Repeat-The-Beat: Industries, Genres and Citizenships in Dance Music Magazines

Christy Elizabeth Newman

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Communication Studies at Murdoch University

1997
Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary educational institution.

____________________
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1. Signed
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   Christy Elizabeth Newman
   
   Date: November 3, 1997
   
Abstract

This thesis examines a particular cultural object: dance music magazines. It explores the co-imbrication of the magazines with dance music and considers how a reconfiguration of the field of genre theory can help to dismantle the generic separations of ‘textual’ and ‘industrial’ approaches to cultural objects. The main argument of the thesis is as follows.

The magazine industries produce an object of cultural exchange which is made commercially viable through a narrowing of its target audiences. These audiences arise in the space created by the dance music industries’ negotiation of an imagined contest between ‘underground' authenticity and ‘mainstream' productivity. In turn, dance music magazines produce a powerfully exclusive space for the communication networks of the dance music genre by capitalising on the desire to stabilise genre and therefore taking up generic instability as a positive youth marketing strategy.

According to this position, genre is thought of as that which schematises the ordinary cultural operation of making decisions. The ethics of genre means that each generic judgment or decision is a moment of enacting opinion, and thus of participating within the negotiation of community. With respect to dance music in particular, its ethics is set up as a response to (what are perceived as) deliberate misunderstandings in the traditional media and is energetically taken up through dance music journalism's defensive celebration of the ephemeral and negotiated performativity of the (personal and collective) rave.

Each of the chapters of this thesis was designed to approach dance music magazines from a different angle: the first as ‘industries’; the last as ‘citizenships’; and between these a bridging overview of ‘genres’. In order to undertake a thorough investigation, both the industries which produce, and the citizenships which use, a cultural object must be considered. These approaches are immediately complementary: citizenships participate in the regulation of genre through negotiating the ordering of generic rules; and those rules impact upon and are simultaneously ordered through the operation of industries.
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This thesis was inspired by one-too-many nights of dance music frenzy and by the British dance music magazines which print a textual equivalent.

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Introduction

Come on Mixmag, are you a magazine for music appreciators or a comic for silly little girls in shiny dresses? (Tredget: 5)\(^1\)

Music is the safety net which many non-academic sport-haters get trapped in. You can understand why. It's an attractive option. It's a club for people who've never been in a club before. It's banter and friendship and a whole new language that other people can't understand. It's revenge. (Craik: 130)

'Dance music' is a generic title referring to a variety of popular youth-market musics which are characterised by rhythmic and repetitive beats designed to engage the body in dance. 'Magazines' are a facet of print media which have become increasingly specialised over this century, culminating in a wide range of specialist media formations. Both dance music and the magazine medium are highly successful, global *industries*. They are also *genres* which operate as subsets of two vast cultural arenas: namely, music and media. And they are made culturally significant through the *citizenships* which claim and contest them as specialist genres. This thesis, then, is concerned with what occurs in the overlaps between these industries, genres and citizenships that arise in dance music magazines, taking as its case study, *Mixmag: The World's Leading Dance Music and Club Culture Magazine*.

The first chapter is a four-part approach to the question of cultural industries. It firstly considers the conflicting media histories of the magazine industry which today operates at a pivotal junction within the wider structures of mass communication. In particular, the way in which magazines are becoming increasingly specialised is considered through a review of media theory. From here, the dance music industries are briefly examined, and then are brought together with the media research to begin an investigation into the successful and self-promoting industry of dance music magazines. This results in a compact overview of the operations of the UK publication *Mixmag* and a concluding synopsis of media theory in relation to this 'industrial' approach.

\(^1\) There are two lists of works cited: the first for academic books and journal articles; and the second for popular dance music magazines and related periodicals.
Introduction:

Since both dance music and magazines are genres of wider industries, in order to examine the field of dance music magazines, we require a workable theory of genre. Therefore, the second chapter embarks upon a thorough delineation of genre theory in relation to the object of this thesis. The theorists whom I have chosen to make most use of in this chapter are Freadman, Hunter, Derrida, Lyotard and Wittgenstein. Inclusion and exclusion are basic procedures of genre, and simultaneously, of any cultural grouping or 'community', even when those boundaries protect a supposedly 'boundary-free' culture. Dance music magazines enable the industries and citizenships of dance music to be understood as a 'genre' through communicating the generic rules for participation. This chapter argues for a tripartite model of genre, designed to outline the ways in which the rules of a genre are ordered through citizenship participation. In this way, this chapter forms a theoretical bridge between the different and yet simultaneous approaches of the first and third chapters.

The 'original' project of dance music, as a fledgling youth and music culture, was celebratory, inclusive and communal. By contrast, electronic dance music today occupies a vast and fractious field of productive affiliations, but maintains a nostalgic attachment to those dense formative claims to a collective authenticity. The third chapter of this thesis, then, deals primarily with the sorts of citizenships which are negotiated within the industries of the dance music genre. Dance music operates as an assemblage of active cultural industries, particularly those of music production and consumption, clubs and raves, and the citizenship negotiations of dancing, fashion and style. Dance citizenships require a particularly active negotiation of the activities and subject positions promoted by each dance music genre. Therefore, the aesthetic of dance music — which claims to be disparate and contradictory — actually contains instructions for citizenship participation.

The textual objects of this thesis — the actual magazines — have provided both the inspiration and the material required for cultural research. Part of the methodology for the presentation of my research has been to include key examples of both the text and the images which make up this material. Rather than include these examples within the main text, I have chosen an alternative strategy of using footnotes to provide appropriate textual examples, and figures and appendices for appropriate images. The reader is invited to delve as deeply as they please into these examples, as they are not absolutely essential to the points being made, but are relevant and explanatory as the basic 'data' informing this inquiry.
1- Industries

It's a cliche to state that the nocturnal economy is now big business, but that's probably because its true. (Collin, 'Saturday': 111)

That funny machine music that young people like is set to gatecrash the coy, cossetted, late night domain of serious muso-dom and stomp all over it with its size 12 trained feet. (Jones, 'Orbital': 57)

Rather than attempting to design a general hypothesis about global media, this chapter will consider those bodies of theory which directly relate to two chosen media industries. That is, the communication model which this chapter outlines is specifically designed to consider the intersections and collaborations between two successful and complex globalising industries: dance music and the magazine. The purpose of this approach is to delimit the significance of this media conjunction and to propose that specialist media provide and organise the location and the language for communication procedures within a demarcated set of industries.

Both the history of popular magazines and their current role in the operations of global cultural industries suggests that communication media shape the industries and reading communities which they claim to document and inform. As Sarah Thornton writes, 'Media and commerce do not just cover but help construct music subcultures.... They do not just represent but actively participate in the processes of music culture... [They are] crucial to the creation, classification and distribution of cultural knowledge' (188—189). This chapter considers the function and uses of specialist dance music magazines within the dance music and media industries. Dance music magazines are primarily responsible for the naming, organisation and regulation of dance music industries, their communities and their procedures of citizenship. These magazines are an example of the breakdown of many 'mass' media industries into specialised media. As Frances Bonner writes, 'the magazine market is a highly segmented one; divided demographically and in terms of interests' (118). Specialising systems of text production, audience segmentation and financial marketing have brought about the media technologies of the magazine, which then reciprocate as a contributing factor in the perpetuation or reproduction of those systems.
Dance music is, most simply, electronic music produced primarily for the purposes of dance or corporeal (rather than intellectual) pleasures. However, dance music is not exclusively electronic, nor does it exclude intellectual experiences. But there are nonetheless identifiable (global) industries and communities which are aligned to this particular electronic music aesthetic. Perhaps the most basic requirement of that title is that dance music contain a sequence of rhythmic and repetitive beats designed to engage the body and — through this — to extend the mind. Many dance music releases are created in 'bedroom' studios, and are released under pseudonyms which regularly change according to the type of project that each producer becomes involved with. In *New Statesman and Society*, Prendergast defines dance as 'DIY music, made at home on affordable computers, samplers and keyboards.... [I]ts stars ... are mostly faceless names able to roam the globe with the anonymity of tourists' (32). Finkelstein notes the 'enormous supply of product available for release.... [M]ore than 1,000 new dance releases per week internationally' (6).

Most dance music releases are in the form of 'white-labels': 12-inch vinyl singles in plain white packaging distributed directly to DJs (disc jockeys) for 'club release'. Dance music is founded upon the culture of the dance 'club'. Here — and on radio 'DJ mixes' — highly professional and revered DJs play a continuous 'set' of dance music tracks which are mixed into sequence on a pair of 'decks' (turntables). Technics 1200s are the most popular brand of vinyl turntables, and are used with a mixer and various other elective technologies to 'beat-mix' and 'scratch-up' tracks, which enables dance music to be performed continuously, creatively and through constantly changing combinations of sound and sequence. DJs — who do far more than 'play other people's records' — can become international 'names' who travel extensively and get paid a lot of money for two or three hour sets. DJs are often dance music producers and vice versa.

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2 Dance music is said to be created by 'producers' not 'musicians'.
3 The Roland TR-808 drum-machine and its sister the 303 are dance music icons considered to have been of fundamental significance to the creation of a dance music industry. The 808 was initially released in the United States in 1980, but at the time 'beatboxes' were not highly sought after. It was discontinued before being picked up second hand by break-beat enthusiasts (street kids…) in Detroit, who began using it as the foundation to a new sort of electronic music. For a comprehensive history of the technologies of dance music production, see eg. Kempster, 'Ferocious Beats'.
4 Jeremy Healy - 'superstar' UK DJ - once received a rumoured £15,000 for one set on New Year's Eve. The subsequent media reports provoked a stream of conflicting responses from the dance music 'community', both criticising such industry tactics — 'Jeremy Healy £15,000? Don't make me laugh. What exactly does he do? He plays other people's records (not particularly well) that's what!' (Symbol: 5) — and celebrating the industry success — 'Who is fed up and disenchanted about DJs' earnings? Nobody except Mixmag and promoters, it seems.... I and people I've spoken to don't begrudge them a penny.... Jeremy Healy wasn't far wrong - please don't become Moanmag' (Woodside: 5).
The success of the dance music industries has surprised major record company executives who previously 'didn't believe that anyone would listen to the music beyond the dance floor' (Strauss: 36). Dance music's drug culture is one of several related industry successes. Each element of the dance music industry has become increasingly commodified. Even the night-club experience — seen by many as the 'soul' of dance music — has, for Mixmag writer Matthew Collin, 'become a business to be regulated, like factories or shopping malls.... [M]eticulously organised, highly attuned to a fast-shifting market... A well-run leisure facility in other words' ('Closed': 60). Dance music is no longer a sub-culture. Rave/club culture — which are those events and experiences associated with dance music — is the biggest youth movement in the UK since the 1960s, and it is spreading internationally. The majority of Britain's radio airtime — on both licensed and pirate stations — is dedicated to broadcasting the multitude of dance music genres. Stark evidence of the growing successes of dance music is found in the annual Berlin Love Parade which, in 1996 (see Figure 3), was attended by an estimated 1.2 million people, celebrating the common ground of dance and pleasure-in-rhythm. Even though — and because of — this popularity, rave culture has been thoroughly illegalised: Section 63 of the UK's 1994 Criminal Justice Bill outlawed “music wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats” and enabled police to arrest groups of ten of more people whom they suspect of travelling to, helping to arrange, or waiting for, a rave. The maximum sentence for attending a rave is three months in jail, or a £5,000 fine (Hutchings). Alternative mobile sound systems operate across the UK and mainland Europe, fuelled by a highly politicised mission of providing free dance music and supporting music and housing collectives. The majority of the UK sound systems have had their equipment confiscated and members jailed or fined over the last two years (Malyon, 'Jail').

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5 ‘With more than 1m young Britons attending raves each week — enough to drain profits away from pubs ... a culture centred around the ravers' music, drugs and lifestyle has become firmly established ... With sales of more than £700m per year in Britain, ecstasy in all its forms is one of the most popular consumer products in the country’ (The Economist, ‘Market’: 68).

6 ‘High-street nightclubs host “raves”; pop tracks are routinely remixed into “dance” tracks by record companies; and adverts, even supermarket Muzak, have gone techno’ (Manning: 41).

7 ‘Phew, what a decade! Who would have thought 10 years ago that the guitar would be replaced by ever-diversifying styles of electronic music? That techno, trance, garage, ambient, jungle, drum 'n' bass would all be pushing the boundaries of sound further and further? That this music would become the dominant pop culture? That it would entirely fill the UK Top 40? That the pop star would be replaced by the DJ?’ (Champion: 83).

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Dance music — as with any cultural industry — has never operated 'outside' commerce. However, as a globalised 'youth' culture it articulates a rhetoric of authenticity which locates community prior to industry. Through its own media the dance music industry declares itself to be founded on an autonomous, community-based production economy. Harris claims:

The majority of artists, remixers, producers, and engineers who work in the dance music genre are music entrepreneurs. [S]elf-contained production companies perform and produce their own music, distribute and promote themselves and their music through an intricate network of DJs, record pools, clubs, radio stations, and trade publications; and strike their own label and distribution deals with larger independent and major record labels (8).

The purpose of this type of narrative is to reinscribe a conception of 'industry' within a nostalgia for 'community'. Dance music negotiates an imagined contest between 'underground' authenticity and 'mainstream' productivity: Finkelstein writes, 'A dance label must have two distribution systems — one targeted at niche markets and the other at the mainstream' (6). This is simultaneously an evaluative judgment which distinguishes between a discrete community and a mass; a malleable audience of 'others'. Most media representations of the dance music industry either lament commercial 'exploitation' or justify commercialisation as a 'strategy' which will reap community benefits. The music industry is dominated by such evaluations, from product marketing to actual production procedures: an authentic community provides musical inspiration which is then commodified by industry. This negotiation of a productive authenticity within cultural industries is perpetuated by a lack of formal recognition for dance music: dance music journalists and spokespersons are outraged that the Grammy Awards — the pinnacle of the music 'establishment' — have no dance music category.

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9 'Clubland has always been filled with the soft whisper of money changing hands behind the scenes. Record companies pay DJs to plug new releases, dealers pay doormen to let them do business, and pirate stations get set up to promote dodgy drum and bass nights in Peckham. The issue has always been sloshing around in a nickel and dime kind of way, but now there's some big money moving in and the club runners are falling over themselves to get a piece of it' (Armstrong: 158).

10 'Glitzy overground house clubs turned mini-empires, starting record labels and peddling clothing lines, club tours and shops to an eager public' (Anon, '1996': 87).

11 'The dance community must embrace its art as business and concentrate on the quality of product to counter what is regarded as a lack of respect and recognition from major labels, radio' (Taylor: 3).

12 'Independent labels develop new forms of music, the majors tame them, independent labels thus develop new forms of music, the majors tame them ... as if there is some essential human activity, music making, which has been colonized by commerce' (Frith: 50, 66).

12 For evidence of this outrage see Harris or Taylor. For an account of the changing institutional status of dance music, see Patrick Neate's The FACE article on the Hardcore Dance Awards, introduced in 1996: when 'underground dance music went out with a bang' (175).
Magazines operate at a pivotal junction within the structures of the mass communication industries. They are 'weekly, fortnightly and monthly publications which straddle the boundaries between journalism, leisure, entertainment and business' (McNair: 13). In Bonner's words again, magazines are, 'both a core part of most people's media consumption practices and an integral part of the media industries' (112). And yet according to Bonner, they are consistently undervalued in relation to other, more visibly consolidated technologies, such as television, books, newspapers, radio and so on. The 'traditional' magazine format may also appear to be less of a 'mass medium' since it does not necessarily have the audience potential of some other media. But as John Thompson puts it, 'The important point about mass communication is not that a given number of individuals (or a specifiable proportion of the population) receives the product, but rather that the products are available in principle to a plurality of recipients' (24). In The Magazine in America: 1741-1990, Tebbel and Zuckerman write, 'numerically, magazines outnumber all the other media, and in the tremendous breadth of their specialization, they reach into the smallest segments of ... life' (v). The field of 'mass communication' is a vast, interwoven network of technologies and practices. The term 'mass' appears to foreground the immensity of media audiences — or as Thompson stresses, the potential for media to reach a large audience — and the term 'communication' evokes an objective for media to provide information through a dialogic procedure.

Part of the case argued in this thesis is that the complexities of the case of dance music magazines demonstrate the need for historical and cultural particularity in theorising either 'mass' or 'specialist' media.

As with any cultural object, the magazine boasts a variety of conflicting histories. Tebbel and Zuckerman consider the 'birth' of the magazine to have been an inevitable extension of the technologies of the book and the newspaper, which were themselves an inevitable product of the socio-economic conditions through which they emerged. In Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century, Ohmann outlines why no account of media history is adequate without full recognition of the economic and political forces behind technological and cultural development. In his case, this means the industrialisation and urbanisation which occurred in the periods which initially formed the magazine industry. The project of Peterson's Magazines in the Twentieth Century is to examine how our present cultural operations are determined by the media of the past. Alternatively, for Hudson, the modern media format came 'out of the desire of mankind to hear the gossip and news of the day' (xxix). Using another tension in the theory of media
Industries:

Greenop in *History of Magazine Publishing in Australia*, claims that, 'the world over, magazines developed to a pattern which is an almost biological evolution' (5). Richardson however, writing in *A History of Early American Magazines*, believes this process to have been an unpredictable series of industrial experiments which eventually succeeded in identifying the most productive combination of social, economic and technological factors.

Communications technologies do not arise spontaneously but are produced through dialogue with other adjacent technologies. The technology of the magazine also fits this model of cultural objects and industries. That is, the magazine is necessarily and ordinarily hybridised. And what all of these histories show is that the modern magazine was not 'born', but was culturally manufactured as a hybrid composition of several already-consolidated media operations.\(^{13}\)

Alan Lee in *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855-1914*, claims that 'the available works on the [the history of the magazine] are largely anecdotal, fragmentary, scissors-and-paste studies, usually written by journalists' (17). This accusation is invested within the possibility of a total history and denies the potential of fragmentation as a productive methodology in its own right.\(^{14}\) Contrary to Lee, Beetham in *A Magazine of Her Own?*, represents the magazine medium as an assortment of segments: 'The magazine has developed in the two centuries of its history as a miscellany, that is a form marked by variety of tone and constituent parts' (1). However, most theorists of magazine history do concur on the economic and cultural significance of the 'big revolution' of October 1893 (Peterson: 7). This was the first time that a magazine publisher (Frank Munsey of *Munsey's Magazine*) drastically reduced the cover price (from a quarter to a dime) in order to secure a greater circulation and thus increase advertising revenue. It was from this point on that the production of magazines shifted from being dependent on subscribers to becoming advertiser-funded. For Ohmann, 'any aficionado of historical discontinuities could delight in ... [such a] formula of elegant simplicity: charge almost nothing for the cultural experience and profit by selling the audience's attention' (25, 361). Although the contemporary 'genre' of the magazine did

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\(^{13}\) ‘What actually happened in 1893, then, was the broadening of a “revolution” already underway…. They took from the weeklies the idea of a lively pictorial appearance, from these and a few of the monthlies a willingness to hustle ads and let them be splashy, from the women's magazines and the mail order journals the idea of a very low price that would attract a large audience of people with only a little extra money to spend … and from the literary monthlies … the idea of offering this audience participation in a mainstream of national culture' (Ohmann: 29).

\(^{14}\) ‘The kind of cultural history I fantasize would be multi-dimensional, multi-perspectival, non-linear. One might enter a story at any point and reassemble its parts, to achieve a different emphasis. The story I have attempted here could have ad men as its protagonists, or merchandisers, or commodities themselves, or magazine editors, or writers, or texts or readers' (Ohmann: 342).
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undergo a remarkable period of development in the last decade of the nineteenth century (Greenop: 7), this procedure was mostly contingent upon a historical appropriation of the economic philosophies (and technologies) of other, related communication media.

The magazine industry today is a successful participant within (globalised) mass communications. McNair notes that, 'In June 1995 there were nearly 3,000 periodical titles being published in the United Kingdom alone, indicating that periodicals comprise a relatively healthy segment of the print industry as a whole' (14). However, the magazine is presently undergoing significant technological and cultural change and is under the apparent threat of redundancy. These predictions provoke a fear that print will be replaced by electronic communications technologies, and that the constitution of (financially reliable) cultural audiences is being irrevocably dismantled by consumer segmentation and the revolutionary potential of interactive communications. To be sure, the functional implications of electronic media technologies should not be ignored. But to learn from a historicisation of the magazine medium requires a contemporary acknowledgment that all cultural technologies are by definition fluctuating and unpredictable. Cultural industries are not under threat of 'death' since they are not in any strict sense alive; rather they operate through a responsive series of technological negotiations. As DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach sensibly posit, 'Successful media systems of the future will have to offer a better combination of content, convenience, cost and accessibility than people already have in televisions, radios, movies, stereos, newspapers, books and magazines' (349). For many theorists, electronic media 'improves' upon print, alters the 'obsolete' dynamic of one-way communication flow, makes manifest the implications of a globalised cultural economy and revolutionises (overthrows and then reconstructs anew) the networks which structure the mass communication industries. However, new media do not 'remake' these systems in such an apparently radical way, but extend and — at best — improve upon, normative media procedures and structures.

The magazine has operated historically, and continues today to operate as an immediate textual act which must maintain a strong financial presence within the wider cultural economy of communication technologies. Writing in 1974, Greenop

15 ‘Online can do things that print cannot do so well, or at all. It can be a prodigious engine for information searching. It is not one-way, but interactive. And it is unsurpassed as a global communications medium permitting not only low-cost conversations or transactions but the establishment of whole new social and professional networks' (Marcus, 'Magazines': 5).
16 ‘Samir Husni, a journalism professor … [who] believes that periodical publishing is flourishing, not dying…. "Just last week I brought home a record 28 first issues. Show me any other 'dying industry' that has given so much birth"' (Reval: 12).
claimed, 'It is useful to ... picture the actual meaning of magazine as a store of varied goods of interest and usefulness' (1). This argument assumes that the media function of magazines is to document, preserve and disseminate cultural knowledge. However, the romance of such a statement is exposed through the operations of the magazine (as) industry. Magazines are constituted by negotiating between the distinct and yet interdependent arenas of text, audience and economy. Steven J. Marcus (1994) explains this as 'the tripod of the three elements — editorial content, circulation and advertising — that are essential to a magazine's health. If any of these legs are short or fragile, the tripod either cannot stand or leads a precarious existence' (3). Magazines — as with most forms of journalism — function through funding from advertising revenue. As we have seen from the history of magazines, sale price, and even content, is almost always secondary to the operative requirements of securing advertising investments. Wernick's text Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression claims that 'with mass production and mass marketing the moments of distribution, circulation and exchange have become ... [strategic] for profitability and growth and ... through commodity imaging, the circulation and production processes have come to overlap' (185). Therefore, magazines, as cultural objects, move in particular and negotiated economic patternings. Within these patternings textual content, the material object and its technical production have no more operative priority than the actual procedures of 'distribution, circulation and exchange'.

Magazines are a textual medium which negotiate a difficult nexus between (global) mass communication and (specific) market targeting. The contemporary magazine format is premised upon specialist and segmenting systems of classification for organising people, technologies and texts. These systems operate in mutually reinforcing ways and simulate a generic continuity to the 'histories' and 'industries' of the magazine object. Peterson writes, 'magazines were ... not ... edited for the “masses”, but ... for little publics within the population as a whole' (13). And now, as McNair writes, 'The great majority of periodicals... operates in what the Audit Bureau of Circulation [ABC] calls the “specialist consumer and business markets”'(13). Therefore, the intersecting cultural factors involved in the production of texts, the development of technologies and the segmentation of the 'public', all operate in ways which align them with socially 'lodged' systems of classification.17

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17 The major magazines of the 1890's specialised by social class.... The great majority of profitable consumer magazines now make no claim, either to readers or to advertisers, of generality. They have specialised their appeals to readers by interest.... The magazine business offers to organise groups around highly specific categories of consumption, and also around styles and scales of consumption' (Ohmann: 356).
Joke Hermes' terms, 'a collection of conventions, an agreed code between communicator and audience that shapes both the production process and the expectations of readers' (7). Magazines — as we shall see in the next chapter — are a genre of media, the multitude of magazine 'specialisations' are organised through systems of genre, and the magazine 'audience' is claimed to function within fragmented, yet stabilising systems of generic organisation.

By contrast with the idea of a singular mass media audience, the production of magazine audiences has become cumulatively specialised. Important divisions are gender, age, 'personal interest' and so on. As Tebbel notes, this process appears almost limitless, 'Southern Bride, Car Stereo Review, and Hispanic Entrepreneur are examples of the infinite possibilities in subdividing markets' (372). The temptation for theorists such as Tebbel, however, is to attribute a liberatory achievement to the procedures of media specialisation, explicitly invested within an ideology of democracy and capitalist function. Although a welcome respite from 'information overload' rhetoric, this pluralist conception is equally as unsustainable an approach to the question of magazine futures, as it is unable to grasp the financial undercurrents which conduct the magazine industry. Instead, it needs to be stressed that communication media are made commercially viable through segmentation and specialisation. A specialised audience is constituted in accordance with particular advertising commodities; magazines are specialised in order to connect with this imagined audience; 'actual' subjects negotiate new specialist processes of audience alignment; and commodities are exchanged in the form of advertising revenue, specialised magazines and cultural identity.

However, it should also be remembered that the magazine, as with any object of analysis, is 'consumed' and 'used' in particular and unpredictable ways. As Joke

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18 ‘Mass-market, or general, periodicals are in the present age almost nonexistent. Except for a relative few, what one finds today are large numbers of magazines that have large circulations, but appeal to a specific audience of interest instead of being all things to large populations…. Hence we have religious, children's, literary, men's, women's, sport, news, music, hobby, business, blacks', health, and fraternal magazines all capable of achieving circulations of more than 100,000 and many of more than a million' (Nourie: vii).

19 ‘The sheer numbers and incredible variety of magazines have guaranteed that all the interests of the most diverse population in the world will be served. It may be that magazines are the most democratic institution we have yet created in America' (Tebbel: 382).

20 ‘Magazines are delivering ever finer segments of potential customers [to advertisers] in ever more creative ways…. Creative segmentation is a slicing and dicing of readership by publications themselves; segmented creativity is an ad agency technique to fine-tune a campaign's message to suit different audiences' (Morgan: 24).

21 ‘Magazines get read at odd hours and in odd places; they work thanks to a mix of specialized ads and specialized articles (few general-interest magazines survive); low subscription rates and moderate newsstand prices are heavily subsidized by advertising; text can be read and skimmed easily, since it's ink on paper - and it can be highlighted or otherwise noted for later use; no technology is needed; and if you read English, you're certified compatible with most magazines on American newsstands' (Crawford: 58).
Hermes puts it, 'categorisation cannot encompass the shifting preferences and practices of ... everyday ... use that characterise ... magazine reading' (144). However, although magazine use is unpredictable, the strategic possibilities offered by media communications are — to a large degree — shaped by classificatory templates. An immediate example is foregrounded by Beetham who writes, 'Magazines are commodities ... deeply involved in capitalist production and consumption as well as circulating in the cultural economy of collective meanings and constructing an identity for the individual reader as a gendered and sexual being' (2). In this sense, there is a complex of heteroglossic, disciplinary procedures at play within the media game, which cannot be 'transformed' through the active interpretations of cultural consumption or subject performativity.

Specialist media have played an important role in the demarcation of sites by and for youth culture. Dance music magazines are one instance of the successful procedures of media specialisation. Sarah Thornton's important work on media and UK rave/dance music culture foregrounds these procedures:

Britain saw a remarkable seventy three percent increase in magazine titles in the 1980s - the result of more detailed market research, tighter target marketing and new technologies like computer mailing and desktop publishing. While flyers and listings deal in the corporeal world of crowds, and tabloids handle the sweeping and scandalous impact of movements, consumer magazines operate in subcultures. They categorize social groups, arrange sounds, itemize attire and label everything. They baptize scenes and generate the self-consciousness required to maintain cultural distinctions (186-187).

We have already looked at the history of the magazine in general and have briefly considered the dance music industries. Together they produce the highly specialist medium of dance music magazines and the most influential of these has been *Mixmag: The World's Leading Dance Music and Club Culture Magazine*. The editorial statement supplied with the *Mixmag* advertising pack (see Appendix 1) claims that they are the most popular and comprehensive medium dedicated to 'documenting' and 'informing' the — initially UK, now global — dance music genre. There are many other magazines which also specialise in dance music including, *Muzik: The New Testament of Club Culture, DJ: The International Underground Dance Music Magazine, The MIX: Britain's Music Production Magazine, To The Core: Sounds Of The Underground*, and *Australia's first national dance music magazine, Substance: Australia's Foremost Dance Culture Magazine*. But *Mixmag* can claim the highest circulation numbers, at 88,082 a month, rising at 16,000 a year. *Billboard* journalist Melinda Newman describes specialist music
Industries: 15

Media as 'a number of magazines whose circulations may be small... but whose influence is strong, according to music industry executives' (5). Therefore, for the purposes of this project, *Mixmag* represents a highly successful industry-specific specialist magazine which has claimed a primary responsibility for the naming, regulation and organisation of dance music.

*Mixmag* — a self-nominated 'clubber's bible' — is a dense and lengthy document at around 194 pages. It has a fragmented layout aesthetic, high text content and wide subject coverage dominated by record reviews (over 300 a month), club listings (over 500 UK clubs a month) and related advertising material. It is fundamental to *Mixmag*’s difficult negotiation of cultural authenticity that it can claim 'independent' ownership (published in the UK by EMAP Metro Ltd.) and a consistent declaration of an 'honesty and insider knowledge' of the dance music industries. *Mixmag* — and it could be argued, the 'institution' of dance music — is aimed at a predominantly young male readership. Up to 75% of this audience are 18-24 year old men and 97% are under 30. Despite this, *Mixmag* appears to be succeeding in the adoption of a more 'girly' content and layout in order to attract the female 'sector' of the club media audience. The proportion of women who buy *Mixmag* increased from 13% to 25% in 1996. Some of the strategies employed to achieve this include nominating distinct areas of the magazine for the 'technical' production and review information, and including more and more fashion, 'gossip' and club culture 'visuals'. However, throughout dance music media, the advertising promotions for related industries — particularly club nights — always involves some sort of female or feminised signifier (see Figure 4). Dance culture journalists explain that in order to attract boys, you must first secure girls.22

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22 Maddie: “Basically advertising, magazines and promoters have created the club babe. That's why these girls think they have to dress that way, because its that's all they know.”
Melanie: “The girls look at those images, and they want to be the one on the podium with the correct attitude, they want to be the little bit of toty that everyone looks at. They don't want to be doing the mixing.”
Kirsty: “There is this stereotypical image. It's on the CDs, on the Tube, on the walls” (Brooks: 101).
According to readership surveys and ABC certified circulation figures, *Mixmag* readers are mostly in full time employment (although 34% are students), and are financially independent, high consumers dedicated to dance music culture. This
audience is targeted through every element of Mixmag's operations. This includes their web-sites: mixmag: online and mixmag update: the essential dance music weekly. Much of Mixmag's text content is dedicated to celebrating new media and technologies in the areas of music production, electronic information, games, 'X - the page for infoheadz' (see Appendix 2), and so on. The layout is designed to evoke 'postmodern' notions of pastiche, bricolage and digital imaging. In an somewhat paradoxical manner, the Mixmag audience is believed to be dedicated to a close, engaged reading of this specific textual arrangement (87% spend more than an hour reading each issue). The advertising and promotion process must assume an attentive audience, and Mixmag claims that 97% of readers read advertising material, with 91% finding it 'informative'.

Mixmag's advertising pack (see Appendices 1, 3 and 4) segments all potential advertising revenue into categories associated with clubs, records, fashion, hi-fi, film and video, and drinks. This most directly demonstrates that Mixmag, which proclaims 'specialist' motives, actually operates on an increasingly 'mass' scale, and for a rapidly growing audience of consumers. That is, the communities of dance music are being marketed to an expanding range of related industries. Dance music magazines are often considered to be just one of many competing enterprises within the successes of the dance music industry as a whole. As Goldman notes, 'magazines not only must compete with all the proliferating forms of media, but also with the “venues” that aren't, properly speaking, media at all' (22). Despite this competition, magazines jointly serve and serve to what they perceive to be a particular community. As Bonner writes, 'The various arms of the media, or culture, industries are thoroughly imbricated each with the other' (117). Much 'youth' media is premised upon the explicit rejection of a 'mass' communication model of media and commerce in favour of specialist 'authenticated' arrangements. Paradoxically, it is the mass communication industries which are most happy to serve that need for audience specialisation. Sarah Thornton observes that, 'By the end of the [1980s], about thirty [UK] magazines addressed youth, featured music and style editorial, and drew advertising from the record, fashion, beverage and tobacco industries' (186). This, as Newman observes, 'signifies a certain rite of passage for a consumer music magazine when it begins bringing in nonmusic

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23 "The ideal reader … has been/is being constructed through sustained exposure to the intertextualities and virtualities of mass media and information technologies. This is a reader whose experience includes exposure to cinematic fast cuts (MTV short-attention span), ever more extraordinary visual images and effects, information as sound bites, Nintendo and Sega game systems, computer video games and interactive fantasy-adventure games in a computer network. This is also a reader who has become immersed in informatics in diverse forms such as banking, education, law enforcement, medicine, telecommunications and mass media" (Travis: 117).

24 [http://www.techno.de/mixmag/index.html](http://www.techno.de/mixmag/index.html)
national accounts' (5). This involves more than a co-existence of industries, or even a mutual development.\(^{25}\) Industry and community become indelibly connected, each implicated within the operations of the other.\(^ {26}\) *Mixmag* demonstrates the ways in which multiple industries are made to interconnect through the imagined coherence of a community and its 'representative' textualities.

Dance music is founded upon the performative and commercial spaces of the dance club (and, more 'authentically', the rave site) and so dance music magazines are 'interactive' with the operations of the “Club” industry (Appendix 3). This is reflected in the amount of *Mixmag* advertising space dedicated to club promotion, and thus to a population of club-dedicatees (58% go clubbing at least once a week). *Mixmag* also dedicates a significant amount of its content to club listings (15 pages) and club night reviews. Equally standard within the dance music economy is the circulation of dance music “Records” (Appendix 4). Predominantly released on vinyl, dance music occupies the greatest market share of any UK music genre. *Mixmag* contains much promotional advertising, but it also functions as a total promotional document for the operations of the dance music industry. Music reviews (at least 18 pages), artist interviews, 'genre' articles and DJ advice offer the most comprehensive textual promotion of dance music records in any medium (see Appendix 5). Dance music is performative and, combined with the centrality of clubbing as a community ritual, “Fashion” (Appendix 5) articulates an integral language of participation and citizenship. That is, fashion is seen to be the object of desire for a predominantly female clubbing audience, which aligns women with the (feminised) pleasure-seeking, visualised and embodied mythos of dance music. In a paired opposition to this, the “Hi-Fi” (Appendix 4) segment of advertising revenue is associated with the (masculinised) technology-based, aural, mental and skilful procedures of dance music production and reproduction. *Mixmag* contains nowhere near the amount of advertising or content space which related magazines such as *The MIX* and *Keyboard* dedicate to electronic music technologies, but it is still a significant participant within an industry which has 'revolutionised' music production.\(^ {27}\) In 1996, *Mixmag* writer Tony Marcus celebrated the fact that ‘for the

\(^{25}\) *Mixmag* writer Bethan Cole remarks of TV advertisers who use dance music soundtracks: 'The artists get massive exposure and as one record company employee put it, “loads of wonga”. Plus the product gains “a more contemporary edge”' ('State': 131).

\(^{26}\) ‘Promotion in different spheres … multiply interconnects — both in terms of the common pool of myths, symbols, tropes and values which it employs, and through the way in which each of the objects to which a promotional message is attached is itself a promotional sign, and so on in an endless chain of mutual reference and implication’ (Wernick: 187).

\(^ {27}\) ‘House music’s combination of cheap computer technologies and do-it-yourself ethic has effected a profound and lasting liberation in musical production, accelerated by the culture that supports it. *Anyone can do it*, insisted the punk ideologies of 1976. Now, finally, anyone really can’ (Collin, 'Saturday': 111).
Industries: 19

first time, sales of Technics and mixers have outstripped electric guitars' ('Techno!': 64). The final two advertising segments from the Mixmag advertising pack — “Drinks” and “Film and Video” — (Appendices 3 and 4) further illustrate the interconnections between disparate cultural industries which are made possible through the textualised promotions of communication media.

Mixmag is a self-promoting industry unto itself. The magazine name has been extended into all manner of consumer products and events. Free items included in or with the magazine have included regular supplements such as International Clubbing Holidays and Photographic Special: 1987-1997 — Ten Years of Clubbing (see Figure 5). The September 1997 issue includes a free DJ-mixed CD featuring a variety of noted dance music producers. Other freebies have included dance-related stickers (club icons, dance music celebrities) and Mixmag Visuals, a set of appropriate images designed as dance music 'wallpaper'. Products available for mail-order include the So You Wanna Be A DJ? video (see Figure 6) and the critically acclaimed set of Mixmag DJ-mixed CD's and cassettes (see Appendix 6). Mixmag also host many club events which are produced as a 'tour' and are heavily promoted within the magazine (see Appendix 7). The rationalisation behind this self-promotion is that since Mixmag and its host of DJs, journalists and photographers have been involved in the dance music scene since its UK 'inception', then they can provide exactly what the dance music consumer desires.

Moving away from the particularities of Mixmag to the wider genre, dance music magazines are founded upon a mission to 'inform' their reading community, which perpetuates debate over the in/authenticity of media representation, and the extent to which the media should 'intrude' into cultural activity. As Thornton observes, 'The idea that authentic culture is somehow outside media and commerce is a resilient one.' (176). This logic of cultural authentication is employed within a wide range of theory and commentary.28 Judgments of new media often reproduce

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28 'By their nature, [mass media] have discouraged two-way communication, interpretation, marginal notation and group discussion. They have been strictly one-way, vertical conduits of information and interpretation from the elite among politicians, journalists, and ordained experts to the rest of us' (Neuman: 8).

For a St. Louis Journalism Review interview, Extra! editor Jim Naureckas asserts, 'It warps the culture, that people are reading (magazines) not primarily designed to inform them, but to sell them things' (Bogardus: 21).
A great new video featuring everything you need to know to become a top DJ!

- How to get started
- Mixing
- CD Mixing
- Getting on Mailing Lists
- Scratch Techniques
- Radio in the UK and USA
- Capital Radio Studios
- Kiss UK & USA
- Club Personality
- US Record Pools
- Studio Technology
- Studio Production


Special Dixmag readers price £9.99 +£2.50 p&p

A DMC Production

To order your video now call the credit card hotline: 0800 087126 or write to DMC Video, PO Box 80, Beaconsfield, SL4 6AA.
such rhetoric, both as denigration and as celebration. Communication media are permitted to either 'distort' or 'inform' communities, both of which require a concrete distinction between people and (their) technologies. Thornton extends this by claiming that, 'academics have perpetuated this obscuration (through) an intellectual project ... in which the popular was defended against the disparagement of “mass society”' (176). That is, the desire to complicate traditional 'mass' media theories, is fuelled through a reinvestment of authenticity within 'popular' communication and (re)production strategies which consolidate a traditional demarcation between the warring factions of media and community. This persuasive logic discourages examination of the media strategies employed to thread together a multitude of competing signifiers and industrial instabilities. For example, the concept of 'information' is central to media theory. When theorising the ways in which information is disseminated, authenticity is invested with either desiring total access or preserving a 'naive' community Marjorie Ferguson's critique of new media worship — 'much “wired societies” euphoria overlooks problems of differential access' (78) — goes part of the way towards dislocating the concept of becoming 'informed' from an imagined utopia of industry and community. And Ien Ang articulates a now-popular motive in cultural studies to isolate, 'the pertinent asymmetries between production/distribution and consumption, the general and the particular, the global and the local' (251). However, a pervasive 'logic of authenticity' continues to shape these projects, in as much as they conclude at the point of 'voicing' the instabilities and asymmetries present in any community or industry.

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29 'Even the cyberspace aficionados concede that when you actually have to read something longer than a couple of paragraphs, nothing beats ink on paper' (Steven J. Marcus, 'Magazines': 5).

30 'The capabilities provided by electronic information technology for manipulating and transmitting information infuse information with a new power and a new level of significance' (Olsen: 2).

31 New York DJ Scott Richmond: “The communication gap between the US and the UK is comical…. A name which is buzzing here is left cold in the UK and vice versa. It's partly due to lazy and clueless journalists” (29).

32 'Never before in human history have we had so much data to digest. Never before have we had such an explosion of new media: spawning, multiplying … each radiating long data-rich tendrils toward each of us. These merge with existing information flows to create a cacophony of data: cellphones, faxes, voicemail, pagers, couriers, e-mail, radio, catalogues, answering machines, floppy disks, magazines, multi-sectioned newspapers, cable TV, Internet shopping, virtual travel, video-on-demand. Then there are memos, reports, executive overviews, briefings, press kits, strategic outlines, backgrounders, newsletters, precis, abstracts, fax digests, summaries, excerpts, analyses. And yet, paradoxically, we have never felt so ill-informed' (da Silva: 72).

32 'To inform is simultaneously to circulate knowledge and to give form to something…. We are what we know and what we do not know we cannot be' (Fiske: 49).

32 [Excessive] information... give(s) rise to an equally impressive quantity of misinformation' (Leiss: 297).
Dance music magazines operate within a changing global communication schema, and foreground the potency of imagined community bondings beyond the logistics of space or — to a lesser extent — time. This process would appear to scandalise authenticity, since, as Ang notes, 'the electronic intrusions of transnational media systems [do] not care about national boundaries, only about boundaries of territory, of transmissions and of markets' (253). However, more critical than this process of (as Ian Maxwell observes of Australian hip—hop culture), 'forg[ing] ... figurative ... links across the Pacific' (119) is the disciplined manner in which communication media shape the spaces in which globalised communities and industries, negotiate and communicate. Thus, it is important to consider the extent to which the media are, as McQuail phrases it, 'implicated ... in the organisation of national and global society' (60). One of the premises of Thompson's theories of mass communication is that: 'The use of communication media transforms the spatial and temporal organisation of social life, creating new forms of action and interaction, and new modes of exercising power, which are no longer linked to the sharing of a common locale' (4). This contains crucial concepts for a 'strategic' theory of communication media. It foregrounds the transformative capacity of media procedures, in relation to the very formation, organisation and regulation of (commercialised) cultural industries and (globalised) communities. The study of mass communication requires interrogation of the regulative strategies which produce the industries and which are, in turn, 'documented' by media texts. At the same time it also requires recognition of the unpredictable responses which these textual strategies provoke. The media form a template which shapes but does not determine communication procedures and cultural meaning. To extend Fornas' position on the scope of cultural theory: 'Research that sees only power and no resistance in society, culture and science is half-blind' ('Cultural': 17) And, reciprocally, to focus on the resistance to and appropriation of media messages alone is to underestimate the capacity of media strategies to provide the location and the language for those responses.

To further examine the dance music industries we will later examine it in terms of its citizenships. For now we must consider the question of dance music magazines as industrial products, as texts. This, almost inevitably, raises the question of genres.
Figure 7
What would seem to be a simple pair of acts — naming and describing — has proved a sufficiently difficult task as to keep genre analysts occupied and in disagreement for centuries (Freadman: 33-34).

French DJ Laurent Garnier: “It's the media who constantly demand new 'things' not the people. Progressive, dream, trip hop, space jazz… who gives a fuck about names, the music matters” (Randall: 72).

The field of genre theory is fraught with problems and contradictions. However, in order to examine the field of dance music magazines, we require a workable theory of genre. For this reason, I suggest a tripartite model, which is designed to work through the contradictions of genre in order to mobilise a practical solution to these theoretical problems. The theorists whom I have chosen to make most use of in this chapter are Freadman, Hunter, Derrida, Lyotard and Wittgenstein.

Genre — ways of classifying and organising concepts and objects — is of pivotal concern to many cultural, literary and philosophical discourses. Genre is everywhere, and genre theory manifests at every contested point of affiliation, comparison or grouping. Even the notion of a field of genre theory assumes a kind of organised classification strategy, through which conflicting claims on genre are sorted and evaluated as a question of value rather than 'fact'. This recognised field is immense and expanding: ‘a full [genre] bibliography would have to cover work in cultural anthropology, psychology, sociology as well as the work in the classical tradition, literary history, linguistics, and the more recent work in cinema theory and discursive semiotics' (Freadman and Macdonald: 11). The simplest way to mark out the boundaries of this field would be to include theory which invests substantial interest in the 'problem' of genre and to exclude theory which may be peripheral to this objective. That is, to organise theory in recognition of the fact that, 'genre theorizing is itself a genre' (Cohen, 'Postmodern': 244). Locating a junction at which the assemblages of genre theory can be made to cohere produces a strategic methodology for interpreting cultural objects according to their genres. This methodology does not (necessarily) require a quantification of the range of participatory elements. Some extrapolation from the particular to the general will

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33 Tzvetan Todorov: 'Are we entitled to discuss a genre without having studied (or at least read) all the works which constitute it?… We actually deal with a relatively limited number of cases, from them we deduce a general hypothesis, and we verify this hypothesis by other cases, correcting (or rejecting) it as need be' (The Fantastic: 3-4).
always occur, despite much recent genre theory demanding that all generalities be abdicated in favour of the pragmatics and bias of each textual instance.

Genre is — most basically — a procedure for grouping texts, objects, concepts and so on. But this procedure is not a simple coming-together of innate affiliations or characteristic features. Genres are constituted as much — if not more — through what they deny and exclude, as through what they permit and include. Meaning is ordered analogically, preferably through positive (“this is like”) or negative (“this is not-like”) associations. Genres are designed through the concomitant routines of a) the (intensional) inclusion of affiliated/similar' items, and b) the (extensional) exclusion of foreign/different' others. Anne Freadman's article “Untitled: (On Genre)” points out that the routine of inclusion does not, however, require 'sameness'. On the contrary, 'something that is “like” is self-evidently “not-the-same-as”' (108). Many genre theories are designed to increase the significance of a particular object through establishing patterns of generic affiliation with other 'like' objects. However, in process and outcome, even intensional affiliations are 'constituted as a genre by negation' (153). Although both inclusion and exclusion are immediately present within what Derrida terms the 'genre-clause', genres are able to give the effect of consistency most successfully through exclusions. If a genre is established through what and whom it refuses participation, then access to a generic realm becomes desirable.

34 The process by which genres are established always involves the human need for distinction and interrelation (Cohen, 'History': 204). In Models and Analogies in Science, Mary Hesse introduces the concept of a 'neutral' analogy: a phenomenon which cannot be definitively described through either a positive or negative analogy. It is her hypothesis that research is motivated through a desire to conclusively stabilise a neutral analogy as either positively or negatively related to other stable phenomena, and through this to position it within a 'known' system: The description of similarities and differences between two analogies is a notoriously inaccurate, incomplete and inconclusive procedure. Although we often feel some confidence in asserting the existence of a similarity, and that some things are more similar to each other than to other things, we cannot usually locate discrete characteristics in one object which are positively and finally identifiable with those in another object. But the inconclusive nature of the procedure is not fatal here, because we are not looking for incorrigible inductive methods, but only for methods of selecting hypotheses. (Hesse: 4-5)

35 It may in fact prove impossible to definitively rid ourselves of binary categorisations, given that our language, all of our concepts, and the intellectual frameworks we use to think them are derived from a vast history of dichotomous thinking we have inherited’ (Grosz: 5).

36 The “like” part of the generic description establishes the domain of pertinent comparisons; the “not” part establishes a boundary … in the sense of locating “this kind” of text … among other places…. [G]eneric definition … arises as (or “from”) a series of contrasts which position “this” kind in among other adjacent kinds of texts' (Freadman: 77,79).

37 This inclusion and this exclusion do not remain exterior to one another; they do not exclude each other. But neither are they identical to each other. They are neither one nor two. They form what I shall call the genre-clause, a clause stating at once the juridical utterance, the precedent-making designation and the law-text, but also the closure, the closing that excludes itself from what it includes' (Derrida, 'The Law': 212).
This provokes the notion of crafting generic 'competency' as a means to access otherwise restricted discourse and knowledges. For example, much recent education theory has adopted this premise via the work of linguist Michael Halliday.\(^3\) This debate over the teaching of genre is simultaneously a contest over correct procedures of subjectification and the maintenance of social order.\(^3\) A problem with this methodology lies in the attempt to schematise once and for all the procedures by which generic participation is performed and generic literacy acquired.\(^4\) Genre will not easily conform to such a predictable or teachable format. Also, it is extremely ambitious (and fairly naive) to claim that 'genre' alone can hold the key to overcoming cultural hierarchies of knowledge access.\(^4\)

As previously stated, the objective of this chapter is to attempt a multifarious occupation of the 'genres' of dance music and of dance music magazines, to form a 'bridge' between questions of 'industries' and 'citizenships'. The last chapter demonstrated several ways in which the actual practices of dance music, of electronic music technologies and club culture, are shaped into a significant cultural order through the circulation of dance music magazines as a claimed and contested cultural industry. Writing about the chosen cultural object of dance music magazines firstly requires that dance music be made over into a genre. The affiliations which link each media text into a generic assemblage must be sought out, and offered as a coherent demonstration of the existence of a significant community and industry. Dance music magazines celebrate the exclusive possibilities of occupying this set of technological and subjective practices. An example of the sorts of exclusive communications which occur within dance music magazines can be found in Appendix 8. This image is reproduced from the August 1997 issue of Mixmag and concerns the promotion of an alcoholic fruit drink called 'Red' which contains the herbal stimulant Guarana. This product is being marketed to clubbers and the

\(^3\) [Hallidayan genre theorists] see mastery of key genres as crucial to people's ability to be in control of their lives and to bring about change ... in order to be empowered as language users and members of their community' (Bradford: 19-20).

\(^3\) '[We] argue first for what we think better (educationally and scientifically) before we decide the (range of) generic choices that may be appropriate — and those that may prove disabling' (Dixon: 13).

\(^4\) 'Acquisition of generic competence appears to be a complicated and lengthy process. As with language acquirement, it is never complete.... [S]ome genres depend on the knowledge of other genres.... [S]ometimes readers can grasp a genre with mysterious celerity, on the basis of seemingly quite inadequate samples, almost as if they were forming a hologram from scattered traces ... in part learned indirectly: for example, through conversation, subliterature, advertising, films.... There may also be systems of genres that assert themselves subliminally through the implications and constraints of generic relations' (Fowler: 45).

\(^4\) 'Certain forms of knowledge connect to certain forms of discourse.... [W]hat we think needs questioning is the implication that forms of knowledge can only be conveyed in specific generic forms.... Why is genre so central? Surely the mastery of any structure is only an aspect of learning to write and the mastery of genre not the central issue at the forefront of consciousness. Rather it is the ideas being grappled with which are at the forefront.' (Sawyer and Watson: 51, 54).
advertisement has been designed to parody the sort of 'club tour' promotions which are prevalent within dance music magazines (see for example, Appendix 7). For a reader unfamiliar with 'club tours' the 'Red' advertisement would be unintelligible and confusing. This type of coded humour marks out a forcefully exclusive space for the communication networks of the dance music genre.

The dance music industries require the construction of generic boundaries to achieve an imagined difference from other cultural genres. As Freadman puts it, 'A “frame”, or a boundary, is the enabling condition for a not-statement.... [and] the not-statement is the first move establishing a generic classification ... locating “this kind” of text in a space, and vis-à-vis other kinds' (92, 77). This membrane of exclusivity — although necessarily permeable — has achieved the objective of delimiting (through mediated languages, style-guides and choreographed behaviours) a distinct generic space for the enactment of dance music culture. The opposition between inclusion and exclusion is enacted throughout those ordinary, everyday procedures which mark out and attempt to stabilise genres. However, when approached as an inclusive genre, the provisional boundaries around dance music begin to fracture into a series of complicated, rhizomatic departures. There is no discrete or singular dance music aesthetic, set of technologies, culture or community, although as Ralph Cohen recognises, 'genre serves to avoid discontinuity by expanding the members of the category' ('Postmodern': 251). One example of this membership procedure is in Figure 8 which depicts the Contents Page from the February 1997 issue of Mixmag.

42 'In nearly every argument about the limits of a generic corpus, the opposition of an inclusive list to an exclusive canon surfaces' (Altmann: 9).
43 'By 1995 the range of popular music sub-genres is constantly being extended, and has become almost impossible to quantify. The diversifications ... [include] the various strands of hip hop and rap; house and dance music, and its various rave culture offshoots, acid house, deep house, and techno, dance, trance, Hi NRG, handbag, ambient, acid jazz, jungle, trip hop, etc.; reggae, raggamuffin, dancehall, dub and other derivations; funk and disco; and variations and combinations of all of the above' (Mitchell: 11-12).

'Dance music is a scene that continually attacks itself. Technoheads hate Goa-heads, Goldi's just accused jump-up jungle of being “immature music for immature people” and there’s the consensus that handbag, gabber and happy hardcore are beneath contempt. An opinion shared by everyone, of course, except for the thousands who continue to dance to, buy and make these records' (Marcus, 'Whatever': 103).
Genres: 29
The images and text on this page — which represent the magazine as a 'whole' — could have appeared in extremely diverse sections of media. It includes photographic extracts from: a haute couture fashion spread; an interview with controversial US rap artist Snoop Doggy Dogg; the parents of UK ecstasy victim Robert Hitchums; and a humorous experiment on the limits of club culture behaviour. It also makes reference to articles on US and UK DJs, an indie-rock singer, the UK 1996 Police Bill and a national Mixmag University club tour. What we have found with Mixmag is a clear case in which the genres (textual 'type'; target 'audience') cannot be stabilised. In practice, this magazine capitalises upon the desire to stabilise genre by taking up generic instability as a youth marketing strategy.

Moving away from questions of negativity and exclusions to questions of positivity and inclusions, for Anne Freadman, the most stable positive analogy to attach to genre is that of 'game'. Genre is like a game in that it involves particular discursive spaces of play, the active negotiations of the players, a set of game-rules and a series of affiliated ritual procedures which make up a 'ceremony' for the playing of the game.

This analogy is reliant upon Wittgenstein's concept of language-games. These are 'meant to bring into prominence the fact that the speaking of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life' (11). Language-games are realms of discourse which involve a specific set of participatory procedures, but they are neither exclusive nor immutable. But this positive analogy with games cannot be extended to incorporate the ways in which potential generic participants are judged as to whether or not they are fit for play. This will eventually bring us to the question of participation and belonging. Wittgenstein's concept of 'family resemblances' attends to the games for sorting genres. Here, genre itself becomes a 'family' of sorting-games, a grouping of elements linked not through some epistemological 'unity', but through the sorts of uncanny and unpredictable resemblances which connect the physicality of (genetically related) families. Each element is disparate, and yet can be strategically linked through a series of (mutable and dynamic) associations. These resemblances are actively traced for the purposes of signifying a generic coherence. Even a contrast between magazine genres (eg.

\[\text{44} \ \text{45} \ \text{46}\]
Genres operate according to rules and regulations. Dance music magazines enable the industries and communities of dance music to be understood as a 'genre' through communicating (and in doing so, mediating) the generic rules for participation. They consistently engage with the slippages between rules of representation and rules of community negotiation. To illustrate this, Appendix 9 depicts three consecutive pages from the August 1997 issue of *Mixmag*: (1) a black, male model climbing along a pipe over a concrete wall, designed to advertise shoes; (2) a promotion for the August 'Progress' club nights and tour, spelling out 'Go Bananas At House' in cartoon images; and (3) an article on sniffer dogs being used to detect drugs for club security. In order for these three pages to all operate within the regulated space of one dance music magazine, the text is dependent upon 'genre-literate' readership procedures which accept affiliations between industries (fashion; clubs; drugs) and communicate in accordance with the strict rule-and-code books of this media genre. As we have seen the family resemblances which (strategically) install generic rules are never stable or predictable. On the contrary just as 'texts plunder the features of a variety of genres' (Freadman: 91), genres participate within many different language-games, and a multiplicity of these games competes within the tangible boundaries of each genre. Genres are unstable, unpredictable and mutable. Each generic instance is situated at a specific historical and cultural location, designed for particular objectives, and effecting a discernible impact. For Ian Hunter, these are the most causal factors in the historical constitution of genres. He posits a conceptually dynamic model of generic operation, premised upon Foucault's genealogical method, which prioritises those historical and cultural discourses which enable or require the production of particular generic systems. Hunter also foregrounds the pragmatic applications of genre, and this expands upon Lyotard's claim that, 'Every language game is bound to a specific pragmatics.… [A] statement, with its form and in the context in which it is uttered, necessarily has an

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47 'Genre is always an encounter between practices and their description.… [C]lassificatory procedures are operative in the same way and to similar effect at both the point of production and the point of consumption of a text' (Freadman and Macdonald: 67).

48 '[Genres] everywhere change, combine, regroup, or form what seem to be new alignments altogether. This upsets the system-builder in us. But it is just the activity that genre's communicative function should have led us to expect.… [G]enres are mutable' (Fowler: 45-46).
effect upon the world, whatever it may be' (Just Gaming: 52). Genre is less the abstracted 'rules of the game' than the actual playings of a game in negotiation of those rules.\textsuperscript{49}

The way that genre is played is perhaps best illustrated in the way that (generic) texts are used.\textsuperscript{50} Freadman writes, 'The question of genre is always the question of reading' (93). For Hunter, these pragmatics are manifested as procedures for the regulation of specific subject positions within restricted domains of knowledge: 'practices of interpretation and judgment are contingent on the variable distribution of particular cultural competences in a population' (215). One place in which this is explicitly played out is the Mixmag 'Letters' page. The letters which are written to Mixmag are intended to either praise the culture and the magazine, or to contest the rules of the dance music community and the journalistic approach taken by Mixmag.

In particular, the kinds of subject positions permitted within dance culture are negotiated within the 'Letters' page. For example, a man who calls himself 'No shirt off on the dancefloor, without a Madonna record in my collection', writes, 'Just a quick word to say that as a regular reader of your pages, the only complaint I have is that you do not cover gay club dates and listings in your magazine'. And LH from the Midlands complains:

I feel someone's got to have a right good old moan about club mongers. These being the people who wobble round the outskirts of clubs munching pills. They just don't appreciate good clubbin'. Someone needs to teach them to get on an E and ride it, to make every tune special (an emotional high). We want to see the dedicated smiles of dancing figures not chin wobbles met by rolling eyes gripping to the wall … leave clubbin to us who respect it!

The first complaint was designed to question the rules of 'correct' membership, and the second to enforce the regulation of these rules. The subject positions played out in these scenarios are complex and involve bodily presentation, dance and drug behaviours, music consumption, industry exclusions, stereotypes and ideals.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49} 'It is tempting to talk about genre as if it were a game. It seems to suggest a combination of the serious and the playful…. [But] to use this metaphor for genre suggests that a text is the output of a set of rules…. [W]e need to adjust out metaphor to accommodate the idea that these rules are \textit{rules for play}' (Freadman: 70-71).

\textsuperscript{50} 'Meaning production is seen as being held together or incited by texts that share a certain set of literary rules of form and content, rather than by how they are used' (Hermes: 13).

\textsuperscript{51} One particular controversy grew up around the inclusion/exclusion of fat people within club culture. Paul Shurey of Universe Productions was quoted as saying that 'We do have a fattist policy at Universe…. Mainly because most people who are fat got fat for a reason. They're generally fat and greedy…. it probably means they've stopped dancing' (Petridis, 'Questions': 194). One of the 'Letters' responses was from a M. L. Aistrop who writes, 'One of the reasons the scene has grown this big is its lack of social barriers. I think what Paul Shurey said is unacceptable and as a result of the interview … [I] will not go to any Universe events in the future as protest'. This complaint is more about maintaining an ethic of social inclusivity than contesting Shurey's objectionable rules for the participation of certain bodies.
They clearly require the pragmatic mobilisation of distinct and effective generic structures.

Equally, each cultural object, in claiming generic status, may appear to be (momentarily) coherent, but through the historical conditions which have enabled the production of that object, it is in fact necessarily (and always) hybrid, dialogic, multi-accentual and dispersive. This means that the general confusion of cultures evident within any generic statement should be taken as fundamental to the possibility of genre: “Genre” is not absolute … it is pragmatic…. Genre, necessarily, is a rhetoric, and as such a practice, not a rule' (Freadman: 80, 25).

How does a particular (claim to) genre come to presence or to practice at a certain point in space and time? One answer could be that genres emerge as an effect of their contextual relationships to cultural technologies and subjective practices. And each moment must therefore always be considered through a simultaneous logic of industry, textual category, political judgement and cultural participation. According to Jo Ann Oravec, Genres cannot be fully examined without considering the physical artefact (or artefacts) with which they are associated, as well as the means of production of those artefacts…. Genres can be rooted in images, sounds, smells, and tactile sensations' (19, 25). Rather than take each genre in isolation, we should consider the particular function of many contextual genres, and the type of subject positions that their intersections require. Therefore, the 'problem' of locating a cohesive dance music culture (genre), or a distinct set of dance music affiliations (sub-genres), becomes part of the instructions for making genre. Although this is not a new concept in genre theory, it is one which is often misplaced in the quest for

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52 'Members of a generic classification have multiple relational possibilities with each other, relationships that are discovered only in the process of adding members to a class' (Cohen: 'History': 210).

53 'Classifications are empirical, not logical. They are historical assumptions constructed by authors, audiences and critics in order to serve communicative and aesthetic purposes. Such groupings are always in terms of distinctions and interrelations, and they form a system or community of genres. The purposes they serve are social and aesthetic. Groupings arise at particular historical moments, and as they include more and more members, they are subject to repeated redefinitions or abandonment' (Cohen, 'History': 210).

54 'Genres are inherently temporal: hence, their inherent mutability on the one hand, and their inherent historicity on the other' (Neale, 'Questions': 56).

55 'Is it possible to suggest that the novel is not exactly a genre — whether anchored in experience or carved out of the discursive continuum — but is the name for a hybrid occasional field? Is it a field formed when certain ethico-literary techniques of the self engaged with the uneven cultural abilities organised by a new communications technology, beginning a process of conditioned mutation whose end is not yet in sight?' (Hunter: 223).

56 'House culture has become a self-regenerating virus, perennially diversifying and mutating into unexpected shapes and forms' (Collin, 'Saturday': 110).

'The question of how far subdivision should be taken… beyond a certain stage [it] becomes unwieldy… Subgenres also threaten to defy subdivision in that they are extremely volatile. To determine the features of a subgenre is to trace a diachronic process of imitation, variation, innovation…' (Fowler: 113).
ultimate genres.\textsuperscript{56} Even though, as Leitch observes, 'A text is always more than a
genre allows, and this surplus is incorrigible for no genre can totally saturate all the
phrases and gaps in a text' (94), to find a complete match between a text and its
genre, or a citizen and its community, should not be the objective of genre theory.
As Freadman points out, 'The so-called “problem” of genre has always emerged in
the failure of generic labels to fully describe their objects…. But this is a problem
only if the telos of the classification is truth' (94).

Returning to the question of rules, for Lyotard, 'all language games have rules, and
these rules deal with the functioning of the various pragmatic positions' (\textit{Just
Gaming}: 72). Language-games are made distinct through 'heteronomy': 'the
untranslatability of the rules of one game into those of another' ('\textit{Presentations}':
122). The rules of dance music are inexplicable and incoherent within neighbouring
genres such as rock music, or even rap or hip-hop. Also, while they are connected,
the rules of dance music magazines cannot be effectively translated into the rules of
dance music culture, or of dance music technologies, and so on. This would imply
that each 'genre' or 'sub-genre' is always relatively discrete and self-regulating, and
that the laws of each genre cannot or should not be collapsed across generic
thresholds.\textsuperscript{57} As Fowler notes, 'boundaries may not be hard-edged, but they can
nonetheless exclude' (73). The first law of genre requires categorical purity. As
Derrida states, 'Genres are not to be mixed' ('\textit{The Law}': 202). And an intermixing
of 'different' genres would seem only to confirm the purity of each.\textsuperscript{58} However,
since hybridity is the enabling condition of genre, exclusive purity is a provisional
fiction.\textsuperscript{59} As Derrida points out, although most genres forcefully proclaim a strict
regulation of membership, 'lodged within the very heart of the law itself, [is] a law

\textsuperscript{56} Some generic theories … are perfectly compatible with multiple discourses, with narratives
of discontinuity, with transgressed boundaries…. The basis for a genre theory of mixed forms of
shared generic features is as old as Aristotle's comparison of tragedy and epic (Cohen,
'\textit{Postmodern}': 241-242).

\textsuperscript{57} 'Dance music has splintered into a myriad of genres that excite no one but purists intent on
enforcing each genre's particular rules of membership. It's only in those unexplored spaces between
genres where surprising, exciting things are going to happen' (Pemberton, '\textit{State}': 131).

\textsuperscript{58} 'The whole enigma of genre springs perhaps most closely from within this limit between the
two genres of genre which… form an odd couple of one without the other in which each evenly
serves the other a citation to appear in the figure of the other, simultaneously and indiscernibly
saying “I” and “we”, me the genre, we genres, without it being possible to think that the “I” is a
species of the genre “we”…. Thus, as soon as genre announces itself, one must respect a norm, one
must not cross a line of demarcation, one must not risk impurity, anomaly or monstrosity…. [G]enres
should not intermix. And if it should happen that they do intermix, by accident or through
transgression … then this should confirm … the essential purity of their identity … it is the law
of the law of genre' (Derrida, '\textit{The Law}': 204).

\textsuperscript{59} Is not the very condition that defines the pure genre … merely a particular (historical)
manifestation of a more general feature … which can and perhaps should be found in all
sophisticated (complex) narrative, at any time, with varying degrees of predominance and various
types of manifestation according to the period?' (Brooke-Rose: 156).
of impurity or a principle of contamination … an axiom of impossibility that would confound its sense, order and reason' (‘The Law’: 204). Much genre theory occludes this problem by persisting in making claims upon an imaginary register of generic membership. But if, as Derrida claims, 'the law and the counter-law … summon and … serve each other' (‘The Law’: 205), then both the possibility of being a member of a genre and the 'problem' of indeterminate genre boundaries, are annulled.

This does not, however, posit a space outside of the law. The logic of genre may not be able to sustain the 'madness' of contamination, but those genres which claim mixed or hybrid strategies, are only countering the counter-law, with another law. When a cultural object is being negotiated into generic form, the 're-mark' which proclaims its participation within a genre draws attention to itself, marks itself out and therefore occludes the (imagined) possibility of actually belonging to that genre. To 'claim' or to 'reject' genre is to recognise and activate a commentary upon generic procedures, which is to deny the possibility of spontaneous or innate genre membership. This opens the way for Derrida's, 'participation without belonging — a taking part in without being part of, without having membership in a set' (‘The Law’: 206). In this sense membership consists of a beckoning, a call to come, to participate within the formulations of genre. Genre draws attention to its own functional procedures, disabling the mechanism of generic spontaneity and at the same time dissolving the possibility of absolute belonging.

Genre may be inexact but this does not mean that is undecidable. Derrida is often accused of advocating an infinite indeterminacy of meaning which occludes the possibility of such ordering strategies as genre. But, on the contrary, his writings suggest that although meaning is never inherently predictable, a decision must

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60 ‘What a mixed genre outlaws will be, we guess, the law of its own conformity to the unquestioned rules of the game’ (Freadman and MacDonald: 183).

61 Derrida: ‘The thought of “to come” or the event itself depend(s) on the uttering (proferation), on the performative call of “come”…. Where this call comes from, and from whom, I don't know. That doesn't simply mean that I am ignorant; it is heterogenous to knowledge. In order for that call to exist, the order to knowledge must be breached. If we can identify, objectify, recognise the place, from that moment on there is no call…. It is in relation to nonknowledge that the call is made’ (in Brunette and Wills: 21, 27).

62 ‘The re-mark of belonging does not belong. It belongs without belonging, and the “without”.. . which relates belonging to non-belonging appears only in the timeless time of the blink of an eye (Augenblick)…. [A] text cannot belong to no genre, it cannot be without or less a genre. Every text participates in one or several genres, there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging. And not because of an abundant overflowing or a free, anarchic and unclassifiable productivity, but because of the trait of participation itself…. Making genre its mark, a text demarcates itself’ (Derrida, ‘The Law’: 212).
always be made. Genre schematises this ordinary cultural operation of making decisions. Genre may not 'work' as a predictable phenomenon, but we still employ it. In Lyotard's words, 'It is decided, that is all that can be said' (Just Gaming: 14). It is as though the human procedures of communication needed to be consistently processed through a system of 'ordering'. The generic space of play is unpredictable but not infinite. On the contrary, a threshold of tolerance is strictly monitored, so that, as Thomas Kent recognises, 'through the ordering ability of the text ... we may know disorder or absurdity' (64). Dance music magazines expose what might be taken to be an 'indeterminacy' of the genre of dance music. But what is interesting about the generic strategies employed within this medium, is that they appropriate and occupy the very project of this 'indeterminacy' in order to regulate its implications. This kind of journalism is, then, designed to defer the 'madness' of an excess of textual meaning, which is perhaps an extension of John Frow's claim that, 'By establishing the limits of the sayable, genre allows the unsaid to be said without being said' (79).

Genre has become a discourse through which to articulate protest against institutional, political and ethical regulations. The concept of 'aesthetics' is contested on these grounds; it is negotiated between an acknowledgment (and thus submission to) or denial (and thus occlusion) of 'traditional' genres. Whereas a traditional aesthetic is accused of conservatism, formula and predictability, an 'experimental' aesthetic is claimed to operate at the liminal, on thresholds, and to transgress normativity. However, as Freadman argues, 'Breaking the rules is, paradoxically,

63 'If an assured and guaranteed decision is impossible, this is because there is nothing more to be done than to commit oneself, to perform, to wager, to allow chance its chance — to make a decision that is essentially edgeless, bordering perhaps only on madness' (Derrida, 'The Law': 218).

64 'I do not believe that I have ever spoken of “indeterminacy”, whether in regard to “meaning” or anything else. Undecidability is something else again.... undecidability is always a determinate oscillation between possibilities ... [which are] themselves highly determined in strictly defined situations.... They are pragmatically determined' (Derrida, Limited Inc: 148).

65 'Even abstruse postmodern novels come to be read because of a basic human capacity for ordering disorder' (Cohen, 'Postmodern': 243).

66 'US dance act vocalist, Lady Kier Kirby: 'Whatever the category, the nature of the artist is to break the format or structure that tries to confine the energy. And we will. That is why we love music and change' (159).

67 'In 1986, house was an obscure specialist cult, all but invisible. Now its breadth and diversity are all but impossible to capture concisely. As soon as someone tries to confine and define it, it twists out of grasp. Once there was simply house. Now genres like jungle, techno, ambient and trance have developed so far from their origins that they are barely traceable to their source, to the point that their adherents even reject the definition of their music as "house". Even its subgenres generate subgenres — Goa trance, German trance, acid trance — and each fragment contains its own unique worldview and history and heroes. There is no overall blueprint, no masterplan, just an endlessly shifting set of possibilities, fracturing scenes and fracturing ideologies' (Collin, 'Saturday': 112).

68 UK jungle pioneer Goldie: “We're joyriding technology, pushing it to the edge.... There are no rules in art ... just as there are no rules as to what we can do with the studio technology itself" (Barr: 110).
a way of asserting generic place' (91). And Terry Threadgold asks, 'What after all is freedom from generic norms but a recognition of the existence of the “ground” against which “freedom” is possible?' (111) In order to transgress normativity and refute expectations, there must first be an established aesthetic community to scandalise.\footnote{Transgression, in order to exist, requires a law that will, of course, be transgressed. One could go further: the norm becomes visible — lives — only by its transgressions…. But there is more … this work also, as soon as it is recognised in its exceptional status, become in its turn, thanks to successful sales and critical attention, a rule' (Todorov, 'Origin': 160).} One example of this from Mixmag is Figure 9 which depicts the female DJ and dance music producer Tasha Killer Pussies. She is dressed to parody a dowdy 'housewife' complete with vacuum cleaner, apron and headscarf. The purpose of this apparent image-transgression is based upon the fact that she is female in a male-dominated profession, and that she has an unconventional approach to her music, sampling everyday noises such as household appliances. The image is ironic (the caption states: 'Who said DJs were cool?') and transgressive (the text begins: 'The great thing about dance music, in theory at least, is that anything goes' Jones, 'Leaders': 37) and yet what it states more than anything is that the establishment of dance music is male and a serious business.

Fowler notes that, 'We identify the genre to interpret the exemplar' (38). Attempting to negotiate rules and regulations within the sphere of aesthetic production is made difficult since contemporary 'art' is often supposed to be about breaking rules and transgressing expectations.\footnote{‘Many people wish to avoid the whole question of genre because it is held that it will lead to the laying down of rules and regulations that will arbitrarily restrict the freedom of artists to create what they like, or the freedom of critics to talk about anything they want to' (Buscombe: 12).} However, as Cohen writes, 'the very concept of transgression presupposes an acknowledgment of boundaries or limits…. [T]he denial of generic combinations … evokes … the fear that boundaries are conservative, that to admit that bounds or limits are inevitable is to submit to them' ('Postmodern': 247). Transgressions require and consolidate rules, and genres provide the template for identifying and classifying exceptions. If this is so, then the 'subversive' tactic of countering genre with fusions, transgressions and unpredictabilities is as much a generic procedure as any 'traditional' approach.\footnote{‘And that's what it all about, all this genre-mashing and soundclashing. Because when the trainspotters get too much to take, when the dance music cliques suffocate you with their rules, when it's not proper house and it's not proper techno suck all the pleasure away, you've now got somewhere unknown to escape to. In 1997, the most fascinating music is going to explore the margins between rigid definitions and genres. Its going to exist in the space where there's no precedents, no history, no rulebook. No way it should be done. Indie stars get remixed, collaborate, transform and turn and split Camden pubs for the dancefloor. Dance artists kick over the traces of the past, work with whoever the fuck they want to, make records that never sound the way you'd expect them to. And Massive Attack are covering The Clash and The Beatles on their new album. Looks like its going to be one of those years. Right?' (Petridis, 'Rocket Girl': 64).}

And, 'To note that genres are necessary in order to be rejected is to remain within
the discourse of genres' (Cohen, 'Postmodern': 250). That is, the transgressions of 'art' tend to perpetuate rather than to occlude generic structure.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{70} "The title “Untitled” claims above all to transcend genre … (but) “untitled” paintings are themselves a genre; and the title "Untitled" points to genre in its very act of denial. It is metageneric, inextricably implicated in and implicating the problem of kinds in its spectacular failure to not-classify' (Freadman: 67).
Genres: 39
Is genre then completely self-enfolding? Is Kent justified in proclaiming that 'Just as there is no escaping history, there is no escaping genre' (152)? If the project is explicitly either to reproduce or to reject genre, then there is no outside; there is no place from which one could photograph the whole thing (Lyotard, Just Gaming: 43). However, if genre is an ordinary, everyday procedure which is fundamental to human communication, then why should we feel the need to escape it? If there is no experience prior to genre, then there is nothing lost to get nostalgic about. Threadgold suggests, 'If genre, *per se*, is inadequate to describe the way we produce texts, this does not mean that what genre doesn't, can't explain, is anarchic, free, unconstrained' (122). Perhaps it is more significant to ask: What is it that we are trying to achieve through positing a space outside of genre? And does the suggestion that genre is hegemonically self-enfolding disable these motivations? Are Kress and Threadgold warranted in asserting, 'Parody and subversion there may be. Change there is not' (237)? Certainly, examples from *Mixmag* would seem to support this. Appendix 10 contains a section from a photographic feature entitled 'How to Dance in Today's Modern “Club” Style'. It is a complete parody of dance music's culture of dance behaviours, and yet this parody will not do anything to change those styles. If anything, it will affirm and increase the credibility of those styles, within this bounded community. Perhaps this self-enfolding logic is itself another level of generic totalisation; but if so, then what sort of non-sentimental metaphor can be used as a significant challenge? As Freadman reminds us, 'We never leave the space of rituals for a space of non-rituals; we choose one ritual instead of another…. [T]o lose one's place is simply, and automatically, to be somewhere else' (89, 97). It is not necessary to provide conclusive answers to all of these questions, since they do not really impact upon our continual and constant re-enactments of genre. As Wittgenstein states, 'Only let us understand what “inexact” means. For it does not mean “unusable”…. Is it even always an advantage to replace an indistinct picture by a sharp one? Isn't the indistinct one often exactly what we need?' (41, 34)

Despite an apparently self-enfolding project of transgression, the genre of dance music is enacted as a set of techno-industries and (sub-)cultural rituals which continuously scandalises generic thresholds. In order to 'evaluate' this generic

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71 ‘*Genus universum* is the whole of culture, the sum of the arts and sciences in their essence … a flawless encyclopaedia of knowledge…. Particular arts are its fragments…’ (Beaujour: 23).
72 ‘There's a fundamental subversiveness at the very heart of dance music…. [E-culture] has reconcieved the very notion of “music”. No longer is pop music something produced and — crucially — owned by musicians recording “original” tracks based on melodic and harmonic principles. Ambient and techno can be made on computers in bedrooms, and are more concerned with texture than melody. House music can be created purely by mixing together other people's
impact, Lyotard's notion of paralogy can be applied to the negotiations between industry and community. 'Paralogy' locates genre on the frontiers of the conceivable: 'a search for the limit between the tolerable and the intolerable by way of moves lacking any given model' ('Presentations': 124). A paralogic model of genre comfortably applies to dance music magazines, since these texts consolidate their industry and citizenship functions through confronting the limits of the technologically and aurally 'unpresentable'. However, they do not do so outside of 'any given model'. In fact, they tend to reproduce standard methods for narrating the ineffable, the ephemeral and the 'new'. Once again, the question becomes: If genre enjoys (indeed, requires) paralogies, then how can we avoid reducing community 'experiments' to a predictable (sub-)cultural function? A happy reply would be that since these experiments provide a space for the active negotiation of (generic) boundaries, then the abstract implications for the orderings of genre are irrelevant. However, generic reproduction implies an inheritance of cultural ordering regimes, which are not necessarily going to be sensitive to social hierarchies and assymetries of participation. If a just program of access and contribution is an objective of cultural ordering, then simply celebrating generic function is not enough.

A moral ordering is always present within the organisation of cultural objects. To participate within a genre involves the employment of 'conventions… not as neutral devices but as political instruments insuring order, effecting exclusions, and carrying out programs' (Leitch: 94). The ways in which rules order the operations of genre, therefore, are far more significant than contestation over an abstract aesthetics. Freadman and Macdonald suggest that, '[Genre is] a way of describing the “politics” — that is, the tactics and strategies — that play out relative positions of power' (46). These rules are defined through a paralogic engagement with moral thresholds. The rules for the gaming of dance music are not in themselves open to change through media challenge, but the ordering of those rules are. They are consistently being negotiated through the mediated procedures of ethical judgment. As Wittgenstein asks: 'A rule stands there like a sign-post — Does the sign-post leave no doubt open about the way I have to go?' (39). If genre is

records, using sampling technology…. Much of what's played at clubs is created on the spot by DJs. There is no "original". Dance music can be imitated, even co-opted, but it remains, by nature, subversive' (Manning: 41).

'The transgressive work will become a norm or a generic paradigm in its turn, thus establishing a new taxonomy of kinds' (Beaujour: 16).

"The joy of genre is to see what can be dared in the creation of a new form or the creative destruction and complication of an old one' (Braudy: 438).

'Genres are not to be seen as forms of textual codification, but as systems of orientations, expectations and conventions that circulate between industry, text and subject' (Neale, 'Genre': 19).
primarily responsible for the ordering of cultural objects, communities and
citizenships, then this introduces the possibility that the decision as to genre is an
ethical practice. In this case, then, both the 'game' and the 'rules' of genre are
subject to a third field, namely a disciplined ethical ordering. Genre organises the
negotiation of community at the level of judgments.

To schematise this, genre operates through an ordering of the rules of any language-
game. If as Freadman and Macdonald put it, 'the rules of the game are also
governed by rules' (103), then a three-tiered model of genre can be formed: the (1)
ordering of the (2) rules for the (3) game of genre. These are not stable, exclusive
levels or strata, but are positions in a turning cycle of 'interactive' culture which is
completely immersed in the momentary configurations of space and time. Access to
and participation within particular genres occur within a multitude of locations, and
what is permissible is what has been concluded to be ethically just.

The ways in which generic rules are brought to order are identical with the ways in
which community comes about. For Freadman this involves the construction of a
regulated space within which appropriate and effective cultural discourse can occur:
generic order promotes dialogue. This involves the establishment of a system of
etiquette. But this is not necessarily an etiquette of 'good manners'. It is just an
appropriate and distinct set of communication templates. Generic etiquette
'determines' the setting, the method, the limits, and the appropriate participatory
behaviours of culture.

73 'I believe I speak for a number of people. It's not that I only like one type of music; I think
by being part of the scene, I respect and like everything from house, techno, jungle to American
house. But whatever it is it's got to be good … I believe the DJs should play what the people
want, the crowd pleasers, not what the record companies are paying them to play and if the big DJs
don't play for the crowd, the club should not book them' (Concerned Clubber: 4).

76 'Classifications which describe the set of states and actions that are [permissible]' (Kress and
Threadgold: 239).

77 'If the rhetorical rules of a genre are thought of as an etiquette, rather than as fixed laws, it is
easier for us to think of them as being to do with how people get on with one another…. Manners
are instrumental in organising and determining role-relations, and thus, in forming settings …
social groups continually renegotiate the forms of acceptable behaviour in relation to an implicit or
explicit criterion of appropriateness' (Freadman: 85-86).

78 'Moaning and whingeing have characterised the dance scene since its inception in 1988…. It
seems there's nothing more becoming in clubland than snobbishness and elitism, not least from
DJs and producers themselves' (Pemberton, 'Healy': 45).

79 'To understand the rules of the genre is to know when and where it is appropriate to do and say
certain things, and to know that to do or say them at inappropriate places and times is to run the
risk of having them ruled out. To use these rules with skill is to apply questions of strategy to
decisions of timing and the tactical plan of the rhetoric…. [T]he rules of a genre or of a ceremony
are there to “make things work”' (Freadman: 86-87).
For these reasons, dance music magazines do not explicitly delimit the boundaries of participatory discourse, but they do represent a bounded range of possible subject positions, and a membership clause which requires a shared dedication to dance music and its designated languages. And equally, every dance music 'community' is premised upon reliable — perhaps even predictable — rituals of club nights and record buying and the exclusive realms of the dance 'underground'. So whilst this genre may employ 'the fiction … that rules are not real rules, and need not be spoken…. [E]ven this fiction is “good manners” in a group that thinks of itself as unregulated by anything but spontaneity and fellow feeling' (Freadman: 86).

The ordering of generic rules has much to say about the investments in cultural order which are made by community participants. Order is simultaneously, the actual functioning of a social system, and the reproduction of particular procedures of organisation. This also means that, as Freadman notes, 'To read “genre” is to read conflict' (93). To challenge the ordering of rules involves a direct attack upon the specific (ethical, aesthetic, technological, political, corporeal, spatial and so on) assemblages which have been drawn up within each genre. To make generic judgments is to prescribe, or to instruct. This is part of its ethics. For Lyotard this is neither inappropriate nor avoidable. We judge — because we decide — whenever we name, classify, associate, regulate, include, exclude and so on. Each of these judgments is a moment of enacting opinion, and thus of participating within the negotiation of community. Here, the 'problem' of generic judgment is again dissolved into the pragmatics of making decisions. For Lyotard, 'paganism' denotes a realm of community operation in which decisions are made on the basis of opinion, and on the number of times that 'just' decisions have previously been made. For Lyotard, we cannot escape opinion. We are always implicated in judgment. The main problem with this kind of ordering program is in the attempt to deduce procedures of closure: 'Can one engage in a politics without finality?… How do I decide among opinions…. Where do I get this capability to judge? If all

80 'Rules of etiquette function to define the boundaries between those who belong and those who do not belong to the group; they function to hold outsiders at bay and to set standards of sensitivity and consideration which preserve the (feeling of) purity and integrity of the group' (Wouters: 109).

81 'Mistakes matter: they are the moments of the local or general, provisional or definite, trivial or crucial losses of the place of speech. Genre is the site of the regulation of the power over, as well as the power of, discourse' (Freadman: 96-97).

82 'One cannot merely say that I give a description of the multiplicity of language games in their incommunicability; I also give out instructions, that is, I prescribe something…. An instruction is precisely an indication of what is appropriate to do in a specific pragmatic context … one cannot live without prescriptions' (Lyotard, Just Gaming: 55, 59).

83 '[Paganism] is a name, neither better nor worse than others, for the denomination of a situation in which one judges without criteria … in matters of truth … beauty (of aesthetic efficacy) and in matters of justice, that is, of politics and ethics, and all without criteria…. One is without criteria, yet one must decide' (Lyotard, Just Gaming: 16,17).
opinions are acceptable, then I cannot decide' (Lyotard, Just Gaming: 76, 81). What this 'paganism' promotes is a notion of community which is organised around a series of cultural approximations proceeding pragmatically by trial and error. Thus, the language of genre is transposed across the orderings of community judgment.

Dance music journalists depend for their vocation upon this model of judgment. This journalism is premised upon the significance of opinion in appointing generic status to musical texts; it decides upon the place that each text should be positioned within a network of intersecting dance music genres, and then decides the merit or value of their contribution and participation to that sub-genre, and to the genre as a whole. Dance music journalists delimit the rules of this musical game, but they do not control the ordering of the rules: that is a community function. Once again, the Mixmag 'Letters' pages provide graphic evidence. R.A. Evans writes, 'Don't let that nonce Alexis Petridis near another gabba compilation to review, he's a tit'. SGS of Aberdeen laments, 'If only his review was fractionally as inspiring as this CD. Let's face it, using descriptions such as 'it's dull' isn't exactly classic constructive journalism. All this aside the really annoying thing is that he has totally missed the point here'. These are direct accusations against particular journalists who are being chastised for not participating in the appropriate manner. But these ordering judgments are also levelled at the magazine as a whole. James Blackhouse comments, 'If the dance scene is at its most vibrant and eclectic, then why do you publish articles on dream house and Goa trance? Please spare us in future'. And Billy (Suffolk Boy) of Reading asks, 'Where has all this criticism of the current techno scene come from?... Fuck the systematic witch-hunt of musical styles (dissing happy hardcore, for example) and celebrate the scene'. Helen Lambert of West Yorkshire writes, 'If this is the only thing I can pick up on to complain about, you must be doing something right!' These are fierce and earnest commandments designed to remind both the producers and the consumers of this media text that the conflation of genres which occurs within dance music magazines is organised through the ordering procedures of citizenship participation: the ordering of the rules of the game.

Dance music magazines are invested in the capacity of electronic dance musics to occupy an apparently 'other' side to the rational, capitalist, normative practices of established or 'traditional' social functions: 'Innovation inevitably comes from the radical fringes, not from the mainstream (hip hop, house, techno and jungle all illustrate this). Without the dreamers and the diehards, dance culture will stagnate, become a closed circuit of repetitive behaviour' (Collin, 'This': 64). Dance music
journalists accept and celebrate their community role as observers from the 'edge'.

In the July 1997 issue of Mixmag, journalist John Mitchell wrote a half-page review of club night 'Freedom Sound Organization' in Salisbury, in the UK. In this review Mitchell writes of guest DJ Dave Angel: 'He seems to have added flowery patches to his techno trousers of late with enticing hints of melody amid the walls of biting beats' (41). On the accompanying photograph of Mr Angel there is an editorial caption which reads: ‘“adds some flowery patches to his techno trousers”. What the bloody hell are our reviewers on about, eh?’ This demonstrates the self-reflexive manner in which dance music journalism, in order to contain inexactness, adopts and celebrates certain thresholds of aesthetic possibilities, instabilities, unpredictabilities and so on, and make these (potentially radical) procedures culturally and commercially intelligible.

This journalism undertakes an investment in the productive demarcations of a dance music genre. However, a paradox does arise through the refusal of dance music magazines to acknowledge the normativity of this procedure. The example above of the 'flowery patches' demonstrates Mixmag's articulation of generic instability as a youth marketing strategy. The self-reflexive mocking of the operations of dance music journalists proceeds to mark out an arena within which to transgress normativity. It is through laughing at the phrase that journalistic procedure is affirmed as a kind of commentary, and elevated to a more sophisticated level than the unfathomable nexus between language and music. This appropriation of a style of indeterminacy brings with it a claim to conceptual potency, but the biggest scandals of such media are provoked by internal rule-transgressions — such as those mentioned in the 'Letters' pages — rather than any sort of encounter with 'difference'. What is unique about the double genre of dance music and its magazines is that it is these normative generic strategies which provide the communicative structures through which to articulate both industries and citizenships.

[84] '[Musicians are] right to be fazed and wary of the music journalist's relentless, lumpen categorisation of anything and everything that crosses their stereo. The alchemy of music can never be captured and is oft destroyed by words. Hopelessly inarticulate when asked to explain the musical process through which they arrive at the finished track, musos don't deal too well in the currency of words, which is why they often find it hard to write lyrics. Maybe musicians and music journalists envy and despise each other by turns because each has the talent the other wants' (Craik: 129).

[85] 'The intelligibility of unruliness depends upon invoking, through its denial, the rule broken' (Freadman and MacDonald: 10).

'Such is the nature of the creature that it will continue to develop, evolving as its creators strive for new giddy heights, new panoramic vistas to explore, going to more elaborate and outrageous lengths in a quest for the biggest bastard sound they can find’ (Jones: 37).
As we shall see in the next chapter, to perform community citizenship is to participate within the game, the rules and especially the ordering of a cultural genre. Dance music is such a genre in that there are citizens who desire, claim and negotiate a particular ordering of the rules of the dance music industries.\footnote{\textit{Once genre is defined as pragmatic rather than natural, as defined rather than found, and as used rather than described, then there are precisely as many genres as we need. They are designed to serve the explanatory purpose of critical thought, not the other way around} (Rosmarin: 25).} If this is the case then we have developed a genre-based definition of citizenship.
3- Citizenships

Björk: “This is the music that has been in my body for 20 years. It is in everyone of our generation. So thanks for bringing it out”. (Harrison: 84)

That dark and scary and fast and occasionally sweet psychosis that is life in the late 20th century. (Cole, 'Why': 63)

The previous chapter offered a way of approaching the question of community citizenships through genre. Using that approach this final chapter will take up some further questions concerning dance music magazines. Dance music operates as a distinct cultural genre through a negotiation of citizenship procedures. That is, the aesthetics, politics and bodies of dance music, which are regulated through various media, employ generic procedures of inclusion and exclusion to judge generic participation.\(^8\) This chapter will consider the ways that dance music citizenship procedures are negotiated in those 'specialist' media dedicated to this music, particularly Mixmag: The World's Leading Dance Music and Club Culture Magazine.

The 'original' project of dance music, as a fledgling youth and music culture, was celebratory, inclusive and communal. Lady Kier Kirby — vocalist with US dance act “Deee-lite” — claimed, 'You can count on dance music when there's nothing else to count on. Two thousand kids who come together, children of all colors — we are collective' (158). By contrast, electronic dance music today occupies a vast and fractious field of productive affiliations, but maintains a nostalgic attachment to those dense formative claims to a collective authenticity.\(^8\) In i-D magazine's 1996 'Dance Music Forum', facilitator Bethan Cole stated that, 'Since 1988, dance music has fragmented into a multitude of genres', and then went on to ask, 'Will there ever be another Acid House, one trend for everyone to lock onto?' (26). The negotiation of dance music citizenship employs a logic of authentication which is articulated at various points along a continuum of moral judgments running from celebration to

\(^{87}\) I use this term as Derrida uses it in The Law of Genre, to represent the way in which generic membership occurs as a procedure of taking-part-in without becoming an intrinsic-part-of: 'participation without belonging' (206).

\(^{88}\) ‘We do have a nostalgic notion of the empowering ability of underground culture and still insist that it goes beyond dancing for that one night. It has the potential to make people really think…. Let's discuss the here and now on the level of communities and collectives … and let’s start dealing with the consciousness we've learned from dance culture' (Marcus, 'Alabama': 101).
condemnation. In order to preserve an (imagined) coherence within the diversities of dance musics, *Mixmag* delineates a considerable portion of this continuum: ranging from tabloid-fuelled panic to raver-based worship.

The interesting (but not necessarily unique) negotiation of dance music authenticity involves homage to traditionally *in*authentic procedures. As Lawrence Grossberg puts it: 'The only authenticity is to know and even admit that you are not being authentic, to fake it without faking the fact that you are faking it' (206). Youth culture and 'alternative' musics are usually thought of and readily declare themselves to be projects for the articulation of subjective angst and cultural alienation. Dance music continues this 'youth tradition' through a 'progressive' technophilic aesthetic, foregrounding notions of the 'self' as performative; 'we' as a collection of diversities; and 'they' as the political, religious and moral establishment. As Simon Watney explains to the readers of *Artforum*, dance music is 'going-out-late-after-work music, weekend-in-the-city music, and its themes are simple and direct — love, loss, lust, dancing' (16).

Dance music operates as an assemblage of active cultural industries, particularly those of music production and consumption, clubs and raves, and the citizenship negotiations of dancing, fashion and style. *Mixmag* music writer Steven Hollingsworth describes the set of procedures for participation in dance culture as:

> The ultimate moveable feast. You don't have to arrive at the beginning of a DJ's set, and there's no need to stay to the end. You can dip in and out, moving about at your own pace, in your own time. You can dance under the stars, to beautiful music, and you don't have to crane your neck to see the stage. There's nothing to see but each other anyway. And vibes? Well that's what dance music is all about isn't it? (131)

*Mixmag's '1996: Defining Moments' asserts the liberatory potentials of enacting dance culture, through which everybody and every Body can 'mix and match wildly contrasting ideas as the Saturday night mood takes you' (87). Within this ideal of liberatory potential, the citizens of dance music are revered as conscious agents in the production and reproduction of their cultural ethic. The sites provided for the enaction of dance culture (commercial and 'underground' clubs; touring super-club 'nights'; illegal raves and protests; dance music festivals and parades) are made sacred: 'Clubs are places where people can act out characters that everyday life, and daylight, will not allow them. Places where barriers of class and race are breached. Where sexuality is expressed more openly. Where excessive behaviour — including drug use — is indulged' (Collin, 'Closed': 60) These same sites are most often

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89 See McClary, 'Same As It Ever Was: Youth Culture and Music'.

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described by non-dance media as anonymous, manufactured or 'unreal'.

Johan Fornäs defends against such accusations by claiming that 'foregrounded figures are created by all the dancing listeners ... filling in the holes in the music.... The authenticity of the musical score might be de-emphasised in the listening moment, but it does not disappear completely' ('Listen': 167). So an ethics of dance culture is set up in response to deliberate misunderstandings in the traditional media. And this ethic is energetically taken up through dance music media's defensive celebration of the ephemeral and negotiated performativity of the (personal and collective) rave.

Dance music is electronic, and this scandalises established ideas about the authorship, performance and composition of music. It is produced by studio-based technology operators and released under changing 'pseudonyms', in direct opposition to what Simon Frith describes as 'The continuing core of rock ideology ... that raw sounds are more authentic than cooked sounds' (266). Andrew Goodwin asserts that, 'Manipulating a record turntable or programming a drum machine is, for this generation of musicians, the equivalent of learning an instrument' (94). Dance music magazines are dedicated to the aesthetic and performative potential of this kind of electronic music production. The technologies of dance music are complex and expensive, and yet dance music media claim them to be revolutionary and democratising: 'Rhythm, texture, harmony and melody can be shaped and mutated with no more dexterity than it takes to play a cutting-edge shoot-em-up' (Marcus, 'Techno': 64).

Technology is represented as exponentially progressive and cutting-edge but only in so far as it enables 'human' unconscious creativities.

This dichotomy between bodily 'inspiration' and 'robotic' technology reiterates a familiar distinction between the old (historical, earthed, embodied) and the new (futuristic, conceptual, transgressive). Some theorists make quite far-reaching claims about this dichotomy, such as Maria Rika Maniates who writes, 'the controversy between adherents of tradition and innovation ... can be traced back

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90  'The rhetoric of critical attack on ... dance music [is that it] cannot be serious music because it speaks to out bodies, not to our minds or aesthetic sensibilities; it is commercially produced for consumption in an urban environment; it abandons the inspired composition or improvisation of the singer or instrumentalist in favor of a slick, overproduced studio product' (Hughes: 149).

91  'The expertise needed to operate the more sophisticated technologies is such that they have bred a new generation of technicians, engineers, and programmers who are often hired along with the equipment to implement the ideas of musicians who in fact have little idea how actually to use this supposedly democratizing technology' (Goodwin: 91-92).

92  Rob Haigh/Omni Trio: “Music is a very mathematical structure, the beats … the melodies, the chromatic scale. Yet to me music only works if it's got that haunted element” (Cole, 'Ghost': 52).

93  Ian O'Brien: 'You can only look as far forward as you can back. It's cool to have a futuristic sound, but you have to accept all the other forms of music happening around you. You have to have a sense of continuity' (Jones, 'Ian': 131).
into the sixteenth century' (381). Dance music media celebrate, rather than dissipate, the contradictions thrown up by these 'old-meets-new' tensions. These strategies articulate the two related cultural functions of music production: subjective encounter and collective affirmation. Cultural theorist James Lull explains these functions:

Music promotes experiences of the extreme for its makers and listeners, turning the perilous emotional edges, vulnerabilities, triumphs, celebrations, and antagonisms of life into hypnotic, reflective tempos that can be experienced privately or shared with others. (1)

A link between the private and the shared occurs through the media-based negotiation of a dance music aesthetic and an embodied dance practice. And in Popular Music and Local Identity, Tony Mitchell traces 'notions of musical authenticity ... [which] regard a particular form of music ... as possessing an inherent truth, value, tradition and originality which places obligations on performers not to deviate from the implicit rules inherent in these' (10). The 'innate' joys of dance music communality and experience are predicated upon strict delimitations of the permissible range of expressive styles. Dance music foremostly requires that its participants deliberately open themselves to a 'surrender into a never-ending fantasy of movement, noise, imagination, colour, rhythm and release' (Marcus, 'Outlaw': 112). This is precisely why dance music opens itself to — and might even welcome — accusations of irrationality, tribalism and 'hypnoid states'.

The behavioural instructions of dance culture citizenships can provoke antagonism both within and without the community. Larry Flick suggests that 'the primary

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94 They cut and splice the past (rhythm) into the present (technology) like renegade hackers, rewiring the accepted sonic codes, mapping the creative landscape of the approaching millennium with a sampler, a mixing desk and an Apple Mac … moving towards the outer limits, connecting with the paranormal and conducting the very purest experiments in the new science of breakbeat. Never losing sight of the groove, their accumulated rhythmic knowledge, built up through the eras of hip hop and acid house, rare groove and electro, is filtered through the computer chips and integrated circuits of the modern studio' (Howe: 65).

95 'Ever since the stripped down rhythms and dreamy oscillations of house music infected western youth with a dancing madness — similar to that which put such a bounce in the step of the medieval flagellants who danced their way across Europe to the greater glory of God — expositions on the relationship between sound and hypnoid states have followed…. [T]here is nothing wrong with floating off on a rhythmical wave. It can be liberating. However, rave music, in its hegemony, has become a digital soma. Its appeal is that of secular nirvana: to a regressive state of primal, unintegrated bliss. In the final analysis, it is, literally, if not so metaphorically, for suckers' (Gray: 31).

'Escaping one kind of slavery… the workaday grind… ravers subordinate themselves to another: oppressed at work, en-thrall-ed in leisure, their anti-Oedipal triumph over reality is also their tragedy. This is a lost generation, lost in music' (Reynolds: 58).

96 Mixmag published this short denouncement of a failed attempt at community membership: 'Channel 4 are broadcasting a series of Christian rave services over the festive period, seemingly aimed at clubbers. Entitled “God in the House”, the programmes feature worshippers getting down
element that sets the club community apart from the rest is that it is such a lifestyle-driven world' (Billboard: 32). Despite the obvious fact that little can operate outside of 'lifestyle', dance citizenships do require a particularly active negotiation of the activities and subject positions promoted by each dance music genre. This involves, most obviously, participation in club/rave events and the purchasing of dance music, and most provocatively, either the embrace or refusal of the sorts of prohibited drug consumption which are designed to enhance — or to be enhanced by — the dance music experience.  

'Underground' sectors of dance culture demarcate the strictest spaces of citizenship participation. Dance music magazines celebrate all of the chronicled groupings associated with each dance music genre, from the severe 'trainspotting' underground (see Figure 11) to the 'liberal' mainstream. The rhetoric of this veneration tends either to pursue the 'original' revelry-is-grand treatise or to choreograph a mechanical, communal dance experience.

Dance music is not in threat of sub-cultural occlusion: on the
contrary, the only danger is posed by the assimilating and disseminating procedures of global media. Despite increasing cultural acceptance of the corporeal philosophies of electronic dance music, this genre continues to offer a project of explicitly questioning 'traditional' authenticities. A conviction of acting 'alternatively' occurs through underrating 'reason' and 'rationality'.

Extending this self-understanding of dance music is Brian Currid's work on 'House Music and Queer Performativity', which is premised on the conviction that 'The continued celebration of a musical genre that has been so consistently denigrated ... as somehow expressive of an “unreal” performance of community ... performs a critique of the insistence on the “authentic” and the “real” in communal musical production' (169). This is precisely the intention of dance music magazines, which appropriate that critique of the 'real' within the demarcation of a dance music genre.

In Simon Watney's words, although 'Dance music brings people together across all social barriers.... Sometimes it also constitutes barriers of its own, including some, excluding others' (15). Inclusion and exclusion are basic procedures of any cultural grouping or 'community'— as they are of any genre — even when those boundaries protect a supposedly 'boundary-free' culture. In dance culture: 'you' can join 'us' if you accept that 'we' can include 'anyone', and if you don't then you can't.

This is its central contradiction. As Mixmag feature writer Matthew Collin declared:

> In 1996, dance culture is a mass of conflicting signals and impulses, sounds and images; the commercial and the idealistic, the underground and the overground, the mainstream and the radical, all in a constant state of flux.... We have built dance culture in our image: cynical yet passionate, apolitical yet committed, materialistic yet spiritual, pessimistic yet hopeful, yearning to get out of it yet desperate to be involved, longing for personal gain yet dreaming of a common purpose. It's the spirit of the times hammered out in the vicious pulse of a 909 kick-drums. The zeitgeist in microcosm. It's us. ('Saturday': 112)

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101 'Social events where dancing takes place are generally understood as having a particular potential for pleasure maximisation.... [T]his conception holds that, as a non-verbal form of communication, dance is non-rational and thus more important within pre-literate than other social structures' (Ward: 17-18).

102 'Club-goers isolate and dehistoricise the practices that revolve around dance musics … the club serving instead as a fantasy space for the projection of a more generally current liberal pluralist model of “cultural diversity”' (Currid: 184).

103 Matt Bonde of US dance music 'zine Massive: “Just the fact that we are who we are, and we believe deeply in everything we do, there's no need to go out of our way to display it. There is no faking the funk’ (skreem e-zine).
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Such an invigorating call-to-arms of a supposedly alienated generation offers productive and affirmative strategies for the uncertain negotiations of cultural citizenships. It is disturbing that, as Tony Mitchell puts it, 'These notions often amount to fixed and traditional orthodoxies' (10). For example, the 'subversions' of electronic music sampling (using fragments of 'other people's' music to be remade into new musical combinations) do not operate 'outside' of established musical procedures. In fact, as Ian Maxwell observes, 'A sample must mark its authenticity ... [and it is] governed by a quite explicit code of ethics' (127).

Therefore, dance music culture should not necessarily be revered as a productive, performative 'alternative' to authenticity, but as a space in which the logic of cultural authentication can be traced along quite disparate and contradictory pathways. Dance music, along with much contemporary music theory, claims that 'authentic performance cannot be characterised in such a way that it represents an ideal which is both attainable and worth attaining' (Young, 'Concept': 228). Yet authenticity — even as a convincing ironic project — remains the mission.

As the self-appointed leaders of this mission, dance music magazines also regulate citizenships through delimiting a particular set of possibilities for the dance music 'experience': 'These are the disco-moments, flash-points of joy, creative energy and signposts that all those who've let the dancefloor lead their lives never forget' (Marcus, 'Cosmic': 82). The aesthetic of dance music — which claims to be disparate and contradictory — actually contains instructions for citizenship and subjective affirmation:

> For anyone who's ever lost themselves on the some dark, dry ice-filled dancefloor or in the dank, muddy fields of Britain's green and pleasant lands to the repetitive beats of house, techno, 'ardkore or jungle ... [this is] the essence ... of what it's like to be alive and young at the end of the millennium. (Cole, 'Dove': 59)

At the same time, magazines are commodities within a complex network of cultural industries, which carry and consolidate instructions for participation. As Debra Goldman notes, 'magazines ... [are not] merely an advertiser-supported medium ...

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104 Greg Young on the impact of 'new' dance music production technologies within the 'old' politics of the music industry: 'The implications that digital sampling creates for authorship are still unclear.... There is on the one hand, the view that sampling has democratised and diffused the process of authorship ... [others] believe that rather than making copyright redundant, sampling and the high speed digital transferring of sound image and text have merely necessitated a need for Australian copyright laws to incorporate “moral rights”' (106).

105 'There are no innocent consumers left. We are all sartorial sophisticates, capable of fashion in-jokes, of historical mixing and matching, of plundering the past, toying with resonances, shuffling our sign systems to ironic effect. Irony has become the opium and aphrodisiac of the Nineties. And the New Trash brands offer inverted commas big enough to live, love and laugh within' (Compton: 116-118).
they're also brands.... [A] product transformed into an experience' (22). The apparently paradoxical ethic of dance culture is to celebrate 'essence' as imaginary, 'self' as performative, 'belonging' as negotiated, 'community' as strategic. Dance music thus perpetuates the desire for authenticity through a quite particular version of the 'inauthentic': “‘Authenticity” within this proto-community is re-inscribed into musical texts characterised by an absence of a conventionally understood “originality”' (Maxwell: 118). Explicit contradiction, parody and appropriation are fundamental to this music culture, which The Face magazine's Koswo Eshun believes, 'proclaims the paradoxes of everything that's truly Now' (106). This is not to claim — with media such as Mixmag — that dance music is the most successful 'ironic' youth culture. It is an ordinary cultural procedure for the 'alternative' to locate itself in parodic opposition to the 'traditional'.

The generic negotiations of a dance music aesthetic locate authenticity within the actual reproductions (DJ mixes) and embodiments (club responses) of each musical text. But this requirement that dance music be enacted through actual, physical celebrations complicates the aesthetic project of a journalism that claims to 'document' popular culture.

Dance music claims to articulate a revolutionary aesthetic and politics, and, as Hanna asserts, 'The persistence of dance through history, and the religious, civil and political attempts to control it, attest to its potency in human life' (192). Dance music's dissipation of traditional procedures of ownership, production and participation suggest a discriminating critique of traditional politics. Rock music (characterised by CDs, live bands, alcohol, concerts, festivals) occupies the canons of the popular culture establishment, and while electronic dance musics (characterised in comparison by vinyl records, electronic technology, chemical drugs, anonymity, raves, DJs, clubs) scandalise the familiar routines of this music

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106 ‘It is our conviction that there never was a single strictly straightforward genre, no single type of direct discourse — artistic, rhetorical, philosophical, religious, ordinary everyday — that did not have its own parodying and travestying double, its own comic-ironic contre-partie’ (Bakhtin: 134).

107 ‘One of the pleasures of club-going is to see and hear histories as they are spontaneously assembled in the embodied strategies of memory and memorialisation. This spectatorship is only made possible by an immersion in the spectacle of the dance club itself: the darkness, the lights, the throbbing rhythms, and the cinematic fantasy of communal belonging’ (Currid: 179).

108 ‘But how can you capture the madness of the last decade in facts and figures? For all the record reviews and attempts to turn DJs and promoters into celebrities, dance magazines have failed to document what really happened, as rock and punk journalists did. After all, the true history is not about obscure white labels or DJ techniques or pop stars. Its about personal stories of messiness, absurdity and excess’ (Champion: xvi).

109 ‘It is something of a paradox when one realises that many within the rave scene consider the genre as inherently revolutionary. Not just in the confluence of soundscapes, drugs and high-tech instruments, but, oddly enough, in terms of a reaction against modern society…. Rave culture may utilise the digital technology, but in its language, aims and expectations, it has become resolutely conservative’ (Gray: 31).
However, this does not imply that dance music is fundamentally revolutionary. This is particularly so since, as Susan McClary stresses, 'the ability of the industry to absorb and blunt the political edge of anything it touches must not be underestimated' (34). Dance music's resolute investment in community (vs. authority) and embodiment (vs. rationality) are a contemporary reworking of a historically ordinary tension. But in spite of 'commercialisation' and sub-cultural 'predictability', dance music remains a potent cultural operation: '[the] cultural and sexual politics [of] dance music … has come about through revaluing those very associations once employed to put it down: out-of-mind experience, the ecstatic power of repetition, a crowd hell-bent on appreciative hedonism, and speech that has all but stopped making sense' (Ross: 10).

Dance music is a consolidated and unified 'genre' to the extent that it has succeeded in provoking tremendous regulatory and legislative response from local and national governments around the world, but particularly in the UK. This political response has been swift and severe:

In November [1994], after months of spectacular and innovative protest ... the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act finally became law.... [The first] to describe and outlaw a specific musical form: dance, or “music wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats”, as the now famous description in Section 63 runs'. (Collin, 'Justice': 79-80)

Such increasing political regulation of dance culture necessarily mobilises the organisation of distinct protest communities. Dance culture has become 'united' in opposition to otherwise distinct political issues as gender discrimination, road

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110 '[Dance music] presents the American record industry with new problems. It is not based in rock, rhythm-and-blues or hip-hop, styles that the music business is used to dealing with and marketing. In addition … is [it mostly] instrumental, which has never really been considered a pop form since the 60's…. [Its] creators prefer to remain hidden behind aliases and are unable to recreate their studio music live. Record labels continue to believe that pop audiences need singers, lyrics, personalities, narratives and stories … they want an electronic act that will act like a rock band'(Strauss: 36).

111 'Rather than (techno-rave music) representing a conscious taunting of social hegemony (a revolution in the fans' relationship with society as a whole due to its focus on the background sounds rather than individual performers) the focus on beat and background sounds is just the latest manifestation of an age-old type of entertainment, dance music' (Hesmondhalgh, 'Technoprophecy': Abstract).

112 'Denouncements of [the] twin threats — subversion of authority and seduction by means of the body — recur as constants throughout music history' (McClary: 29-30).

113 '[The Criminal Justice and Public Order] bill could turn protestors, squatters and gypsies, as well as people going to raves or free festivals, into criminals. The clauses dealing with these latter groups are draconian. A group of ten or more people on land can be arrested once they fail to move on when asked, if the police believe they are attending a rave, making preparations for a rave or are merely waiting for a rave to start. A gathering of more than 20 people on “land of historical, architectural or scientific importance” can be arrested if the police reasonably believe the gathering will cause a disturbance and the people fail to disperse on request. People can be forced on pain of arrest to turn back if the police believe they are going to such events' (Hutchings: 13).
building and sound volume regulations: 'Perhaps more than any other cultural form, music is also capable of providing a widespread, unified voice of protest' (Lull: 5-6). The style of protest employed by those affiliated to dance culture is premised upon 'grassroots' community action and appropriate technology use.\(^{114}\) To question the political validity of dance-based protest is once again to prioritise rational procedures above corporeal investments and to affirm that it is radical to do so (see Figure 12).\(^{115}\) What can be questioned are the narratives of global cohesion which are employed within dance celebrations and protests.\(^{116}\) Although music — as a 'leisure' commodity — appears restricted in its social impact, as George Lewis proposes, 'The politics of music takes on new meaning when one can interpret clashes in the political arena ... to represent conflicts among various cultural groups over legitimacy of their musical tastes, values and moralities' (146). Dance music most definitely provokes such conflict: ironically, with a youth culture 'rebelling' against the once-rebellious '60s generation.\(^{117}\)

The politically consolidated mass media has acted predictably to 'expose' the dreary and dreadful by-products of the dance music industry by pandering to a public fear of hypnotic, addictive dancing/drug behaviours. In comparison, most dance music media worship the affirmative operations of electronic rituals and Ecstasy lovings: 'Heavy regulation and surveillance could stifle the creative potential of nightlife: to sanitise dance culture is to destroy its anarchic, hedonistic essence' (Collin, \(^{114}\) 'Welcome to political protest as media extravaganza.... [T]he new political generation ... are media-friendly, technology-literate and unencumbered by outdated ideological baggage' (Foley: 48). For example, Reclaim the Streets are a UK-based political collective which have targeted road-building as a symbol of unsustainable, out-dated urban design ideologies. They protest through orchestrating 'spontaneous' protest occupations of busy road sites, setting up temporary public 'raves' attended by thousands of people who declare their opposition through the provocations of electronic dance music.

\(^{115}\) 'Some within the free-party scene do make grandiose claims for their projects (does running a technologically-updated mobile disco really constitute dissidence — and if so, what kind of crazy times do we live in?). But then again, those we refer to vaguely as 'the authorities' are taking those claims very seriously indeed. Why else the Criminal Justice Act? Why else are the anti-car party organisers of Reclaim the Streets being tracked by MI5.... What they do is essential. Innovation inevitably comes from the radical fringes, not from the mainstream (hip hop, house, techno and jungle all illustrate this). Without the dreamers and the diehards, dance culture will stagnate, become a closed circuit of repetitive behaviour' (Collin: 'This': 64).

\(^{116}\) 'Filter is a wicked club, one of those long-running midweek specials that are, somehow, always cool. There are techno-heads talking music in the shadows, club kids out there losing it and babes of both sexes gyrating in every available space. The sweeping arms of techno rush out and the hands in the dry ice go up and the smiles bounce around the room. Some things are international' (Phillips: 70).

\(^{117}\) 'It is clear that the “rave” is seen by the authorities as a greater threat than the rock festival — perhaps because these days there are Dylan fans on the magistrate bench. It is a trend that risks mishandling the most dynamic part of youth culture.... Dance enthusiasts are thus forced to make a choice. They can take the route favoured by many previous “rebellious” movements and head for commercialism, respectability and consequent satisfaction. But by becoming tied into licensing, an event by definition cannot appeal to those who seek an alternative lifestyle' (Greenfield and Osborn: 125).
'Closed': 60). Accordingly, the cultural authenticity of dance music actually relies upon mass media denouncements of it; and the fiercely
celebratory inscriptions of dance music magazines are able to contain citizenship behaviours as part and parcel of their defence against attacks by traditional media.\(^\text{118}\)

Journalist Bethan Cole comments on this:

> It's this oppressive [CJB] legislation, coupled with the tabloid outrage incited by Ecstasy, that makes many club commentators and dance journalists loathe to tackle the 'darkside' of both the scene and the drug [which is why they employ] an evangelistic tone.... [T]here is a total lack of reasoned debate, with clubbers on the one side and incensed politicians on the other. ('Dove': 62, 65)

This continuum of mediated moral judgments — from divinisation to demonisation — enforces an intense regulation of the procedures for citizenship required at each dance music moment. *Mixmag* is located at a difficult point on this continuum, in that it attempts to negotiate between hysteria and honesty, in order to affirm its chosen indulgences, whilst also 'informing' the dance community of the industrial, political and bodily dangers of citizenship participation (see Appendices 11 and 12). It is for these reasons that they rarely consider the 'darkside' of dance culture but still attempt to ensure that the dance audience, 'is not living in a fantasy world' (Kirby: 158).\(^\text{119}\)

There is a tripartite set of consequences derived from the sort of political illegalisation and media denouncement which has been experienced by dance music: 1) a community is marked out as the accused, and thus a distinct, recognisable and productive set of industries and citizenships is mobilised; 2) the aesthetic and political significance of the genre is affirmed through illegalisation; 3) conservative denouncement provides the genre with a legitimate claim to an 'alternative' status.

Dance music magazines are committed to celebrating the aesthetic and cultural project of electronic dance music.\(^\text{120}\) The aural texts of dance music require a negotiated model of aesthetic appreciation, since non-electronic musical syntax cannot be translated onto the structures and semantics of dance.\(^\text{121}\) Cole attempts to explain:

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\(^{118}\) [Moralizing denunciations] render a subculture attractively subversive as no other promotional ploy can … disparaging media coverage is not the verdict but the vehicle of their resistance' (Thornton: 184).

\(^{119}\) 'I'm also fed up with the photography in Mixmag…. How about some pictures capturing it as it really is? Women queuing for the loo for an hour. People sitting down fucked or asleep. People arguing. Dealers working their way through a crowd. Maybe it's just me that finds real people and real dance culture more interesting than this ideal that's portrayed in your mag' (Kinsella: 5).

\(^{120}\) “Born Slippy” unwittingly captured the mood and the moment perfectly. It was the chaos of the dance scene in miniature, the blissful dancefloor moments and the furious, desperate struggle to survive all present on one piece of plastic' (Petridis: '1996': 66).

\(^{121}\) 'Hearing is] an active process of interpreting vibrations of air… within the twentieth century not all listeners hear music as others do … [and] a performance is intended to attain artistic goals,
Reduced to its elementary basics, dance music and clubbing is about a series of moments that move you beyond the monochrome roll of everyday life and into the realm of the fantastical. Those times when music takes you up, up and away to those three second pinnacles of insight and clarity. The times when anxiety and self-consciousness and fear part like clouds and all you're left with is a flash of connection, purity and vitality. ('Ghost': 50)

Thornton explains that dance music journalism is 'written in a kind of shorthand which is often undecipherable to those who are not already familiar with clubbing' (186). Those media which are not invested within dance music react against this aesthetic exclusion by constructing an oppositional, non-electronic semiotic of music production. They deride the volume, repetition, rhythmic function and continuities of dance and are unable to attend to any 'known' signifiers of musical authenticity, or to appreciate that dance could involve, 'music of great complexity' (Watney: 16). Dance music journalism claims to negotiate the cultural slippages between subjective encounter, community knowledge and industry requirements. Since dance music operates through an assemblage of corporeality, performativity and fantasy, familiar strategies of music appreciation are smothered by an inchoate excess of imagination. This journalistic practice requires the premise that dance music 'has some kind of intrinsic logic and structure, regardless of whether or not they can describe it. For those who wish to communicate their ideas about the structure, there are two options: to perform it or to talk about it' (Maniates: 384). Mixmag attempts to complicate this division, through employing DJs and dance music producers to write and review, and through assuming that the readers and writers of their texts are all dedicated citizens of the dance music genre.

The procedures of dance music destabilise performer-producer-consumer distinctions, in that each musical text is activated only in continuity with other

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122 'With its gut-churning, ear-drum smashing beat interspersed with distorted electronic burps and the occasional flash of melodic relief, it puts some in mind of power drills and medical computers' (The Economist, 'Techno': 80).

123 'The rave, techno and ambient scenes are complex social spaces, part extension of high school, part fantasy spaceship, ravers either squatting in circles like nomadic travellers in a children's refugee camp, or else navigating or free-styling, with the aid of torches and glow-in-the-dark collars, through artificial, dry ice-filled, dance zones like parentless, gas-masked survivors of some near-future environmental disaster, for which cyber-pagan space travel is the favored escape route' (Ross: 8).

'Ve head for the drum and bass cavern which is all boomboom-boomwaaahchakachakachakaboom hitting your head and sending it into irregular spasms' (White: 53).
tracks, and in response to the pragmatic ephemerality of crowd mood and requests. Also, remixing and sampling displace authenticity from the 'original' musical text onto the possibilities of transformations in sound. Dance music magazines incorporate these complications into their textual approach. As Kress and van Leeuwen say in respect to visual design:

> Interest in the materiality of representation and representational practices reflects wider social and cultural concerns with questions of substance and materiality in a world in which the concrete becomes abstract, the material immaterial and reality “virtual”. (238)

By foregrounding such instabilities of representation, these magazines stake out a territory in which a dance music genre — which appropriates generic instability as its catchcry — can be negotiated. They do this firstly by employing the magazine format which, as Beetham suggests, is 'marked by a radical heterogeneity ... [refusing] a single authorial voice ... mix[ing] media and genres' (12); and secondly by directing the generic negotiations of dance music journalism. That is, since, as Lecercle writes, 'Language speaks, it follows its own rhythm, its own partial coherence, it proliferates in apparent and sometimes violent, chaos' (5), and since dance music operates on a threshold of generic stability, by proclaiming the necessity for *strategies* of coherence, dance music magazines consolidate their own contribution to the regulation of language, and thus, to the negotiation of a dance music genre.

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124 This *Mixmag* letter accuses one dance music event of sacrificing the immediacy of crowd mood and communality in favour of industry and commerce: 'The Tribal Gathering set itself up as a place to go to watch gods. The DJs didn't seem interested in taking us on a journey, rather in showing off how much vinyl they own.... We felt like a crowd, a mob, not ravers or dancers, and there was no indication that we had any power to affect what was going on in those booths.... We invented rave, we're brilliant at it, it's brilliant for us, we know it to be the future of any gatherings, and yet commercially, clearly, it's not much.... This year's event felt like a money-minting exercise' (Rickhards: 5).

125 'A radical minimalism and an almost total emphasis on rhythm machines ... help to deconstruct notions of what a “song” is' (Goodwin: 93).

In a strict sense a remix should be no more than a rearrangement of what already exists — a mere repositioning of the faders.... But now technology allows the imagination to run wild. A contemporary remix can be slower, faster or completely rerecorded and bear no relation to the original. The remixer is given some samples on DAT tape and a computer-disk copy of the song which displays the tune on a VDU, basically as a visual sequence of blocks, mapping the track out. From those the remixer will produce the remix' (McCready: 143-144).

126 'In the new forms of criticism required by and in dance ... perhaps we have glimpsed the space between linguistic self-referentiality and the new metaphysic, between interpretation and expression, abstraction and emotion' (Kemp: 102).

127 'The differénd is the unstable state and instant of language wherein something which must be able to be put into phrases cannot yet be.... In the differénd, something “asks” to be put into phrases, and suffers from the wrong of not being able to be put into phrases right away. This is when human beings who thought they could use language as an instrument of communication learn ... not to augment to their profit the quantity of information communicable through existing idioms but to recognise that what remains to be phrased exceeds what they can presently phrase, and that they must be allowed to institute idioms which do not yet exist’ (Lytard, *Differénd*. 13).
Dance music magazines stress the futility of journalism attempting to capture and reproduce the ineffable experiences of dance music. Dance music journalists mark themselves out as the guardians of the genre. They supervise this community-in-music, and through it, safeguard the need for their involvement.

Dance practices impact upon citizenship procedures through an ordered succession of judgments about the body. These are premised upon the commonly-held notion that dance is an instinctive, automatic activity: 'The urge to dance is innate in humans' (Finkelstein: 6). However, no cultural choreography can be reduced to physiology for the obvious reason that, as James Lull writes, 'Dance is a physical manifestation of culture, revealing an attitude toward the self, the body, the community, the other' (29-30). Although the embodied response to aural vibrations is located in corporeal knowledge, 'dance movements do not arbitrarily appear as unconscious motor impulses: they are learnt, deliberately and selectively' (Ward: 27). Dance music not only employs the body for aesthetic purposes, but claims to order and transform corporeality in particular ways. Dance music magazines believe that an increased physical, sensual and sexual knowledge of the self is enabled through dance music. This is the nexus at which the aesthetic of dance is manipulated into, as Hanna suggests, 'messages of identity: generational difference, gender, ethnicity, and social class' (176). The unashamed associations which are made between rhythmic musics, sexual potency and tribalism means that dance music and its choreographies are deeply invested within a nostalgic anglo desire for black or 'native' cultures. Citizenship within dance music requires the selection

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128 ’So it doesn’t translate very well onto the page, but if I were to hum you something like “ner, ner-ner-ner-ner, ner-ner-ner-ner-ner” like a stoned police siren, telling you to imagine the bastard son of Queen’s “Another One Bites The Dust” and Hardfloor’s “Acperience” with a hefty dose of “Clash City Rockers” - era Strummer and Jones thrown in, you’d be screaming “Da Funk!” long before the tune’s breakaway 303 mayhem even kicked in’ (Bush: 56).
129 ‘Justin [David, from Future Monument]’s music is a futuristic hybrid which combines danceability with real emotional depth. He sees it as techno with a house groove, but it could easily be described as house with a techno groove. The point is it goes beyond characterisation’ (Mothersole: 131).
130 ‘Why do people always want to get up and dance when they hear music?…. A researcher in Manchester [Neil Todd] … says it may be a reflex reaction…. “There is a compulsion about it,” he says. He reckoned there might be …. a direct, biological explanation for the desire to dance, so he started to look at the inner ear…. Loud music sends signals to the inner ear which may prompt reflex movement’ (Motluk: 10).
131 ‘Instead of the tension/climax narrative of traditional pop, rave music creates a feeling of “arrested orgasm”, a plateau of bliss that can be neither exceeded nor released’ (Reynolds: 56).
132 ‘The use of insistent black rhythms in disco music, recognizable by the closeness of the style to soul and reinforced by such characteristic features of black music as the repeated chanted phrase and the use of various African percussion instruments, means that it inescapably signifies … in this white context … physicality’ (Dyer: 414).
and embodiment of one particular subject position in relation to all of these cultural conditions. These are significant procedures in light of the huge number of people who would and do claim such citizenships. The most forceful tension within the media negotiations of dance music participation is one between 'unity' and 'diversity', or exclusionary and inclusionary generic procedures.

To celebrate dance music as a productive and creative musical and cultural genre is to foreground this unity through opposition. However such a unity requires the unworkable project of maintaining an aesthetic, political, and ethical coherence and a solidarity between participants. Another option is to recognise that, in Andy Pemberton's words, 'The one love house scene of yore has been replaced by a diverse and somewhat fractious scene' (Beatz: 90). To employ a notion of inclusive cultural diversity articulates an investment either in community fragmentation or in the tolerant embrace of difference. The 'spaces' for dance music citizenship, enacted in club practices but regulated through media, attempt to proclaim exclusive unity through the negotiations of inclusive diversity. As Ferguson remarks, 'globalization is being promoted as both a means and an end' (87). Applied to the politics of dance culture, this globalisation offers technologies of communicated affiliation (a 'means') and a utopic promotion of a world divided into rhythm-nations (an 'end'). Accordingly, Mixmag writer Miranda Cook applauds the 'Glammed up girlies, dummy-sucking ravers, Versace-clad b-boys,

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133 'Dance mobilises youth in huge numbers' (Malyon, 'Raving': 12).
134 'The central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular' (Appadurai: 17).
135 '3AM, Friday night. An inner city club, hidden amongst a landscape of dilapidated buildings and empty warehouses…. Sub-bass slams in, the place erupts. A melting pot of cultures, black, white, green or blue, united only by apocalyptic urban existence, saying: “fuck it, let's just dance”…. This is Cape Town, South Africa' (Daivey: 74).
136 'We cannot infer from this as homogenized global metaculture. To do so would be to ignore the historical role of stratification systems based on caste, class or party, on ethnic cultures defended by bloodshed or kinship traditions linked to religious prescriptions stronger than any claims that might be made for the reductionist power of global media' (Ferguson: 72).
137 'Some see the rise of [these new clubs] … as an unhealthy symptom of dance music's increasing fragmentation: it's niche marketing, goes their argument, trading on ever-narrowing musical definition. Wasn't the original ethos of acid house a hearty come-one-come-all welcome, a wicked party where everyone was invited, regardless of what they looked like and listened to back at home? Quite right but you can argue in response that … the new superclubs are getting more and more people involved. And that can only be a good thing' (Anon, '1996': 87).
138 'The dance music community is becoming more united amidst diversity. Observers affirm that dance clubs share a common kind of vibrance while advocating different sounds and perspectives. From New York City to Switzerland, cultural and geographical differences are being shattered by the common urge to dance' (Flick, 'Dancing': Abstract).
139 'We are all different from each other here: travellers, tourists, junglists, workers, jobless, home owners and homeless on the same dancefloor. Some people find this aspect of underground parties frightening…. Me, I think I can deal with it, rock 'n' roll doesn't achieve this diversity and maybe its just sentiment from the original rave scene but if we can party together without hurting each other, who knows, maybe we can live together as well' (Marcus, 'Free': 92).
gay, straight, fat, thin, drag queens, fancy dressers, every shape, size and colour all stamping holes in the floorboards' (41). But the unification of diversity, the appropriation of indeterminacy and the regulation of thresholds of intelligibility, are all actually procedures for occluding grim, unthinkable difference. As Morley and Robbins point out, 'If difference can be seductive, it is always disturbing, dangerous and ultimately intolerable. The “Other” must be assimilated or excluded: within “our” universe there is no place for difference as such' (148). For example, 'jungle' (drum’n’bass, hardstep, and so on), is associated with UK, black urban youth culture, but is becoming increasingly adopted by a wider cultural audience.\textsuperscript{139} This genre, which was founded on the oppositional potency of ethnic difference, begins to be dissipated into a generalised, almost parodic, politics of youth rebellion (see Figure 13).\textsuperscript{140}

Global cohesion is a little ambitious for a set of communities and industries which barely cohere under one specialist media system.\textsuperscript{141} As Cole recognises, ‘it’s very difficult to align such a diverse, fragmentary, multi-layered culture ... composed of millions of different experiences and lifestyles ... with political absolutes' (Dove: 61). However, this must not be seen to disable the politicised impact of dance culture participation, since, as Bhabha states, 'The whole nature of the public sphere is changing so that we really do need the notion of a politics which is based on unequal, uneven, multiple and \textit{potentially antagonistic}, political identities' (208). In order to defer the implications of such antagonism, dance music tends to consolidate and protect strategies of community coherence by adhering to a motto of 'impermanence and irony'.\textsuperscript{142} This version of pop culture leaks out of specialist media and into cultural theory and back again. For example, theorist Tony Mitchell writes, '[dance] music as a genre relies to a considerable extent on erasing origins ... [and a] displacement and loss of identity' (137-138). This mediation of community is reproduced in Virilio’s ‘crisis of a substantial, homogenous space ... to the benefit of an accidental, heterogenous space where parts and fractions become

\textsuperscript{139} ‘The sound of jungle is now acceptable and has been absorbed into the aural vocabulary of popular music…. “Drum’n’bass” may be a term that’ll become as over-used by the media as “trip-hop”, “Britpop” and the rest, but its as good a term as any to describe the avalanche of post-jungle tracks that are pouring out of both the underground and the mainstream’ (Kempster, ‘Front’: 3).

\textsuperscript{140} ‘But although mainstream clubbing is hungry for jungle's street cred, is still exhibits a fear of the unknown as far as both the music and listeners are concerned…. Jungle can happily survive on ground-level support alone, as it did in its earlier days, but the mainstream house circuit is more susceptible to market forces...’ (Naylor: 199).

\textsuperscript{141} ‘Club crowds are not organic formations which respond mysteriously to some class-based collective unconscious. They are tied together by networks of communications, and actively assembled by club organizers' (Thornton: 185).

\textsuperscript{142} ‘The decade's obsession with all things ironic — tongue-in-cheek T-shirt slogans, wink-wink retro humour — creates … a set of people linked just because they get the gag. We have moved from the age of the in-crowd to the in-on-the-joke crowd' (Sawyer: 49).
essential once again' (29). These impermanencies are negotiated within a strictly regulated arena and, in this way, another level of generic coherence is established.
One result of this has been the consolidation of an increasingly exclusive regime of dance music citizenships. This involves, for example, the exclusion of disabled bodies from the 'everybody's welcome' motto. A recent hot topic in *Mixmag* concerns 'club babes': female clubbers who dress minimally and provocatively in an ironic performance of 'post-feminist girl power'. The widespread promotion of the club babe has provided visual evidence of the explicitly gendered subject positions which cohere throughout dance music (see Figure 14).

Yes, it's safe to say that club culture — once about escaping the depressing realities of sexism, racism and homophobia — now feels a post-PC freedom in embracing the marketing potential of the babe…. But its ironic I hear you cry; witty, cheeky and on the edge. Try sad, uninspired and a sorry reflection of the prevalent inequality and lack of opportunity for women in the dance music industry. (Mair: 192)

This regulation of the inclusive capacity within the elastic genre of dance music demonstrates that even a 'diverse' or 'tolerant' community can be premised upon assymetrical and disproportionate citizenships. In particular, it demonstrates one of the key ways in which the industries of a cultural genre are structured through — and perpetuate — procedures of participation. However, dance music magazines will always resolve such potential conflict through either excluding those who don't appreciate a philosophy of 'irony' or returning to that familiar claim to a communal dancing bond.

Dance music magazines, then, enable a 'coherence' of community and citizenship procedures to be imagined or enacted. These media formations appropriate and extend the politics of electronic dance music, a politics which 'argues that communities should not be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness, but rather

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143 'Imagine never being able to dance again like you can now. Imagine being told that your body is irreperably damaged. And ask yourself, would you give up clubs?' (Lynskey, 'Disabled': 86).

144 ‘Ugh! Fellow girlies reading *Mixmag* — aren't you just sick of the profusion of bronzed bodies parading their mammaries in a peekaboo-like fashion in too-small bikini tops and doing their saucy, all knowing pout at the camera while fondling each other in a live-lesbian sex show kinda stylee? I dunno, it's like becoming Stepford Wives On Aphrodisiacs out there in clubland' (The President of The Society For Overgrown Tom Boys: 5).

145 'The question of cultural diversity is not answered solely by measures of musical fragmentation but also demands information about who profits from music making. Meaningful diversity eventually must be backed up by widespread distribution of profits and relatively equalized productive opportunities' (Cambell Robinson et al: 273).

DJ Derrick May: “Black people can't get the opportunity to be artists. They can get a chance to be entertainers all they like but they can't get the chance to be true artists. Especially in a genre that hasn't been totally proven. Record companies want to take their chances with marketable people which happens to be people of their gender, colour or race” (Marcus, 'Secret': 53).

146 'And there was one final conclusion — that sometime soon, we would regroup, dress up or down or round about, and take the dancefloor by storm. So mind out lads, because we may be headed in your direction. The revolution starts here' (Brooks: 101).
by the style in which they are imagined' (Currid: 166). Dance music magazines take on the responsibility of negotiating the aesthetic, political and corporeal knowledges of dance music itself, and are, in turn, subject to active transformation through citizenship participation. *Mixmag* and its equivalents produce and represent a mediated community ethic. Matthew Collin declares 'it's all down to people who are still willing to believe in, and more importantly *act* on, those crazy notions about how this could really *mean* something, could *be* something more than just jacking to the bass in a dark place' ('This': 64). What should be stressed in conclusion, is that generic citizenship is made desirable through the effective media negotiations of inclusive and exclusive generic procedures. But the desirability of such citizenships should not be premised upon the negotiation of these procedures, but instead upon the degree to which the continuum of generic judgments is incorporated into the possibilities for participation.
Systematic disorientation of the senses. Raving beyond madness. Ordinary time losing its meaning as techno becomes the temporal notation by which we measure our day. (Collins, 'Bass': 161)

Perhaps that clubland unity marlarkey isn't such a cliche after all (Naylor: 199).

In a personal communication with *Mixmag* resident DJ Dan 'Stan' Farrow, the Mission Statement for the magazine was said, 'to provide credible information, unity and fun'.¹⁴⁷ Coincidentally perhaps, this mission fits nicely with the three nominated approaches taken by each of this thesis's chapters: the media *industries* which claim to 'provide credible information' for their specialised market audience; the dance music magazine *genres* which are a conflation of the industrial and citizenship attempts to perform a generic 'unity'; and the media negotiations of dance music *citizenships*, premised upon the consistent and ready achievement of 'fun'. Just as each element of the Mission Statement is designed to keep the objectives of the magazine in balance, so each of this thesis' chapters were designed as different but simultaneous approaches to one cultural object. Together they enable thorough, theoretical and practical research to be undertaken. The following is a summary of the results of this approach.

The magazine medium is a commodity: an object of cultural exchange and circulation. Magazines are constituted by negotiating between the distinct and yet interdependent arenas of text, audience and economy. They are made commercially viable through a specialisation and segmentation of their target audience. Dance music coheres around an assortment of mainstream and 'underground' cultural industries. The dance music industry declares itself to be founded on an autonomous, community-based production economy, and thus negotiates an imagined contest between 'underground' authenticity and 'mainstream' productivity. The media which 'document' these industries — such as *Mixmag* — regulate and order such cultural operations through a vocabulary of community negotiation. In particular, a logic of authenticity provides the template for these procedures. Through providing the location and the language for cultural negotiation, the communication media shape and regulate these particular industries.

¹⁴⁷ Farrow, Dan. (personal communication) mixmag@dial.pipex.com, 1997.
The project for media theory is to trace the strategies used by communication media to organise industry and citizenship representations and contestations. Therefore, understanding the operative functions of the contemporary magazine object requires a sensitivity to the plurality of enabling factors which contribute to each and every moment of magazine production. And those enabling factors are themselves a contemporary response to the particular combinations of social, economic, political and technological variables which produced the predecessors and early versions of the magazine format.

Although it is often thought of as a purely literary concept, genre theory is of great significance to the study of the communication industries and their citizenship behaviours. Dance music magazines produce a forcefully exclusive space for the communication networks of the dance music genre. This membrane of exclusivity — although necessarily permeable — has achieved the objective of delimiting a distinct generic space for the enactment of dance music culture. However, dance music is by no means a unified, singular genre. In fact, when approached as an inclusive genre, the provisional boundaries around it fracture into further and further sub-divisions and associate affiliations. What we have found with Mixmag is a clear case in which the genres cannot be stabilised. In practice, then, this magazine capitalises upon the desire to stabilise genre by taking up generic instability as a youth marketing strategy. A more appropriate method for 'writing' this genre is to use Wittgenstein's concept of 'family resemblances': a grouping of elements which are disparate but can be strategically linked: an active grouping or set of affiliations. Genres are unstable, unpredictable and mutable. Each generic instance is situated at a specific historical and cultural location, designed for particular objectives, and effecting a discernible impact. Rather than take each genre in isolation, we should consider the particular function of many contextual genres, and the types of subject positions that their intersections require. Since hybridity is the enabling condition of genre, exclusive purity of genres or of generic members is a provisional fiction. To 'claim' or to 'reject' genre is to recognise and activate a commentary upon generic procedures, which is to deny the possibility of spontaneous or innate genre membership. Genre membership, then, consists of a beckoning, a call to come, to participate within the formulations of genre, rather than, as Derrida notes, a strict belonging.

Genre schematises the ordinary cultural operation of making decisions. Genre may not 'work' as a predictable phenomenon, but we still employ it. Dance music magazines expose what might be taken to be an 'indeterminacy' of the genre of dance music. But what is interesting about the generic strategies employed within
this medium is that they appropriate and occupy the very project of this 'indeterminacy' in order to *regulate its implications*. The genre of dance music is enacted to scandalise generic thresholds. In order to 'evaluate' this generic impact, Lyotard's notion of paralogy can be applied to the negotiations between industry and community. 'Paralogy' locates genre on the frontiers of the conceivable and can be used to demonstrate the self-reflexive manner in which dance music journalism, precisely in order to *contain* inexactness, adopts and celebrates certain thresholds of aesthetic possibility, and makes these procedures culturally and commercially intelligible. Generic etiquette 'determines' the setting, the method, the limits, and the appropriate participatory behaviours for dance culture. The rules for this gaming of dance music are not in themselves open to change through media challenge, but the *ordering of those rules is*. This sets up a tripartite model of genre based upon the (1) ordering of the (2) rules for the (3) game of genre. Order is simultaneously the actual functioning of a social system, and the reproduction of particular procedures of organisation. To make generic judgments is to prescribe, or to instruct. This is part of its ethics. Each of these judgments is a moment of enacting opinion, and thus of participating within the negotiation of community.

The citizens of dance music are revered as conscious agents in the production and reproduction of their cultural ethics: which is based upon inclusion, performativity, spontaneity and community. Dance music culture should not necessarily be revered as a productive, performative 'alternative' to authenticity, but as a space in which the logic of cultural authentication can be traced along quite disparate and contradictory pathways. Dance music, then, perpetuates the desire for authenticity through a quite particular version of the 'inauthentic'. This ethics of dance culture is set up in response to deliberate misunderstandings in the traditional media and is energetically taken up through dance music journalism's defensive celebration of the ephemeral and negotiated performativity of the (personal and collective) rave. And dance music is made a consolidated and unified 'genre' to the extent that it has succeeded in provoking tremendous political prohibition. There is a tripartite set of consequences derived from the sort of political illegalisation and media denunciation which has been experienced by dance music: 1) a community is marked out as the accused, and thus a distinct, recognisable and productive set of industries and citizenships is mobilised; 2) the aesthetic and political significance of the genre is affirmed through illegalisation; 3) conservative denunciation provides the genre with a legitimate claim to an 'alternative' status. *Mixmag* is located at a difficult point on the continuum between tabloids/conservatives and ravers in that it attempts to negotiate between hysteria and honesty, in order to affirm its chosen
indulgences, whilst also 'informing' the dance community of the industrial, political and bodily dangers of citizenship participation.

Since dance music operates through an assemblage of corporeality, performativity and fantasy, dance music operates on a threshold of generic stability and so, through proclaiming the necessity for strategies of coherence, dance music magazines consolidate their own contribution to the regulation of language, and thus, to the negotiation of a dance music genre. Dance music journalists mark themselves out as the guardians of the genre. They supervise this community-in-music and, through it, safeguard the need for their involvement. Citizenship within dance music requires the selection and embodiment of one particular subject position in relation to all of these cultural conditions. The 'spaces' for dance music citizenship, enacted in club practices but regulated through media, attempt to proclaim exclusive unity through the negotiations of inclusive diversity. But the unification of diversity, the appropriation of indeterminacy and the regulation of thresholds of intelligibility, are all actually procedures for occluding difference. In order to defer the implications of citizenship antagonism, dance music tends to consolidate and protect strategies of community coherence by adhering to a motto of 'impermanence and irony'. This demonstrates that even a 'diverse' or 'tolerant' community can be premised upon assymetrical industrial procedures (economies) and disproportionate citizenships (memberships).

This thesis was designed to be an investigation into the interesting and complex cultural object of dance music magazines. However, the process of undertaking this investigation has produced a second level to the thesis. This involves the construction of theoretical models for general cultural research. This thesis has concluded that in order to achieve a thorough investigation of any cultural object, both the industries which produce, and the citizenships which use, that object must be considered. These two apparently conflicting approaches are simultaneous and complementary, and are proven to be so through the operations of genre theory, in particular the tripartite model outlined in Chapter 2: the ordering of the rules of the game. That is, citizenships participate in the regulation of genre through negotiating the ordering of the rules. And those rules impact upon and are simultaneously ordered through the operation of industries.
EDITORIAL STATEMENT

• Mixmag is the world's leading dance music and club culture magazine with ABC audited sales of 80,280 and rising.
• Mixmag is aimed at a generation of clubbers and dance music fans who mistrust the mainstream media and have come to rely on Mixmag for its honesty and insider knowledge.
• Mixmag's primary audience is 18-24 year old men but the introduction of high quality fashion features has helped the female readership grow from 13% to 25% in the past year.
• Readers are most likely to be in full time employment but student readership is rapidly expanding and now makes up 34% of the audience.
• Mixmag provides the most comprehensive national club listings, covering over 500 clubs every month.
• There is also a massive reviews section, reporting on over 300 records each issue.
• Mixmag is the fastest-growing music magazine in Britain with sales up 40+% year on year.
• Mixmag is independently-owned and is committed to an honest and incisive editorial stance that covers all parts of clubbing and dance music.
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DRINKS
- 90% of Mixmag readers buy drinks.
- 94% prefer bottled or canned lager.
- 20% choose spirits.
- 20% selected soft drinks.
- Mixmag is a very effective advertising medium with 57% of readers remembering ads and 91% finding them informative.
- If you are interested in reaching 217,000 Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vicki on 0171 706 8803.

CLUBS
- 89% of Mixmag readers go clubbing at least once a week.
- 33% go at least once a week.
- 63% of Mixmag readers would go anywhere for a good club.
- 24% would go to the moon.
- Mixmag readers would go an average of 186 miles for a good club.
- 32% of Mixmag readers think club tours are a good idea.
- Mixmag’s women readers are the keenest clubbers.
- 26% of them go clubbing more than once a week.
- Mixmag is a very effective advertising medium with 83% of readers remembering ads and 91% finding them informative.
- If you are interested in reaching 217,000 Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vicki on 0171 706 8803.

FASHION
- 90% of Mixmag readers spent an average of £25.05 on clothes and shoes in the last three months.
- They spent an average of £63.32 on shirts/tops.
- £62.47 on trousers/jeans.
- £51.80 on jackets/coats.
- £47.77 on shoes/boots.
- A further 63% of readers also bought sportswear in the last three months.
- 58% of Mixmag readers go clubbing at least once a week. These readers are even bigger-spending fashion buyers.
- Mixmag is a very effective advertising medium with 83% of readers remembering ads and 91% finding them informative.
- If you are interested in reaching 217,000 highly fashion-conscious Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vicki on 0171 706 8803.

Source: NSM Research (compiled from 1000 respondents in October 1995 readership survey).

Appendix 3
FILM AND VIDEO
• 93% of Mixmag readers have seen at least one film in the last six months.
• 88% have been three times or more.
• 84% go at least once a month.
• 80% of Mixmag readers have a video recorder.
• And 90% of them have rented a video in the last month.
• 80% have rented at least three.
• Mixmag is a very effective advertising medium, with 93% of readers reading adverts and 89% finding them informative.
• If you are interested in reaching 217,000 Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vikki on 0171 786 0003.
Source: FSM Research (compiled from 1000 respondents in October 1995 readership survey).

HI-FI
• 48% of Mixmag readers own some sort of hi-fi separate.
• 48% of Mixmag readers have added to their set-up in the last 12 months.
• Mixmag readers spent an average of £248.19 on records and CDs in the last 12 months.
• Mixmag is a very effective advertising medium with 57% of readers reading adverts and 91% finding them informative.
If you are interested in reaching 217,000 Music Mag Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vikki on 0171 786 0003.
Source: FSM Research (compiled from 1000 respondents in October 1995 readership survey).

RECORDS
• Mixmag readers spent an average of £185.50 on records and CDs in the last 12 months.
• They spent an average of £234.49 on singles.
• And £246.50 on albums.
• A hardcore of 15% of readers spent over £300 on singles last year.
• Mixmag readers aren’t only interested in dance music. 59% of readers opt for non-dance acts when offered a list of acts to see perform live.
• In 1994 dance music accounted for 31% of all singles sales and 58.3% of all album sales. This constituted the largest market share gain of any genre (BPI Handbook).
• If you are interested in reaching 217,000 Music Mag Mixmag readers every month, call Peter or Vikki on 0171 786 0003.
Source: FSM Research (compiled from 1000 respondents in October 1995 readership survey).

Appendix 4
You’ll find some extra stimulation at the following venues this summer:

London Fri 25 July
- 79CHR
- Bar Code
- 2 Floors, Soho
- Village, Soho
- Aquarium

Birmingham Sat 9 August
- Circo
- Stoodi Bakers
- Pat O’Connells
- Bar Coast
- Angels
- Bakers

Manchester Sat 9 August
- Mantos
- Revolution
- Generation X
- Barca
- Prague 5
- Sankeys Soap

Leeds Sat 16 August
- Montezumus
- Liquid
- Cuban Heels
- Queens Court
- The Courtyard
- Mixed Fruit @ Cafe Junction

Glasgow Sat 93 August
- Bar Ten
- Monkey Bar
- Underworld
- Ocho
- Los Borachos
- Tunnel

Cardiff Sat 6 September
- Stamps
- Emporium
- Rumer Tavern
- Kings Cross
- Club Metro

Check up with the outrageous Burn Your Bed crew or be out on the rampages - giving you the drink that gets you up and keeps you there.

Alc. 5% Vol

The Burn Your Bed Tour is an all night experience, leave your slippers at home.
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TRANZMITTER

DRUGS ROUND UP

Road users to face on-the-spot saliva tests?

New saliva tests for illegal drugs could be used by police in road traffic accidents, following Government figures showing that one in six drivers killed in accidents had taken drugs.

Those tests do not prove that drugs caused the accident, and that it is only to draw conclusions as to the three-year survey has only been running for seven months.

Also, the big increase in casualties killed by road accidents could cause nothing more than an increase in the number of casualties. The effects of cannabis are now off the table, but can stay in courts or the run-up to four weeks.

There have been no rises of deaths of LSD users, and relatively few of amphetamine or other.

More ecstasy victims

Two more young people have died after taking ecstasy, one aged just 13.

Tristan’s young and vibrant victim of the drug, Andrew Woodcock, is believed to have swallowed three tablets while filming with two friends. He was found by his mother in a park near Hendon in Middlesex, suffering from the effects of the drug. She lifted him back into the car, but he had already collapsed.

Three Woodcock told reporters. "Once the house, he started struggling with pain and blushing with the sun. It was terrible to watch – he was pulling on his hair and his skin. He said support systems Đông was switched off two days later.

Police have warned that a new type of tablet, stamped 'designer' and sold in an online, was circulating in London.

Liam卿, a 22-year-old who had just returned from a night in the Adelphi in Sheffield, and became 13 of the 18 people in Sheffield, and went to a friend's house nearby, where his sensations worsened.

Liam died as he was being taken to hospital.

The drug was taken to hospital until the formal cause of death was released.

Drug users have been issued with new leaflets and told not to use the drug.

More ecstasy victims

Puffins on Parade

CHOLMS says it has received 1000 reports of people using the drug, more than from any other source.

McGovern, 35, quit the force last year after saying he was the second drug dealing among the people. He alleged that one of the drugs stolen from his house was a "wild" drug.

McGovern said, "I didn't read those attacks, but if you did, you'd run for your life."

Deep Throat

If you were a consultant on TV, what would be your choice specialist subject?

Branding Block

"Can I be serious? He's my patch, doctor. I'm the best. I can do this."

Scanner

It would be a white and white. It would be a white."

Peacock

"What's the point of having a consultant?"

Psyclon

"I'm sure it's a very special.

Appendix 11
Take E now and you might feel fine. But if you take E you're a human guinea-pig because no-one knows what the long term effects are. Unlike other pills you can buy, E hasn't been medically tested.

What we do know about E is that some people have suffered from strokes, depression, mental illness and even fallen into comas.

There's also some indication that taking E might lead to brain damage. Nobody can be 100% sure, but it's some gamble for a night out.

You sweat a lot when you dance, it's not just the water you've got to replace, there's sodium too. Fizz or an energy drink should do the job. It works for marathon runners.

There's some confusion about how much water to drink on E. When dancing, you need to sip about a pint of non-alcoholic liquid an hour to replace lost fluids. Also remember to wear loose, light clothes and just chill out regularly.

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List of Works Cited

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