily organized attributes – never hosting an event in a particular space more then once or twice - suggest they can be nothing other than this. On the other hand, various smaller clubs come to have

experiences gained of them and are based on a specific locale in the downtown core thus they become place based. Promoter 3 claimed that a night he hosts once a week in the same club venue is attended frequently by the same people.²² As a result, attendee's come to acquire experiences of it based on its same location, set-up, and DJ line up each week and the space(s) acquires placeness.

Conversely, 'supermodernity' is the contemporary condition which produces non-place which consists of two elements: spaces formed in relation to certain ends such as leisure pursuits and the relationship between individuals and non-places.²³ The distinction between place and non-place is often blurred as a result contested space consists of both at the same time. Non-places are portrayed as sites of cultural consumption where individuals are not alone but one of many where they become marked as homogenized consumers. The sub-spaces existent today can be both place and non-place. They acquire placeness for the reasons stated previously, but also non-placeness. Larger events some held in clubs, but most taking place on city-owned properties are for certain passed through, but promoters of these events mark participants as consumers due to the vast numbers of people attending and their profit potential. Examples of this were provided by participant 1 and promoter 3. The participant commented that earlier smaller parties, which had a sense of intimacy about them, were becoming far and few between. The only events being organized at the end of the 1990s were massive and commercialised and they did not possess a sense of place as some smaller events held in clubs had come to. She stated that she noticed not being

able to recognize people at larger events, as she had earlier in the contested space, and prices to attend these events became unaffordable. For her these events were too controlled and monitored by way of police officers aimlessly walking around, added security staff looking for someone to hassle, and ambulance attendants waiting around for someone to assist. She mentioned she no longer felt she belonged in the space, but more like someone purchasing a commodity within a tightly controlled environment.²⁴ The elements of non-place ness she inadvertently describes are frequented by individuals she claims are controlled and regimented within the venue. Here lies the parallel with Foucault's 'docile bodies' as described in the first chapter. He describes the 'docile body regime' under various configurations of detail and control imposed upon from the outside. He states over the whole surface of contact between the body and the object it handles [or that which handles it]; power is introduced fastening them to one another.²⁵ In these non-places, or larger events held for the most part on city-owned properties, power and control is exerted upon consumers of this space by way of adding extra off-duty police officers, greater numbers of security officers, et cetera. This provides the city a means of attempting to regulate and control this contested space, and it demonstrates to concerned citizens that these events are being monitored and closely surveilled by various city agencies.

Similarly promoter 3 commented that larger events held on city-owned properties became too commercialised and were more about making money for the promoters. As a result, certain companies lost an appreciation of the music, its quality, or the

participants attending, and became more interested in the consumerist aspect or potential of the space. Furthermore he claimed people he knew did not like attending these events because of the reasons stated earlier, but also due to how highly monitored these events were. He said going to a club, for the participants in his weekly event, provided them with a more relaxed atmosphere where they could meet the same people each week²⁶

Two actual examples of events were given by participant 1 and promoter 3. Participant 1 discussed a large event she attended at the Automotive Centre in Toronto three years prior. The name of it she could not recall nor any of the DJ's appearing. What she did remember was the hassle she encountered when trying to enter the venue. She said there were three-four police officers at the door. She was patted down twice before entering and then once inside there were eight-ten officers standing around watching everyone that entered. The event itself she claimed was too large and controlled by way of security and police officers that were everywhere all evening watching and waiting. She did not recognize anyone other than the people she had gone with and the music was terrible.²⁷

Promoter 3 explained his weekly event held in the same club. He described it as a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere with quality music and decent people. The security he maintained is good, but not overbearing as you would see at a larger venue/event. He claims his weekly attendee's enjoy the stability of having a consistent event in the same venue. It allows them to 'catch up' with people they may not have

seen through out the week, have a beverage, dance, and listen to good music which everyone seems to enjoy. Although he is not keen on the commercial aspect of a club environment, he is concerned with featuring good music and seeing friends on a weekly basis. He claims the commercialism of the larger space and now its sub-spaces, such as the one he features with techno music, is just some thing you have to deal with as being inevitable.²⁸

Conclusion:

This chapter is useful in illustrating the rise of the transformation, but more so the after-affects of it from within the fragmented and contested space based on internal discourses which are similar, different, and at times competing. Through the use of five personal interviews an understanding has been gained of different experiences and depictions of this space(s).

The remaining spatial concepts, which were utilised as tools in chapter 1, are brought to the forefront in this discussion. The material and ideal components of this space(s) are described as the physical space participants inhabit together and the mental space of depiction and reflection. Various promoters described problems with organizing events in warehouse venues and advantages to using clubs. The PLUR ideal is explained as a philosophy early rave culture possessed. The tarnishing of this principle begins with the rise of the transformation based on commercialism and inner fragmentation.

Boundaries become apparent and are based on differing genres of electronic music which came about as a reaction to the increasing pressures on this space by external forces. The store owner and promoters are important in describing what the space consisted of before these musical types arrived and the after-affects of their emergence which cause separations and divisions to appear based on sex, age, and ethnicity.

The specificity of contested space is noticeable in conventional club land. Some of the promoters agree that the city attempts to capture this space into the centre, bringing it under control and surveillance, where it previously existed on the margin's away from the city's gaze. Larger companies that hold events on city owned land are under the tightest measures of detail and control, but it is still existent in club land although to a much lesser degree. Commercialism is discussed because it exists in both at the same time, but it remains key in the transformation and also with the after-affects of it.

The after-affects of the transformation cause the emergence of place and non-place at the same juncture. Place is based on situated ness and experience thus some club environments come be based on this. They are frequented weekly by the same people and feature particular genres of electronic music on any given evening. On the other hand, non-places are measured in units of time and exist merely to be passed through. Participants become tagged as homogenized consumers as the interests of large organizers of events held on city-owned property shift from hosting a decent event to entrepreneurial success or failure.

These important questions remain: Are non-commercial spaces going through a similar transformation of mainstreaming, commercialisation, and regulation? If so, do these spaces in transformation necessarily end up reformulating themselves as sub-spaces from a fragment of the original space? Do they then evolve separately from the now commercial fragment of it?

Notes

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- ¹ Lefebvre, H. (1991) **The Production of Space**. Oxford: Blackwell, p.37.
- ² Soja, E. (2000) **Postmetropolis**. Oxford: Blackwell, p.92.
- ³ Anonymous Active Promoter/Organizer. (promoter 2) Personal Interview, July 31, 2002.
- ⁴ Anonymous Active Promoter/Organizer. (promoter 3) Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ⁵ Anonymous Former Participant in Space (participant 1). Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ⁶ Soja, E. (1998) **Transarchitectures**. web site, www.labridge.com/lacn/trans_soja2.html.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Anonymous Former Clothing and Record Store Owner/Promoter. (store owner/promoter 1) Personal Interview, July 30, 2002.
- ⁹ Promoter 3. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Promoter 4. Personal Interview, August 11, 2002.
- ¹² Participant 1. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ¹³ Promoter 2. Personal Interview, July 31, 2002.
- ¹⁴ Store Owner/Promoter 1 and Promoter 2. Personal Interviews, July 30, 2002, and July 31, 2002.
- ¹⁵ Store Owner/Promoter 1. Personal Interview, July 30, 2002.
- ¹⁶ Promoter 4. Personal Interview, August 11, 2002.
- ¹⁷ Promoter 3. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ¹⁸ Store owner/ promoter 1 and Promoter 2. Personal Interviews, July 30-31, 2002.
- ¹⁹ Promoter 1-4. Personal Interviews, July 30-31, August 7, 11, 2002.
- ²⁰ Store Owner/Promoter 1 and Promoter 2. Personal Interviews, July 30, 2002, and July 31, 2002.
- ²¹ Promoter 3. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Auge, M. (1995) **Non-Places...** London: Verso, p.94.
- ²⁴ Personal Interview. August 7, 2002.
- ²⁵ Foucault, M. (1979) **Discipline and Punishment**. New York: Vintage, pp151.
- ²⁶ Promoter 2. Personal Interview, July 31, 2002.
- ²⁷ Participant 1. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.
- ²⁸ Promoter 3. Personal Interview, August 7, 2002.

General Conclusion:

My interest in this discussion is with the transformation of contested space. By providing a critical analysis of it aids in an understanding of the agents of change and the implications of these alterations on this space. In order to think critically about this space in transformation a variety of spatial concepts are utilized in this investigation. In the first chapter a theoretical framework is established in which certain spatial tools that differing theorists make use of is examined. These tools are important for generating new ways of conceptualizing what may seem like a simple transformation.

Space is understood as a socially and culturally constructed concept with dimensions and boundaries which are material and ideal. It is fragmented by its nature and has the affect of separating individuals based on certain classifications. The spatial triad is useful in the second chapter as a means of examining external dimensions acting on this space aiding in bringing about its transformation.

Boundaries in space are utilized as a means of examining fragmentation and separation within rave but more so club culture. These boundaries are significant and are based on sex, age, and ethnicity. Separations and divisions are based on those within the space versus those outside such as the media and legislators.

The specificity of contested space illustrates where it is located in the urban environment. Where once rave culture existed on the margins, both literally and figuratively, the city has attempted to capture it in its original form into its centre where it can be closely monitored and controlled. As a reaction to this process the space has moved some of their events into less commercialized, but conventional club land. However, larger organizers have opted for complete co-optation resulting in overly commercialized events on city-owned properties that are tightly regulated and detailed by various city agencies. As a result of this transformation into conventional club land and city-owned properties, this space has internally fragmented into smaller sub-spaces based on differing forms of electronic music and is now portrayed as possessing placeness and non-placeness at the same time.

Place is based on situatedness and locale and is experienced related. Early rave events based on their one-offness, rarely being held in the same space more than once, possess placelessness. Participants are unable to gain experiences of the space because organizers constantly need to stay head of the authorities by moving their events to various venues. On the other hand club land, after the transformation of this space, comes to be place based. The same individuals frequent the same establishment each week thus they are able to gain experiences with them and the venues situatedness.

Non-places exist as spaces to be passed through and are measured in units of time. Participants in club land lose their status as such and become marked as

homogenized consumers in non-places. The similarity non-places share with rave culture, existent early in the contested space, is that they are passed through thus experiences are unable to be gained of them. However, rave culture consisted of participants because these events were not based on the commercialism element that is integral with non-places where its inhabitants are seen by organizers as consumerists.

The second chapter utilizes some of these tools previously mentioned, but is grounded on Lefebvre's spatial triad through which internal and external agents of change are examined. The triad is useful in illustrating the production and reproduction processes of contested space. The former relies on the internal dimensions of the space itself whereas its reproductive potential rests on external dimensions such as the media and legislators.

The first section dealing with the impossibilities of rave culture are material spatial practices of this space. Its internal dynamics are examined such as rave cultures early PLUR ideal principle and the electronic music which permeates every facet of it. In the beginning the supply of music was limited and events were held in abandoned industrial spaces. However, with the popularization and commercialisation of these events came external pressures from the police and media and it is at this point that the transformation begins unfolding. The conflicted space began internally fragmenting with the emergence of differing types of electronic music – where boundaries become

significant based on sex, age, and ethnicity - and external dimensions began their work in aiding in its transformation.

Recalling the triad, negative media reports are seen as representational spaces and municipal legislators use their representations this space to attempt in bringing it under control and supervision. Media reports have various affects in reporting on this space and its events. They cause a moral panic to take hold through inaccurate and misleading reports which 'imaginatively dramatizing new meanings for spatial practices' (Lefebvre, 27). They also act in effect as a double-edged sword in that by reporting sympathetically on the space sets in motion processes of popularization and commercialisation whereas if they fail to write negatively it loses its element of contested ness. Interestingly, they inform the legislators with inaccurate reports of the conflictual space who attempt to bring it under control and into the city centre.

After the death of Allen Ho city officials began immediate encroachment on this space. The transformation had already begun to a degree and the city attempted to bring it under its full control and supervision through a temporary ban on rave events on city owned properties, various protocols, rulings, and Bills. They had the affect of further commercialising it and also aiding in its reproduction as a contested space. The internal fragmentation of the space was already underway before any city decisions had been made. A small number of promotion companies had made the shift into club land, although the city's

intervention would solidify this for most small organizers by the end of the year 2000.

While the second chapter focuses primarily on the external dimensions and discourses which aided in the rise of the transformation of this space, the final segment deals with the after-affects of it through varying internal voices ranging from a store owner and a participant to several active promoters. The space has now fragmented into smaller sub-spaces based on differing genres of electronic music which also consist of their own dynamics. The remaining spatial dimensions explored in the first chapter, but omitted in the second, are brought to the forefront again as a means of critically analyzing the after-affects of the transformation.

The material and ideal components of contested space are described as the physical space the participants/consumers inhabit together and also the mental space of depiction and reflection. Promoters describe their organizational problems with events in warehouses and the advantages with clubs. On the other hand, the participant depicts these events as small, intimate, but with a lack of security. The PLUR ideal is explained as that which these early rave spaces based their philosophies on. The tarnishing of this ideal commences with the rise of its commercialism and inner fragmentation.

Boundaries within this space are significant based on the differing genres of electronic music which come about as a reaction to the increasing surveillance

of this space as a whole. The store owner describes the early warehouse events where there existed only one or two types of electronic music, but a more diversified crowd attended. However, with the emergence of differing genres, boundaries come to be based on an individual's sex, age, and ethnicity. The promoters are significant in describing the types of people who attend their events as well as their frequency.

The specificity of contested and fragmented space(s) becomes apparent in conventional club land. While the promoters and participant unanimously agree that these early events existed on the margins, outside of the city centre, the move into club land for some was seen as a way of dealing with organizational concerns and external pressures such as the police, media, and citizens. Furthermore, large organizations that choose to hold events on city-owned properties come under control and detail from various agencies. This element is also present within club settings, but to a much lesser degree. Inevitably, commercialisation becomes apparent with both because it accompanies the specificity of the larger contested space within urbanity.

The after-effects of the transformation on contested space cause place and non-place to emerge at the same time. Some smaller organizers began holding their events in clubs at the onset of these processes as a means of avoiding external pressures. One promoter interviewed discussed his weekly event held at the same venue where the virtually the same people attend. The participant commented that these events and their spaces came to be seen by her and friends

as places to meet. She gains experiences with the space and, because of its situatedness in the same venue each week, it becomes place based. On the other hand, larger companies hold events on city-owned properties. As such these non-places are merely passed through and participants become marked as consumers due to the interests of the promoters which go beyond advancing the space to entrepreneurial positions. Non-places are inhabited by 'docile bodies' under configurations of control and detail. These larger events are tightly regulated and controlled by security, police, ambulance attendants, et cetera, all whom play a role in monitoring these city-owned property events. The participant added when attending these events she no longer felt like someone within the contested space as a whole but more like someone purchasing a commodity in a highly regulated setting.

What emerges from this discussion is a manner in which one can come to think critically about this contested space, its internal dynamics, and the external forces acting on it. There is a 'cat and mouse' dynamic at work in a continual state of repetition where particular sub-spaces attempt to stay out of reach of what they frown upon be it mainstream attention, co-optation, or commercialism. While the latter has proven to be inevitable due to the explosion of electronic music on the world stage, smaller companies attempt to stay beyond notice by holding their events albeit in conventional club land but out of the larger public view. Larger companies, while they have opted for

commercialism, attempt to re-introduce early rave cultures ideals which are impossible due to the regularised and normalized way in which these events have become.

It is true that the transformative aspects of this space are closely related to various cultural spaces in general and the way in which commercialisation and mainstream co-optation have altered them in various forms. Perhaps a means of thinking progressively about this transformation is to examine what has been lost with early rave culture in this contested space. Its ability to take up public spaces, albeit only for one evening, gave participants and organizers ownership of a space. However, the move to clubs and city-owned properties as a result of commercialism and co-optation allows the city to capture this space and bring it under control and detail. The result is the public feels less threatened and concerned about these events and venues and the city is able to protect its image as responsible and caring about its youth.

Further exploration of this topic would be useful through a cross-cultural comparison between different Canadian cities such as Montreal or Vancouver. This would provide the necessary data for comparison with Toronto and would also strengthen my argument. However, it is important to illustrate though that Toronto was the first Canadian city to enact significant legislation pertaining to this contested space and its participants/consumers. As a result, this would make any type of Canadian city comparison problematic to an extent unless the research was conducted five years later or with another North American city outside of Canada.

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Appendix 1

PROTOCOL FOR THE OPERATION OF SAFE DANCE EVENTS:

1. Venue

Organizers will provide to the Municipal Licensing and Standards Division (MLS), Urban Planning and Development Services Department, a list of commonly-used venues. The Department will co-ordinate checks of these locations to ensure that they are appropriately zoned. This will be communicated to the operators.

For new venues, organizers will be required to submit to MLS details of any proposed location. MLS will undertake to check zoning, and the organizers will be advised of the results within two days of the date of notification. Upon confirmation of appropriate zoning, the organizer must submit a report from an architect or engineer that the venue complies with applicable Building Code requirements. No report will be required for venues already legally zoned and used for Assembly Occupancies. Fire Services will verify compliance and confirm occupant load.

Organizers are cautioned that they must build sufficient lead time into their own process to recognize that some locations submitted for review will not be appropriate for various reasons. There will be a fee for individual venue review, in the order of \$125.00.

2. Density

The safe occupant load, as determined by the above noted review, will establish the “cap” on ticket sales. Organizers agree not to sell tickets or admit participants over the number allowed by the occupancy permit.

3. Water

Organizers will make arrangements so that patrons will have unrestricted access to a supply of running water, at no charge.

4. Toilets/Portolets

Organizers agree to provide toilets as per existing legislation.

5. Fresh Air

Organizers agree to provide adequate ventilation as per existing legislation.

6. Food

If food is served, it will be served as per existing legislation.

7. Smoking

No smoking as per existing legislation.

8. Security

One bonded and OPP licensed security for every entrance location (secure the site) and one for every 100 patrons.

9. Paid Duty Officers

As a guideline, for raves in excess of 500 patrons, there will be a minimum of two Paid Duty Officers (PDO's), and a ration of one per 500 patrons. Based on a review of the location and availability of private security, the commander of the appropriate police division may amend this guideline.

10. Ambulance Services

For raves with more than 1,000 patrons, the promoter will contract with Ambulance Services for the provision of paramedical services during peak hours (minimum four hours).

11. Drug/Health Education

All organizers will provide space for community-based drug and health education projects. The specific project to provide services will be at the discretion of the organizer. Organizers agree to donate a portion of profits to non-profit drug/health education projects of their choice. This contribution is not intended to replace adequate city funding of drug/health education projects.

12. Communications

Organizers will communicate to appropriate city authorities the confirmed location and the estimated maximum number of patrons for an event at least one week in advance of the event. This will, in turn, be communicated by MLS to the offices of those Ward Councilors who have requested such notification.

13. Definition of a Rave

A rave is a public, all ages, commercial electronic music event held in a special event venue attended by ticket or pass holders generally extending into hours when entertainment venues are usually closed.

14. Review of Requirements

These standards will be reviewed periodically. Such a review will include organizers of various-sized events, patrons, and other key stakeholders such as security companies, venue owners, and health projects and will include options such as licensing of rave organizations.



1ST SESSION, 37TH LEGISLATURE, ONTARIO
49 ELIZABETH II, 2000

1^{re} SESSION, 37^e LÉGISLATURE, ONTARIO
49 ELIZABETH II, 2000

Bill 73

**An Act to promote
public peace and safety by
regulating late-night dance events**

Projet de loi 73

**Loi visant à promouvoir
la paix et la sécurité publiques
en réglementant les danses nocturnes**

Mrs. Pupatello

Mme Pupatello

Private Member's Bill

Projet de loi de député

1st Reading May 3, 2000
2nd Reading
3rd Reading
Royal Assent

1^{re} lecture 3 mai 2000
2^e lecture
3^e lecture
Sanction royale

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of Ontario

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de l'Ontario



EXPLANATORY NOTE

The purpose of this Bill is to regulate parties known as raves. The Bill defines a rave as a dance event occurring between 2:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m., for which admission is charged. The Bill prohibits anyone from holding a rave unless the local municipality has issued a permit. No one may promote or organize a rave or sell tickets to a rave unless a permit has been issued. As well, the Bill prohibits anyone from allowing the use of property for the holding of raves unless a permit has been issued for the rave.

Municipalities may issue or renew permits subject to conditions. They may also suspend or revoke permits. Permits may be granted for one or many raves. If a permit is issued for raves on an ongoing basis, it expires one year from the date it is issued, unless a shorter period appears on the permit. Circumstances are also prescribed where permits are not to be issued.

The Bill requires that permit holders ensure that a person attending a rave leaves if the person is on the premises for an unlawful purpose. The permit holder and the agents and employees of the permit holder may request that such persons leave immediately, and if the request is not complied with, they may forcibly remove the person.

The Bill gives police officers the authority to enter any place where they reasonably believe a rave is being held in violation of the Act or a by-law made under it. Police officers may also require all persons to vacate the premises, if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the Act or a by-law is being violated, or that a disturbance or breach of the peace sufficient to constitute a threat to public safety is being caused.

Municipalities may restrict the geographic areas in the municipality where raves may be held, prescribe standards for the holding of raves, require applicants to provide local residents with notice of an application, and fix fees for applications.

The Bill provides for two types of offences. First, persons who promote or hold a rave without a permit, allow their property to be used for the purposes of holding a rave without a permit, knowingly provide false information in an application, or fail to meet specific obligations imposed by the Act, by a by-law or by a permit. For such offences, corporations can be fined up to \$50,000, individuals face up to a \$10,000 fine or up to six months imprisonment or to both. Second, persons who attend a rave and fail to abide by a direction to vacate the premises. For this offence, individuals can be fined up to \$5,000.

NOTE EXPLICATIVE

Le projet de loi a pour but de réglementer les fêtes appelées raves. Le projet de loi définit un rave comme une danse qui se tient entre 2 et 6 h et dont l'entrée est payante. Le projet de loi interdit à quiconque de tenir un rave, sauf si la municipalité locale a délivré un permis. Nul ne peut promouvoir ou organiser un rave ni vendre des billets pour un rave, sauf si un permis a été délivré. En outre, le projet de loi interdit à quiconque de permettre qu'une propriété serve à la tenue d'un rave, sauf si un permis a été délivré à l'égard du rave.

Une municipalité peut délivrer ou renouveler un permis sous réserve de certaines conditions. Elle peut aussi suspendre ou révoquer un permis. Le permis peut autoriser un ou plusieurs raves. Le permis qui autorise la tenue de raves de façon continue expire un an à compter de sa date de délivrance, sauf si une période plus courte y figure. Les circonstances dans lesquelles un permis ne doit pas être délivré sont prescrites.

Le projet de loi exige que le titulaire d'un permis veille à ce qu'une personne qui participe à un rave quitte le local si elle s'y trouve dans un dessein illicite. Le titulaire du permis ainsi que ses mandataires et employés peuvent demander à une telle personne de sortir immédiatement et l'expulser de force si elle ne se conforme pas à la demande.

Le projet de loi donne aux agents de police le pouvoir de pénétrer dans tout lieu où ils croient, en se fondant sur des motifs raisonnables, qu'un rave se tient contrairement à la Loi ou à un règlement municipal adopté en vertu de celle-ci. Les agents de police peuvent également exiger que toutes les personnes présentes quittent le local s'ils ont des motifs raisonnables de croire qu'il est contrevenu à la Loi ou à un règlement municipal ou que des troubles ou une atteinte à la paix publique sont causés et donnent lieu de craindre que la sécurité publique sera mise en danger.

Une municipalité peut limiter les zones géographiques de la municipalité où les raves peuvent se tenir, prescrire des normes à l'égard de la tenue des raves, exiger de l'auteur d'une demande qu'il donne aux résidents locaux un avis de la demande et fixer des droits relatifs aux demandes.

Le projet de loi prévoit deux types d'infractions. Le premier vise quiconque tient un rave ou en fait la promotion sans permis, permet que sa propriété serve à la tenue d'un rave sans permis, fournit sciemment de faux renseignements dans une demande ou ne remplit pas certaines obligations précises imposées par la Loi, un règlement municipal ou un permis. Une personne morale déclarée coupable de ces infractions est passible d'une amende d'au plus 50 000 \$ et un particulier, d'une amende d'au plus 10 000 \$ et d'un emprisonnement d'au plus six mois, ou d'une seule de ces peines. Le deuxième type d'infractions vise quiconque participe à un rave et ne se conforme pas à un ordre de quitter le local. Un particulier déclaré coupable de cette infraction est passible d'une amende d'au plus 5 000 \$.

Bill 73

2000

Projet de loi 73

2000

**An Act to promote
public peace and safety by
regulating late-night dance events**

**Loi visant à promouvoir
la paix et la sécurité publiques
en réglementant les danses nocturnes**

Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:

Sa Majesté, sur l'avis et avec le consentement de l'Assemblée législative de la province de l'Ontario, édicte :

Definitions

1. In this Act,

1. Les définitions qui suivent s'appliquent à la présente loi. Définitions

“Minister” means the member of the Executive Council to whom the administration of this Act is assigned by the Lieutenant Governor in Council; (“ministre”)

«ministre» Le membre du Conseil exécutif que le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil charge de l'application de la présente loi. («Minister»)

“municipality” means a city, town, village or township; (“municipalité”)

«municipalité» Cité, ville, village ou canton. («municipality»)

“rave” means an event with all of the following attributes:

«rave» Événement qui réunit toutes les conditions suivantes :

1. Any part of the event occurs between 2 a.m. and 6:00 a.m.
2. People must pay money or give some other consideration to participate in the event.
3. The primary activity at the event is dancing by the participants.
4. The event does not take place in a private dwelling. (“rave”)

1. Toute partie de l'événement se déroule entre 2 et 6 h.
2. Les gens doivent verser de l'argent ou donner toute autre contrepartie pour participer à l'événement.
3. La principale activité de l'événement est la danse que les participants exécutent.
4. L'événement ne se déroule pas dans un logement privé. («rave»)

Prohibition

2. (1) No person shall hold a rave unless the person holds a permit for the rave.

2. (1) Nul ne doit tenir un rave à moins d'être titulaire d'un permis à cet effet. Interdiction

Promotion and ticket sales

(2) No person shall promote or organize a rave, or offer, distribute or sell tickets to a rave, unless a permit has been issued with respect to the rave.

(2) Nul ne doit promouvoir ou organiser un rave ni offrir, distribuer ou vendre des billets pour un rave, sauf si un permis a été délivré à l'égard du rave. Promotion et vente de billets

Use of property

(3) No person shall allow property to be used for the holding of a rave unless a permit has been issued for the rave.

(3) Nul ne doit permettre qu'une propriété serve à la tenue d'un rave, sauf si un permis a été délivré à l'égard du rave. Utilisation d'une propriété

Permit for raves

3. (1) A person wishing to hold one or more raves may apply to the municipality in which the rave would be held for a permit.

3. (1) La personne qui désire tenir un ou plusieurs raves peut présenter une demande de permis à la municipalité dans laquelle le rave se tiendrait. Permis autorisant des raves

Permits prohibited

(2) A municipality shall not issue a permit in any of the following circumstances:

(2) La municipalité ne doit pas délivrer de permis dans l'une quelconque des circonstances suivantes : Permis interdits

1. The past conduct of the applicant affords reasonable grounds for belief that the applicant will not carry on business

1. La conduite antérieure de l'auteur de la demande offre des motifs raisonnables de croire qu'il n'exercera pas ses activi-

in accordance with the law and with integrity and honesty.

2. Within six months preceding the date of the application, the applicant has been convicted of an offence under this Act, or the *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act* (Canada).
3. Within six months preceding the date of the application, a person has been convicted of an offence occurring at a rave held by the applicant under,
 - i. the *Liquor Licence Act*,
 - ii. the *Fire Protection and Prevention Act, 1997*,
 - iii. the *Health Protection and Promotion Act*,
 - iv. any by-law concerning the regulation of noise, maximum occupancy, or fire safety,
 - v. the *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act* (Canada), or
 - vi. the *Criminal Code* (Canada).
4. The applicant makes a false statement or provides false information when applying for the permit.
5. The applicant is in default of payment of a fine imposed upon conviction for an offence under this Act.
6. It is not in the public interest to issue the permit having regard to the needs and wishes of the residents of the municipality in which the premises are located.

Non-applicability of para. 3, subs. (2)

(3) Paragraph 3 of subsection (2) does not apply if the municipality is satisfied that the applicant took all reasonable steps to prevent the offence from occurring.

Permits for one or more raves

(4) A permit may be for one or more specified raves or may authorize the holder of a permit to hold raves on an ongoing basis.

Expiry

(5) A permit to hold raves on an ongoing basis shall expire one year from the date it is issued, unless a shorter period is specified in the permit.

Issue or renew

(6) If a municipality is satisfied that the grounds set out in subsection (2) do not exist, the municipality may issue or renew a permit.

tés commerciales conformément à la loi et avec intégrité et honnêteté.

2. Dans les six mois précédant la date de la demande, l'auteur de la demande a été déclaré coupable d'une infraction à la présente loi ou à la *Loi réglementant certaines drogues et autres substances* (Canada).
3. Dans les six mois précédant la date de la demande, une personne a été déclarée coupable d'avoir commis, pendant un rave que tenait l'auteur de la demande, une infraction, selon le cas :
 - i. à la *Loi sur les permis d'alcool*,
 - ii. à la *Loi de 1997 sur la prévention et la protection contre l'incendie*,
 - iii. à la *Loi sur la protection et la promotion de la santé*,
 - iv. à tout règlement municipal portant sur la réglementation du bruit, de l'occupation maximale ou de la sécurité-incendie,
 - v. à la *Loi réglementant certaines drogues et autres substances* (Canada),
 - vi. au *Code criminel* (Canada).
4. L'auteur de la demande fait une fausse déclaration ou fournit des renseignements inexacts lorsqu'il présente sa demande de permis.
5. L'auteur de la demande a omis de payer une amende imposée à l'égard d'une déclaration de culpabilité pour une infraction à la présente loi.
6. Il n'est pas dans l'intérêt public de délivrer le permis, compte tenu des besoins et des souhaits des résidents de la municipalité où se trouve le local.

(3) La disposition 3 du paragraphe (2) ne s'applique pas si la municipalité est convaincue que l'auteur de la demande a pris toutes les mesures raisonnables pour prévenir la commission de l'infraction.

(4) Le permis peut autoriser un ou plusieurs raves précisés ou autoriser le titulaire du permis à tenir des raves de façon continue.

(5) Le permis autorisant la tenue de raves de façon continue expire un an à compter de sa date de délivrance, sauf si une période plus courte y est précisée.

(6) La municipalité qui est convaincue que les motifs énoncés au paragraphe (2) n'existent pas peut délivrer ou renouveler un permis.

Non-application de la disp. 3 du par. (2)

Permis autorisant un ou plusieurs raves

Expiration

Délivrance ou renouvellement

Permit may be subject to conditions	(7) A permit shall specify the location at which the holder may hold a rave and may be made subject to any conditions that the municipality considers advisable to ensure the public peace and to ensure the safety of the public and of participants in the rave.	(7) Le permis précise le lieu où le titulaire du permis peut tenir le rave, et il peut être assorti de toutes conditions que la municipalité juge nécessaires pour assurer la paix publique ainsi que la sécurité du public et des participants au rave.	Conditions du permis
Permits suspended or revoked	(8) A municipality may suspend or revoke a permit for any ground set out in subsection (2) by which it could decline to issue a permit.	(8) Une municipalité peut suspendre ou révoquer un permis pour l'un quelconque des motifs énoncés au paragraphe (2) pour lesquels elle pourrait refuser de délivrer un permis.	Permis suspendus ou révoqués
Opportunity to make written submissions	(9) Before a municipality intends to issue or renew a permit with conditions, refuse to issue a permit or suspend or revoke a permit, the municipality shall afford the applicant an opportunity to make written submissions.	(9) Avant qu'elle envisage de délivrer ou de renouveler un permis assorti de conditions, de refuser de délivrer un permis, ou de suspendre ou de révoquer un permis, la municipalité donne à l'auteur de la demande l'occasion de présenter des observations écrites.	Observations écrites
Minister's permit	(10) A person wishing to hold one or more raves in a place that is in territory without municipal organization may apply for a permit to the Minister, and subsections (2) to (9) apply with necessary modifications to the issuance of the permit.	(10) La personne qui désire tenir un ou plusieurs raves dans un lieu situé dans un territoire non érigé en municipalité peut présenter une demande de permis au ministre et les paragraphes (2) à (9) s'appliquent, avec les adaptations nécessaires, à la délivrance du permis.	Permis délivré par le ministre
Removing persons from premises	4. (1) The permit holder shall ensure that a person attending the rave does not remain on the premises if the permit holder has reasonable grounds to believe that the person, (a) is on the premises for an unlawful purpose; or (b) is contravening the law on the premises.	4. (1) Le titulaire d'un permis veille à ce qu'une personne qui participe au rave ne demeure pas dans le local s'il a des motifs raisonnables de croire : a) soit qu'elle s'y trouve dans un dessein illicite; b) soit qu'elle y contrevient à la loi.	Expulsion d'un local
Same	(2) The permit holder or any of the permit holder's agents or employees may request a person referred to in subsection (1) to leave the premises immediately and if the request is not complied with immediately, the permit holder or any of the permit holder's agents may remove the person or cause the person to be removed by the use of no more force than is necessary.	(2) Le titulaire d'un permis ou un de ses mandataires ou employés peut demander à la personne visée au paragraphe (1) de quitter le local immédiatement. Si la personne ne se conforme pas immédiatement à sa demande, le titulaire du permis ou un de ses mandataires peut l'expulser ou la faire expulser en ne faisant usage que de la force nécessaire.	Idem
Right to refuse entry	(3) A permit holder or an employee or agent of the permit holder who has reason to believe that the presence of a person in the place where the rave is held is undesirable may, (a) request the person to leave; or (b) forbid the person to enter the licensed premises.	(3) Le titulaire d'un permis ou un de ses employés ou mandataires qui a des motifs de croire que la présence d'une personne dans le lieu où se tient le rave est indésirable peut : a) soit lui demander de sortir; b) soit lui interdire l'entrée du local pourvu d'un permis.	Droit de refuser l'entrée
Not to remain after request to leave	(4) No person shall, (a) remain in the place where the rave is held after he or she is requested to leave by the permit holder or an employee or agent of the permit holder; or (b) re-enter the place where the rave is held once he or she is requested to leave.	(4) Nul ne doit : a) soit demeurer dans le lieu où se tient le rave après avoir été prié d'en sortir par le titulaire de permis ou un de ses employés ou mandataires; b) soit entrer de nouveau dans le lieu où se tient le rave après avoir été prié d'en sortir.	Interdiction de demeurer dans le local

Inspections	<p>5. (1) For the purpose of ensuring compliance with this Act, a police officer may, without warrant or court order, enter any place where the police officer reasonably believes that a rave is being held in contravention of this Act or a by-law under this Act.</p>	<p>5. (1) Pour s'assurer de l'observation de la présente loi, un agent de police peut, sans mandat ni ordonnance judiciaire, pénétrer en tout lieu où il croit, en se fondant sur des motifs raisonnables, qu'il se tient un rave contrairement à la présente loi ou à un règlement municipal adopté en vertu de celle-ci.</p>	Inspections
Same	<p>(2) During an inspection under subsection (1), a police officer may,</p> <p>(a) make reasonable inquiries of any person; and</p> <p>(b) require the production for inspection of any document or thing that may be relevant to the inspection.</p>	<p>(2) Pendant l'inspection visée au paragraphe (1), un agent de police peut :</p> <p>a) d'une part, mener des enquêtes raisonnables auprès d'une personne;</p> <p>b) d'autre part, exiger la production, aux fins d'examen, des documents ou des choses pertinents.</p>	Idem
Removing persons from premises	<p>6. (1) If there are reasonable grounds to believe that this Act or a by-law under this Act is being contravened on any premises, or that a disturbance or breach of the peace sufficient to constitute a threat to the public safety is being caused on premises for which a permit is issued, a police officer may require that all persons vacate the premises.</p>	<p>6. (1) S'il existe des motifs raisonnables de croire qu'il est contrevenu à la présente loi ou à un règlement municipal adopté en vertu de celle-ci dans un local, ou que des troubles ou une atteinte à la paix publique sont causés dans un local à l'égard duquel un permis est délivré et donnent lieu de craindre que la sécurité publique sera mise en danger, un agent de police peut exiger que toutes les personnes quittent le local.</p>	Expulsion de personnes d'un local
Same	<p>(2) Where a direction is given by a police officer under subsection (1), the permit holder shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that the premises are vacated.</p>	<p>(2) Lorsqu'un agent de police donne un ordre en vertu du paragraphe (1), le titulaire du permis prend toutes les mesures raisonnables pour faire évacuer le local.</p>	Idem
By-laws	<p>7. A municipality may pass by-laws,</p> <p>(a) restricting the holding of raves to such geographic area or areas as may be specified in the by-laws;</p> <p>(b) prescribing conditions for permits, including any requirements for obtaining, continuing to hold, or renewing a permit;</p> <p>(c) respecting any matter dealing with the application process for a permit including imposing requirements on the applicant to provide any affected residents with notice of an application, and providing residents with an opportunity to be heard before the application is approved;</p> <p>(d) establishing standards for the holding of raves;</p> <p>(e) fixing fees to be charged to an applicant for a permit for the cost of administering and enforcing this Act and the by-laws.</p>	<p>7. Une municipalité peut, par règlement municipal :</p> <p>a) limiter la tenue de raves à une ou à plusieurs zones géographiques que précisent les règlements municipaux;</p> <p>b) prescrire les conditions des permis, y compris toute obligation d'obtenir, de continuer à détenir ou de renouveler un permis;</p> <p>c) traiter de toute question liée au processus de demande d'un permis, y compris imposer à l'auteur d'une demande l'obligation de donner à tout résident concerné un avis de la demande, et donner aux résidents une occasion d'être entendu avant d'approuver la demande;</p> <p>d) établir des normes à l'égard de la tenue des raves;</p> <p>e) fixer les droits exigés de l'auteur d'une demande de permis pour couvrir les frais d'application et d'exécution de la présente loi et des règlements municipaux.</p>	Règlements municipaux
Offence	<p>8. (1) A person is guilty of an offence who,</p>	<p>8. (1) Est coupable d'une infraction qui-</p>	Infraction

	(a) knowingly furnishes false information in any application under this Act;	a) fournit sciemment de faux renseignements dans une demande présentée en vertu de la présente loi;	
	(b) contravenes subsection 5 (4) or fails to vacate the premises in accordance with a direction given under subsection 7 (1); or	b) contrevient au paragraphe 5 (4) ou omet de quitter le local conformément à l'ordre donné en vertu du paragraphe 7 (1);	
	(c) contravenes section 2, subsections 5 (1), 7 (2), any condition of a permit, or any by-law.	c) contrevient à l'article 2, aux paragraphes 5 (1) ou 7 (2), à toute condition d'un permis ou à tout règlement municipal.	
Derivative	(2) A director or officer of a corporation who caused, authorized, permitted or participated in an offence under this Act by the corporation is guilty of an offence.	(2) Est coupable d'une infraction tout administrateur ou dirigeant d'une personne morale qui a causé, autorisé ou permis la commission d'une infraction à la présente loi par la personne morale, ou qui y a été partie.	Infraction dérivée
Penalties	(3) Upon conviction for an offence under clause (1) (a) or (c) or subsection (2),	(3) S'ils sont déclarés coupables d'une infraction prévue à l'alinéa (1) a) ou c) ou au paragraphe (2) :	Peines
	(a) a corporation is liable to a fine of not more than \$50,000; and	a) une personne morale est passible d'une amende d'au plus 50 000 \$;	
	(b) an individual is liable to a fine of not more than \$10,000 or to imprisonment for a term of not more than six months or both.	b) un particulier est passible d'une amende d'au plus 10 000 \$ et d'un emprisonnement d'au plus six mois, ou d'une seule de ces peines.	
Same	(4) Upon conviction for an offence under clause (1) (b), a person is liable to a fine of not more than \$5,000.	(4) Quiconque est déclaré coupable d'une infraction prévue à l'alinéa (1) b) est passible d'une amende d'au plus 5 000 \$.	Idem
Commencement	9. This Act comes into force on the day it receives Royal Assent.	9. La présente loi entre en vigueur le jour où elle reçoit la sanction royale.	Entrée en vigueur
Short title	10. The short title of this Act is the <i>Raves Act, 2000</i> .	10. Le titre abrégé de la présente loi est <i>Loi de 2000 sur les raves</i> .	Titre abrégé

Appendix 3

JURY RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE DEATH OF ALLEN HO

We express sympathy to the family of Allen Ho and hope that our recommendations may be helpful in preventing further tragedies at raves and similar dance events.

The following recommendations are not presented in any particular order of priority

Rationale: We the jury, agree that there is a need for safe venues for raves and severe restrictions on rave promoters will defeat the intent of these recommendations.

- (1) We the jury recommend that the City of Toronto continue its collaborative efforts with all departments of the City, including Fire, police and ambulance services to ensure that all municipal bylaws and codes are met and if not, that the premises be closed prior to a rave event taking place.
- (2) We the jury recommend that city-owned properties in Toronto as well as private venues be made available for raves subject to a licensing/permitting system based on the Toronto Dance Safety Committee Protocol and with adoption by all parties including the Toronto City Council. We further recommend that access to UNLIMITED DRINKING WATER at each venue must be part of this agreement to alleviate the effects of prolonged dancing and subsequent dehydration in some ravers in a warm or high temperature environment.
- (3) We the jury recommend that the licensing/permitting system includes provisions restricting admission to raves to those aged 16 and over.
- (4) We the jury recommend that the licensing/permitting system includes advertising guidelines for raves forbidding explicit or suggestive depiction of drugs and drug use.
- (5) We the jury recommend that ticket agencies which contract to print and/or sell tickets for raves be required to indicate the following:
 - (a) the location of the event on each ticket. Failure to do so may indicate that they are condoning an illegal, underground event.
 - (b) the event as 'drug free' with information relating to searches and the consequences of the discovery of illicit drugs
 - (c) the minimum age of 16 admission.
- (6) We the jury recommend the following policy on 'searches.'
 - (a) Search areas should be clearly indicated by either a sign or a poster which

includes a warning that anyone found in possession of an illicit drug will not be admitted, will be removed from the premises and possibly arrested. Without exception, those found in possession of an illicit drug will be removed or refused admittance.

(b) Security guards working at raves should be specifically directed to refuse to admit and remove from the site any person found to be in possession of an alleged illicit drug.

(c) A pay duty uniform police officer should be stationed at the entry to any event holding a rave for the purpose of supervising the search procedure. This will ensure that any person who is alleged to have committed an indictable offence will be arrested and charged accordingly.

(7) We the jury recommend that the ratio of pay duty officers per patron at raves should be the subject of general regulatory guidelines. These guidelines should be flexible and allow for both an increase and decrease in the number of both uniform and undercover pay duty officers as warranted. As much as possible, the issue should be resolved by the local police service responsible for the area where a rave is to be held and the rave promoters and/or the property owners.

(8) We the jury recommend that the power to inspect and close a rave should be part of any legislation passed by the provincial government and any municipal government. The provisions set out in section 6 and 7 of the **Raves Act 2000** should be used as a model for the power to close a rave party which poses a threat to public safety.

(9) We the jury encourage the Provincial Legislature to consult with all parties that may be affected by the passage of the **Raves Act 2000** including the rave community, rave promoters and others who conduct business interests in this area, municipalities, law enforcement agencies, public health education officials, the Coroner's office and all other legitimately interested parties.

Rationale: Evidence has been heard at this inquest that some youth of this province take illicit drugs and at different setting including raves. The drugs which appear most prevalent at raves include marijuana, ecstasy, GHB and ketamine but prevalence of drug use in all settings changes continuously. Therefore, it is very important to educate youth about the risks associated with these and other drugs.

(10) We the jury recommend that:

(a) public health departments throughout this province that work locally and regionally with all health care practitioners (especially those working in emergency departments), police, school boards and representatives of the youth at risk, develop educational strategies targeted at the drug use problem(s) present in the community.

(b) educational strategies in addition to "Just Say No" should include and support "Harm Reduction" as promoted by the Toronto Harm Reduction Task Force and

the Toronto Rave Info Project (TRIP); the latter provides harm reduction information at raves by volunteers at booths approved and/or requested by the promoters.

(c) a \$.50 surtax be added to admission to raves, the proceeds of which shall be handed over to the rave community-based harm reduction projects. This is not intended to reduce or replace government funding for such programs.

(d) educational strategies for "ravers" take into account the unique situation of a rave party. They consist of long overnight hours, prolonged and energetic dancing, propensity for dehydration, high temperatures inside the venues and that some attendees will be exposed to and may take MDMA (ecstasy) or other party drugs.

(11) We the jury recommend that the City of Toronto and the Province of Ontario consider the funding (or where some funding is provided consider increases in funding) for community groups such as the Toronto Harm Reduction Task Force and the Toronto Rave Info Project to facilitate their contact with, and increase their abilities to provide information to, youth at risk

(12) We the jury recommend that the City of Toronto with the Province of Ontario fund the creation of a video, a web site and other educational materials that will realistically portray the risks of ecstasy and other party drugs – for use in schools and for the edification of parents and the community.

(13) We the jury recommend that this verdict including all recommendations be sent to the Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario. We the jury request that the minister forward the verdict to appropriate representatives in the school boards throughout his province so that they are aware of some of the drug related issues identified at this inquest. This may help with planning future curricula related to illicit drug use.

Rationale: Evidence has been heard at this inquest that currently there are no satisfactory mechanisms in place to allow public health departments to collect and centralize information regarding use of illicit drugs in the community. As an example, there is no mechanism in place for public health officials to learn about hospital emergency department visits where patients present themselves with the toxic effects of drug use.

As such:

(14) We the jury recommend that:

(a) illicit drug use, as diagnosed by a physician, become a reportable disease so that public health departments can detect changing patterns of drug use. This information should respect the confidentiality and privacy of the patients.

(b) those working in hospitals and its emergency departments be informed of

changes in pattern of drug use in the community.

(15) We the jury recommend that the Government of Canada re-establish and sufficiently fund Canada's Drug Awareness Strategy by providing training and materials to law enforcement agencies and education to all Canadians regarding the costs and effects of drugs in our society.

(16) We the jury recommend that Federal and/or Provincial funding be made available to police agencies in Ontario in order to train some police officers and DRE's (Drug Recognition Experts). These officers could then support frontline officers in establishing whether a person was under the influence of drugs, type of drug and the need for medical attention.

(17) We the jury recommend that judges involved in the administration of justice recognize the need for meaningful sentences to those who traffic to young people and are involved in the exploitation of the vulnerable most often at the profit of organized crime.

Rationale: Recognizing that certain illicit drugs are manufactured in clandestine laboratories in the province and that certain chemical precursors (substrates) would appear to have limited if any other purpose, i.e. (MDP2P)

(18) We the jury recommend that the Government of Canada through, Health Canada and the Minister of Justice, consult law enforcement agencies, public health departments, the Centre of Forensic Science and other stakeholders to consider amending the schedule of prohibited chemical precursors to include those substances which are a present and realistic concern in the illicit drug trade.

(19) We the jury recommend that the Chief Coroner for Ontario provide a progress report on the status of implementation of the recommendations approximately one year after the conclusion of this inquest.

It is the unanimous opinion of this jury that, as in our opening remarks expressing the need for safe rave venues, all of these recommendations are intended to foster safe, licensed raves.

**Establishment of Late Night Entertainment Event Protocol
(Including Raves) and Co-ordinated Response to Inquest
Recommendations into the Death of Allen Ho**

The Community Services Committee recommends:

- (a) the adoption of the report dated July 10, 2000, from the Commissioner of Urban Development Services, subject to amending Recommendation No. (1) by deleting the words “if Council wishes to allow for late night entertainment events on City property then”, and inserting in lieu thereof the words “Council allow late night entertainment events to be held on City property; and further that”, so that the recommendations now read as follows:

“It is recommended that:

- (1) Council allow late night entertainment events to be held on City property; and further that:
- (a) leases, licences, contracts or other arrangements permitting the use of City property or the property of the City’s Agencies, Boards or Commissions be required to include a clause in the form or substantially in the form of the clause attached to this report and marked Appendix “A”; and
- (b) the City adopt the Entertainment Event Protocol for City-owned property, marked as Appendix “B”, to form part of the arrangement under Recommendation No. (1)(a) above;
- (2) the Entertainment Event Protocol be extended to private property;
- (3) the Province of Ontario be requested to provide enabling legislation to create a large assembly by-law; and
- (4) the appropriate City officials be authorized to take the necessary action to give effect thereto.”;
- (b) the adoption of the recommendations of the Board of Governors of Exhibition Place contained in the communication dated July 5, 2000, from the General Manager and CEO, subject to amending Recommendation No. (1) by adding the words “Emergency Medical Services” after the word “security”, so that the recommendations now read as follows:

“It is recommended that:

- (1) City Council authorize Exhibition Place to continue to hold Raves after concerns about security, Emergency Medical Services, and paid duty policing have been worked out to the satisfaction of Exhibition Place and City Council;**
 - (2) the report from the General Manager and CEO with respect to “Raves at Exhibition Place” be received for information; and**
 - (3) the appropriate Exhibition Place officials be authorized and directed to take the necessary action to give effect thereto.”; and**
- (c) that City Council be requested to resubmit to the Province of Ontario for consideration and implementation the suggestions prepared by the Municipal Licensing and Standards Division for provincial measures to strengthen municipal efforts to maintain safe communities and to deal with problem addresses, which were originally presented at a meeting co-ordinated by the Province on March 14, 2000 on Integrated Enforcement.**

The Community Services Committee reports, for the information of Council, having:

- (i) directed that the Commissioner of Community and Neighbourhood Services, in consultation with the Commissioner of Urban Development Services, be requested to co-ordinate the responses from the Toronto Police Services Board, Toronto Fire Services, Toronto Ambulance Services, and any other appropriate Departments with respect to their recommended protocol for entertainment events on City and private property; and that a comprehensive report and recommendations thereon be submitted to a special meeting of the Community Services Committee, to be held prior to the August 1, 2000, meeting of City Council;**
- (ii) directed that the Toronto Police Services Board be urged to:**
 - (a) reconfirm the Rave Protocol ratio guidelines (passed by City Council in December 1999) of needed police officers as being 1 police officer for every 500 participants;**
 - (b) consult with communities and organizers of events, such as Caribana, Toronto Lesbian and Gay Pride Day, and New Year’s Eve parties, the Toronto Dance Safety Committee, and major music and dance promoters, which will be affected if the Chief of Police recommends a change to the Rave Protocol ratio guidelines of more than 1 police officer to 500 participants;**
 - (c) review the feasibility of establishing a formula governing the number of paid duty officers to participants at an event that would ensure consistent application of the protocol, and the feasibility of establishing a review and appeal process; and**

- (d) include "after hours clubs" in its proposed entertainment event protocol, and the hours of operation of such clubs;

and report thereon to the proposed special meeting of the Community Services Committee to be held prior to the August 1, 2000, City Council meeting;

- (iii) the appropriate staff be requested to report to the proposed special meeting of the Community Services Committee on the estimated costs of implementation of the protocol as it relates to the average Rave event; and
- (iv) received the joint report dated July 11, 2000, from the Commissioner of Works and Emergency Services and the General Manager, Toronto Ambulance, and the communication dated June 27, 2000, from the Toronto Youth Cabinet.

The Community Services Committee submits the following report (July 10, 2000) from the Commissioner of Urban Development Services:

Purpose:

To provide a co-ordinated response to the inquest recommendations regarding the death of Allen Ho.

Financial Implications and Impact Statement:

Nil.

Recommendations:

It is recommended that:

- (1) if Council wishes to allow for late night entertainment events on City property then:
 - (a) leases, licences, contracts, or other arrangements permitting the use of City property, or the property of the City's Agencies, Boards or Commissions be required to include a clause in the form or substantially in the form of the clause attached to this report and marked Appendix "A"; and
 - (b) the City adopt the Entertainment Event Protocol for City-owned property, marked as Appendix "B", to form part of the arrangement under Recommendation No. (1)(a) above;
- (2) the Entertainment Event Protocol be extended to private property;
- (3) the Province of Ontario be requested to provide enabling legislation to create a large assembly by-law; and

- (4) the appropriate City officials be authorized to give effect thereto.

Background:

This report addresses the Mayor's request for a co-ordinated response to the Ho Inquest Recommendations (Appendix "C") and Resolutions Nos. (3) (5) and (9) below, from Council's meeting of May 9, 10 and 11, 2000:

- (1) that all Agencies, Boards, Commissions and Departments immediately suspend the leasing of any City-owned facility for the purpose of holding Rave parties;
- (2) that the Chief of Police report to the August 1, 2 and 3, 2000, meeting of Toronto City Council, through the Toronto Police Services Board and the Policy and Finance Committee, on:
 - (a) a recommended policy and course of action for the control and eradication of illegal drugs at Rave parties and other related parties that occur at all facilities, including non City-owned properties, which may include restricting the hours of operation; and
 - (b) the policy of paid duty officers at Rave parties and other related parties that occur at all facilities, including non City-owned properties;
- (3) that the City continue to use the Toronto Dance Safety Committee to review the safety and health issues surrounding dance events, including a new protocol to eliminate inappropriate advertisement for these events;
- (4) that the Mayor write the provincial and federal governments and urge them to increase funding for educational activities aimed at reducing and eliminating the use of illegal drugs;
- (5) that Rave parties taking place on any City-owned property, including facilities of Agencies, Boards, Commissions and Departments, be subject to advertising approval for that event by the affected City Agency, Board, Commission or Department;
- (6) that City Council request the newly established Substance Abuse Sub-Committee of the Board of Health to deal with drug-related issues at Rave parties and make recommendations to Council, through the Board of Health, around drug prevention and harm reduction;
- (7) that the Board of Health be requested to include a senior police representative to participate on the Substance Abuse Sub-Committee, and further that the Chief of Police be requested to make a senior level appointment in this regard;

- (8) that the Medical Officer of Health be requested to submit a report to the August 1, 2 and 3, 2000 meeting of City Council, through the Board of Health, on how to deal with illegal drug use at Raves and other related parties; and
- (9) that all discussions conducted and reports prepared on the issue of Rave parties include participation and consultation with officials from Toronto Ambulance and Toronto Fire Services.

Comments:

Staff of the Municipal Licensing and Standards Division have met with the Toronto Dance Safety Committee to review the health and safety issues surrounding dance events.

The following Departments/Agencies met on June 6, June 22 and July 6 to discuss the May 9-11 Resolutions of Council and the recommendations to the City, arising from the Coroner's Inquest into the death of Allen Ho:

Urban Development Services;
Toronto Police Service;
Toronto Fire Service;

Toronto Ambulance Service;
Public Health;
Corporate Services (Legal; Corporate Communications); and
Alcohol and Gaming Commission of Ontario.

Through our discussions, it is apparent that there are many large scale events which pose public safety problems. It is becoming more evident that there is a pressing need to address a range of public events in the solution we devise. All Departments/Agencies agree that the public safety issues that the regulators face go beyond dance events and that the issue definition should ultimately be broadened to deal with large assembly gatherings (indoor and outdoor), including those who gather for dance events.

The review group suggests that the guiding principles for developing a governing instrument (policy or licence or by-law) for large assembly gatherings include:

- (1) that it is for the purpose of preserving the health, safety and welfare of the participants and the community in which the large assembly gathering occurs; and
- (2) that it use a pre-defined risk assessment process against which proposed event gatherings are screened to determine appropriate level of response.

However, staff have been advised by the Legal Division of the Corporate Services Department that the municipality does not have the authority to pass a by-law which would deal with large assembly gatherings.

Therefore, the review group recommends that the following incremental approach (begin by dealing with entertainment events, including dances, and then broadening to large gathering assemblies) will enable the City of Toronto to address the dance issue without being perceived as unfairly targeting or discriminating against youth or the rave community, or any other community of interest. In effect, the pre-defined risk assessment will be applied to any event where large numbers gather.

A critical element of this approach is the Communication Strategy. The message for City staff (Licensing and enforcement staff) and the public is that the City of Toronto is putting into place a contractual requirement for regulating entertainment events (including dances) on City-owned property, in the interest of preserving the health, safety and welfare of the participants and the community. Voluntary adoption of the Entertainment Event Protocol will be encouraged for events on private property. Further, the City will be communicating that it is taking steps to deal with the broader issue of large assembly gatherings.

Step 1: Entertainment Events on City-Owned Property:

Entertainment Event: Definition:

An entertainment event is an event where the primary purpose is listening or dancing to music, and which extends into any part of the evening when an entertainment facility is normally closed.

City Council will consider, at its meeting of August 1-3, 2000, the reports from Public Health and the Toronto Police Service in response to the May 9-11, 2000 resolutions of Council. While we have not seen the Toronto Police Service report, police staff have provided us with drafts of protocols for Police, Fire and Ambulance in dealing with entertainment gatherings. The protocols require that a risk assessment model be applied. We believe the protocols will form part of the Chief's report to Council on August 1-3, 2000.

Should Council then decide to lift the ban on dances on City property (inside/outside), the City may, through the contractual process, impose an Entertainment Event Protocol (see Appendix "B"), somewhat like the Protocol for the Operation of Safe Dance Events, but including the newly proposed Police, Fire and Ambulance protocols. Advertising for these events must be screened by Toronto Public Health to ensure that the advertising does not specifically or tacitly endorse or promote drug use. The protocol applies to any entertainment event on City property. Compliance with it would be required for any application to Council for a Special Event licence on City property.

Step 2: Entertainment Events on Private Property:

The second step involves extending the Entertainment Event Protocol to private property, for voluntary adoption. Private property venues must already meet all existing occupancy requirements of the Fire Code, Building Code, etc.

Step 3: Press Province for Enabling Legislation to Create a Large Assembly By-law:

While Steps 1 and 2 are in progress, City staff will continue research and policy analysis of the option of a large assembly by-law for both City-owned and private property. Again, any such by-law should be premised on preservation of the health, safety and welfare of participants and the community, and apply a risk assessment model. Once the Province has passed enabling legislation, the City may introduce its by-law.

Consultation:

Staff of the Municipal Licensing and Standards Division have met with the Toronto Dance Safety Committee (TDSC) to review the health and safety issues surrounding dance events. On July 10, 2000, the TDSC indicated support for the concept of the Entertainment Event Protocol, subject to confirmation of the details.

Conclusions:

It is in the best interest of the City of Toronto that entertainment events on City-owned property be governed through the contractual process and the "Entertainment Event Protocol", while City staff continue to research and prepare policy for a large assembly by-law. Enabling legislation is required from the provincial government. Until such a by-law is in place, voluntary adoption of the Entertainment Event Protocol should be promoted for events on private property.

Contact:

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List of Appendices

Appendix "A" - Contractual Clause Governing Entertainment Events on City Property
Appendix "B" - Entertainment Event Protocol for City Property

Appendix "A"

"Applicable Laws" means any present or future law, by-law, rule, regulation, order, directive, procedure or protocol enacted, made adopted or promulgated by any federal, provincial, regional, or municipal authority, agency, or department having jurisdiction, including (without limiting the generality of the foregoing) all of the policies, procedures and protocols adopted and/or endorsed

by City Council, Toronto Police Services, Toronto Fire Services, and Ambulance Services, from time to time.

Compliance with Applicable Laws:

The Tenant shall, at its sole cost and expense, at all times comply with (and require all persons occupying any portion or portions of the Leased Property, whether as a customer of the Tenant's business or otherwise, to comply with) all Applicable Laws, and shall not commit or permit any act or omission that causes or results in any breach of the Applicable Laws. The Tenant shall, at its sole cost and expense, promptly make any changes, additions or repairs to the Leased Property, and any modification of its operations and business practices, necessary in order to comply with the Applicable Laws. The obligations of the Tenant under this section apply to the use of the Leased Property, and to construction, repairs, alterations, additions, improvements and replacements on or affecting any part of the Leased Property.

Appendix "B"

Entertainment Event Protocol for City Property

Definition:

An entertainment event is an event where the primary purpose is listening or dancing to music and which extends into any part of the evening when an entertainment facility is normally closed.

Ambulance:

Toronto Ambulance Service protocol as determined concurrent with the Toronto Police Service protocol on paid duty officers.

Density:

The safe occupant load, as determined by Fire Services verification, will establish the "cap" on ticket sales. Organizers agree not to sell tickets or admit participants over the number allowed by the occupancy permit.

Drug/Health Education:

All organizers will provide space for community-based drug and health education projects. Organizers agree to donate a portion of profits to the City fund for distribution to non-profit drug/health education projects. This contribution is not intended to replace adequate City funding of drug/health education projects. Advertising for these events must be screened by

Toronto Public Health to ensure that the advertising does not specifically or tacitly endorse or promote drug use.

Fire:

Toronto Fire Service protocol determined concurrent with the Toronto Police Service protocol on paid duty officers.

Food:

If food is served, it will be served as per existing legislation.

Fresh Air:

Organizers agree to provide adequate ventilation as per existing legislation.

Paid Duty Officers:

To be determined following report from Toronto Police Service* to City Council meeting of August 1, 2 and 3, 2000.

Security:

One bonded and provincially licensed security guard for every entrance location (secure the site) and one for every 100 patrons.*

Smoking:

No smoking as per existing legislation.

Toilets/Portolets:

Organizers agree to provide toilets as per existing legislation.

Water:

Organizers will make arrangements so that patrons will have unrestricted access to a supply of running water, at no charge.

* Toronto Police Service report will also include appropriate ratio of security guards to patrons.

(A copy of the Appendix "C", entitled "Ho Inquest Recommendations", referred to in the foregoing report, was forwarded to all Members of Council with the Supplementary Agenda of the Community Services Committee for its meeting on July 13, 2000, and a copy thereof is on file in the office of the City Clerk.)

Appendix 5

Council amended the Clause by:

- (2) the Entertainment Event Protocol be extended to private property;
- (3) the Province of Ontario be requested to provide enabling legislation to create a large assembly by-law; and
- (4) the appropriate City officials be authorized to take the necessary action to give effect thereto.'

Amending Recommendation (b)(1) it shall now read as follows:

(2) City Council authorize Exhibition Place to continue to hold Raves after concerns about security, Emergency Medical Services, and paid duty policing have been worked out to the satisfaction of Exhibition Place and within the protocol approved by City Council;";

(3) that City Council be requested to resubmit to the Province of Ontario for consideration and implementation, the suggestions prepared by the Municipal Licensing and Standards Division for provincial measures to strengthen municipal efforts to maintain safe communities and to deal with problem addresses and,

(4) adding thereto the following:

"It is further recommended that:

(a) the Province of Ontario be requested to enact legislation allowing the City to inspect and close raves, and to charge organizers of raves if the requirements established by the Police and the City for raves on both public and private property are not met;

(b) the provincial and federal governments be encouraged to apply the City of Toronto protocol to raves held on their properties;

(c) the following recommendations of the Community Services Committee, embodied in the communication dated July 28, 2000, from the City Clerk, be adopted:

'The Community Services Committee recommends to Council:

(1) the adoption of the joint report dated July 25, 2000, from the Commissioner of Urban Development Services and the Commissioner of Community and Neighbourhood Services, embodying the following recommendations:

"It is recommended that:

(1) the Entertainment Event Protocol (Appendix 4) be amended to include the specific policies on Entertainment Events made by the Toronto Emergency Medical Services and the Toronto Fire Services , and that these policies be approved by Council; and

(2) the Community Services Committee's decision of July 13, 2000, amending the recommendation of the Board of Governors of Exhibition Place respecting events on CNE property, be further amended to include that Toronto Fire Services' concerns also be worked out to the satisfaction of Exhibition Place and City Council, so that such recommendation reads as follows:

'City Council authorize Exhibition Place to continue to hold Raves after concerns about security, Emergency Medical Services, Fire Services, and paid duty policing have been worked out to the satisfaction of Exhibition Place and City Council.'

The adoption of the recommendations of the Board of Health:

"It is recommended that:

- (1) the Ministry of Health and Long Term Care organize a network of public health units and boards of education throughout Ontario to develop educational strategies targeted at the drug use problems in the community including primary prevention and outreach to parents;
- (2) Toronto Public Health continue to support vehicles for peer-based interventions for promoting safe, healthy practices at raves, including the Toronto Raver Info Project and the Toronto Dance Safety Committee as outlined in the Protocol for the Operation of Safe Dance Events;
- (3) the Board of Health include rave health education as a priority for the Drug Abuse Prevention Grants Review Panel, with a contribution in 2001 from the City of Toronto Consolidated Grants Budget, Public Health Line, of \$20,000.00, and further contributions of funds from the promoters of each rave, based on the size of the rave, in lieu of the \$0.50 per ticket surtax suggested by the Inquest; and that this recommendation be referred to the 2001 Operating Budget process;
- (4) Toronto Public Health develop culturally appropriate print, radio, television, and Internet health promotion materials to promote safe, healthy practices at raves, in partnership with the Centre for Addictions and Mental Health and the private sector, as part of its ongoing substance abuse strategy;
- (5) the Ministry of Health and Long Term Care support and finance blood testing in drug overdose cases reported to emergency departments in order to add to the accuracy of reporting on the pattern of drug use in the community; and support hospital emergency departments to implement systems that would make it easier to extract information on drug overdoses from their records

and make that information available to public health units;

(6) raves be permitted on City-owned property if they comply with:

(a) the applicable recommendations contained in this report;

(b) the protocol for the safe operation of a rave as approved in 1999 by City Council; and

(c) any further requirements that may be approved by City Council after consultation with the Toronto Dance Safety Committee;

(8) City Council consider developing protocols for other similar kinds of events;

(9) the Board of Health advocate to the Ministry of Education and Training to provide funding for the development of a substance use and abuse unit of study as part of the Grade 11 and 12 course profiles for the healthy living strand of the health and physical education curriculum; and

(10) the appropriate City officials be authorized and directed to take the necessary action to give effect to the foregoing.”;

(3) the adoption of the recommendation of the Toronto Police Services Board, embodied in the report dated July 27, 2000, from the Chair, Toronto Police Services Board, viz.:

“It is recommended that the Community Services Committee recommend to Toronto City Council that it endorse the protocol and,

(4) that, through educational programs, individuals holding raves on private property be encouraged to follow the same protocols in use for raves held on public property.’;

(e) City Council support the recommendations of the Jury arising from the Coroner’s Inquest into the death of Allen Ho;

(f) City Council re-affirm its full endorsement of the Toronto Dance Safety Committee (TDSC) and the following groups and individuals of which it is comprised:

- Toronto Ambulance Services;
- Toronto Fire Services;
- Toronto Police Services Board;
- Central Drug Information Unit;
- Municipal Licensing and Standards;
- Toronto Dance Safety Committee;
- Toronto Public Health;
- Toronto Raver Info Project;
- Party People Project;
- Mayor’s Office;
- Councillor Chow’s Office; and
- Councillor Nunziata’s Office;

(g) the Toronto Dance Safety Committee continue to hold regular meetings, and the completed Appendices B and C of the rave application form be forwarded (subject to any restrictions imposed by the Municipal Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act), to the TDSC for information only;

(h) commencing August 1, 2000, the Mayor's office, interested Members of Council, appropriate City staff, representatives from the Toronto Police Service and the Toronto Board of Health, be requested to work with the renewed Toronto Dance Safety Committee to:

(a) follow up on all recommendations passed by City Council;

(b) ensure effective and equitable implementation of the City protocol regarding late night entertainment events; and

(c) report back to City Council, in six months' time, through the appropriate agency, board or commission and the Community Services Committee, on the implementation process, further developments and/or recommendations;

(d) a member of City staff or a Member of Council, be appointed as the Co-Chair of the Toronto Dance Safety Committee;

(e) with respect to the City's agencies, boards and commissions, City staff be requested to notify ward Councillors of any requests for permits and the terms thereof, prior to issuing a permit for events planned in their respective wards; the ward Councillor to respond within the protocol timeline;

(f) the Commissioner of Urban Development Services be requested to:

(g) continuously review the protocol to ensure that it is working and report, on a quarterly basis, to the appropriate Committee, with respect thereto;

(i) develop further criteria relating to the impact of rave events on the community, including such issues as parking, noise, and separation from residential property, prior to the consideration of a permit for any City park, arena, or community centre;

(ii) ensure, in conjunction with appropriate City officials, that owners and landlords of facilities keep clean/cold drinking water running for the duration of rave events;

(iii) submit to the Community Services Committee, in six months' time, an additional report which provides a detailed breakdown of each event, similar to the report provided to the Board of Governors of Exhibition Place, entitled 'Raves at Exhibition Place'; and

(iv) submit a report to the Community Services Committee on how other urban centres, such as Montreal, Vancouver, and other European and North American Cities such as Detroit, handle raves in their jurisdictions, including the types of problems which have occurred;

(h) the Director, Special Events Division, be requested to submit a report to the Economic Development and Parks Committee on the feasibility of the City of Toronto co-sponsoring a festival celebrating electronic music and, further, that City Council endorse the 'iDance Rally' on Nathan Phillips Square as an annual event;

(i) a copy of this Clause be circulated to the unions representing emergency and medical services personnel and the Toronto Police Association;

(j) the following motions be referred to the Commissioner of Urban Development Services with a request that she submit a report thereon to the Community Services Committee:

Moved by Councillor Cho:

'It is recommended that the Commissioner of Urban Development Services be requested to submit a report to the appropriate Committee, on a quarterly basis, providing information with respect to any known underground raves, in order to determine the correlation between open raves and underground raves.'; and

Moved by Councillor Davis:

'That the Clause be amended by deleting from the section entitled "Advertising" embodied in Appendix 4, headed "Entertainment Event Protocol for City Property- Comprehensive Version (July 28, 2000) so that that such section shall now read as follows:

"Advertising"

Advertising for these events must not specifically or tacitly endorse or promote drug use. The relevant city agency, board, or commission reserves the right to screen all advertising, including printed and electronic formats. Public Health will provide advice as requested."'; and

(o) the following motion be referred to the City Solicitor with a request that he submit a report thereon to the Community Services Committee:

Moved by Councillor Mammoliti:

'That the Clause be amended to provide that:

(1) only the promoters be held responsible for all liabilities on City-owned property during any rave events; and

(2) any agreement made with promoters require that a bond be provided and that a standard liability clause, exempting the City from any liability, be included in the agreement.'