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Electronic Dance Music: From Deviant Subculture to Culture Industry

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ELECTRONIC DANCE MUSIC: FROM DEVIANT SUBCULTURE TO CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

Electronic Dance Music: From Deviant Subculture to Culture Industry

by

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Utilizing a mixed qualitative research methods design, including interviews, ethnographic field work, and analyzing historical documents, I examine the Electronic Dance Music (EDM) subculture, since its inception in the late 80s as a deviant subculture. Previous studies of raves and other music subcultures focus almost exclusively on the role of popularity in transforming the subculture. In this research, I found, in the case of EDM at least, a more complicated process in which structural factors such as mass media, public officials (politicians and law enforcement), and major music corporations played a prominent role in the transformation. Media coverage focused on sensationalized cases of widespread drug use, while public officials responded by passing and enforcing legislation that forced EDM organizers into more legitimate venues. This change in venue brought them to the attention of the music industry, who saw a new opportunity to make money. By "rationalizing" the production, distribution, and consumption (especially via corporate advertising) of electronic dance music for profit, the original subcultural, even countercultural, values of PLUR (peace, love, unity, respect), solidarity, and authenticity were undermined. These changes resulted in the group being transformed into what Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1972) called a culture industry. Electronic dance music is today dominated by large-scale entertainment corporations who employ a formulaic marketing strategy in the production of EDM events for a mass audience.

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Dedicated to my parents Janis and Thomas Conner

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INTRODUCTION

This project is a qualitative study of social and historical developments surrounding the electronic dance music (EDM), or rave, subculture. The term EDM refers to a collection of music genres that originated out of Chicago and Detroit in the 1980s, heavily influenced by advances in new computing technology (Reynolds 1999). This style of music was then taken up by Europeans who added other cultural references that gave birth to the rave subculture of the 90s. In this study, I conceptualize the EDM subcultures' development as three overlapping phases: the origins or early formative years where participants formed a commitment to the subculture's values, a transition period where EDM was negatively portrayed in sensationalized media coverage and by public officials, and a culture industry phase where the original motives are all but abandoned and replaced by a more corporate organizational structure.

As a sociologist, I am interested in the implications for participants in the EDM subculture as it has transitioned from being perceived as a "deviant" subculture, or more accurately, counterculture, into being seen as a more "respectable" corporately organized culture industry. The term, deviant subculture, reflects the view of the EDM subculture in the eyes of the media and officials, versus counterculture which implies the conscious opposition by participants (including artists, event organizers, and fans) to the values of the dominant group. This project focuses on the contradiction between the original egalitarian ideals of the movement, and its current corporate organizational structure. Fan sites, and participants I interviewed, highlight concern over the difficulties in maintaining their sense of group solidarity in the face of larger economic and political forces. Using a variety of sources, I will illustrate that these sentimendts are felt not only by fans, but also music producers, promoters, and other industry professionals. Their collective frustration has been the source of heated internal debates

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as older members realize that the subcultures' heightened popularity has resulted in their relative inability to shape the movement they once helped create. As the EDM subculture has become increasingly corporate organized, its focus on establishing a sense of community, concerns for artistic excellence, and potential for political activism has been jeopardized. This project then is a snapshot of a subculture, and to a lesser degree, a social movement[1] in transition.

While there have been attempts in sociology to study the EDM subculture, these have been partial or incomplete, focusing on the fan experience and largely neglecting the producers. Moreover, outside of Graham St. John's (2004) work, and later work by Tammy Anderson (2009a; 2009b), few studies have focused on the economic and political structural forces shaping the movement. Prior to 2009, the EDM subculture seemed to be disappearing or in decline (Bennett 2001; Anderson 2009a). However, after 2009, a shift occurred in the United States which catapulted the EDM subculture into a billion dollar industry.

History of the EDM Subculture

Sociological researchers have identified a myriad of subcultures, or countercultures, since the 1960s, and one of the more widely recognized of these is the Electronic Dance Music (EDM) subculture. While precise origins are a matter of debate, the overall narrative concerning the nature of electronic dance music tends to be the same: technological advances in communications and computing technologies allowed musicians, first in Chicago and later in Detroit, to experiment with new ways of producing music. The result of these technological

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[1] Strictly speaking, the EDM subculture is better described sociologically as a subculture, or even deviant subculture or counterculture, as it does contain some aspects of social movements. In particular, their commitment to social change, and utilizing grass roots organizing techniques to fight against legislation targeting them (discussed in chapter four). More importantly, as I discuss in my conclusion, I intend to use this framework to study other groups which are social movements.

innovations was a new kind of music that was created through experimenting with computers, synthesizers, and previously recorded sounds.

The Chicago EDM scene developed house music within underground disco clubs[2] frequented by gay Latino and African Americans[3] (Brewster and Broughton 1999; Silcott 1999; Hindmarch 2001). For many of these clubs, one had to have a membership in order to enter, and knowledge of them was spread often through word of mouth alone (Maestro 2003). The name of the genre was taken from the Warehouse, the main Chicago underground club where house music could be heard. "House music," more melodic in character, offered escape by emphasizing the carnal, sexual, and sensuous, but it also embodied normative claims about the way things ought to be. Thus, house music resembled earlier race hymns calling to be free, to "rise up," and often contained a quasi-religious element. It is no wonder, then, that house music was accepted by a predominately African American gay audience (Silcott 1999).

Detroit developed a harder style of EDM dubbed "techno." Techno incorporated guitars, harsh mechanized beats, computerized sounds, and was much more discordant than its cousin (Brewster and Broughton 2000; Silcott 1999). Detroit's harder style has been linked by some to the failing automotive industry in the city. Thus, techno's aggressive style was a reaction to the social conditions that affected the lives of musicians—a critique of contemporary urban life in Detroit. In interviews conducted by Reynolds (1999), many of the musicians he spoke with also talked about how they intentionally embedded futuristic ideas into the music, group names, and flyers. Silcott's (1999) work examined how this idea of social critique was subsequently picked

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[2] Including the continental baths, a chain of gay bathhouses (see Maestro 2003).
[3] As Brewster and Broughton (2000) have pointed out, hip-hop was also a major inspiration for this genre. Hip-hop artists developed the technique of using turntables as a way of creating music.

up by other cities across the U.S. As it spread, EDM picked up more influences, creating some semblance of a common unified subculture.

As the music genre grew further in popularity, it expanded and developed an international audience and the sound began to be heard in European clubs, especially in the UK, Ibiza (a Mediterranean island off the coast of Spain), and Germany. In the UK, while EDM could be heard in the urban underground clubs in London, it is Manchester that had the most influence on the development of EDM. As documented in the film, *24 Hour Party People* (2002), Manchester took house music and transformed it into a new genre called "acid house". More importantly, the crossover to Europe brought the drug, ecstasy, and a shared dress style into the EDM subculture. The particular style of dress included baggy, loose fitting, bright, neon-colored clothing, much of which emulated the 1960s hippie counterculture (Reynolds 1999).

Some music critics have pointed out that the cultural substance of the EDM subculture was grounded in the twin influences of the sensual (house), and the critical (techno). Rave culture was both an escape through pleasure and a social commentary on the current state of society (both in the UK and the U.S.). Early on then the EDM subculture contained critical elements addressed to broad social issues such as deindustrialization, failing city economies, intolerance based on race and sexual orientation, and a rejection of the prevailing conservative political atmosphere (Brewster and Broughton 2000). The EDM subcultures' social impact lay in the challenges it produced for the prevailing social order[4]. While mainstream culture emphasized hard work, material success, and being serious, the rave subculture stressed being playful, emphasized letting go of inhibitions and responsibilities, and an appreciation for the

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[4] There seems to be some contention over whether house music and the rave scene originated in the U.S. So far as I can tell, house music emerged first in Chicago before being imported to Europe. However, the more countercultural elements were first codified by the British before coming back to the U.S.

sensuous (Reynolds 1999; McCall 2001). Overall, the EDM subculture challenged the system

by emphasizing hedonism via dance parties occurring late at night, drinking and drugs[5], breaking

copyright through the sampling of others' music, holding unlicensed parties, holding events in

spaces without permission, and generally circumventing the normal channels of society.

EDM events also challenged notions of genre, form, and expectation through the use of

elaborate visuals (lasers, lights, new projection technology, psychedelic imagery, etc.), a pastiche

style of dress by participants, the use of non-traditional spaces for events, and the informal

dissemination of event locations[6]. While EDM participants did not engage in direct political

activism like the hippies or punks before them, they became more political because of the way in

which society reacted towards them. Thus, the EDM subculture was about more than just the

music, but rather it was a response of those who felt real suffering due to their marginalized

status, making EDM events a temporary escape (for a more detailed account, see Buckland

2002).

The focus on drug use at EDM events gave officials the ammunition they needed to

marginalize, criminalize, and ultimately outlaw the early EDM subculture. While this history is

generally well documented in the UK (see Reynolds 1999; Goode 2004; Peretti 2006), much less

has been written about how this played out in the United States. When EDM came back to the

United States as acid house (re-emerging in New York and Los Angeles), many promoters found

themselves unable to secure "legitimate venues," causing them to throw EDM events in

abandoned warehouses and other clandestine spaces.

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[5] Though many authors mention the drug connection, they also point out that not everyone took drugs, arguing that the events themselves were enough of a stimulus for many participants.
[6] Early rave events would utilize party info lines, sometimes announcing the location within hours of the actual event, or map point locations whereby one had to go to a series of locations to find out the event locale.

Then Senator (now Vice President) Joe Biden introduced a legislative bill that effectively criminalized rave events altogether (see Appendix A). While the bill unilaterally targeted all EDM events, rave promoter James D. Estopinal, Jr. (better known to participants as "Disco Donnie") became the center of attention by challenging the bill. With the help of the ACLU and the electronic music defense fund, EDM fans in major cities joined together in a national protest. Painted by law enforcement and other government officials as facilitators of all-night drug parties, EDM members faced what sociologists call a stigmatized identity (Goffman 1963). Despite fighting the bill and winning, things would never be the same for the EDM subculture. Vick's VapoRub, gas masks, bandanna masks, glow sticks, pacifiers, LED gloves, stuffed animals, and backpacks would become banned items at many rave gatherings (Sein 2004; Ahrens 2013). While these restrictions have lessened over the years, many of these items are today banned at larger EDM events.

As law enforcement became involved in breaking up EDM, or rave events, the goal for some promoters of EDM shifted to one of being perceived as more legitimate, with the right to enjoy the music culture they had created[7]. However, like so many movements before it, the EDM counterculture's legitimation came with a price. Following legislative challenges, cities began to make demands on rave promoters: locations had to be clearly disclosed, events had to be ticketed, and some states began charging a tax (see McCall 2001), along with a ban on all the items listed in the previous paragraph as drug-related paraphernalia. Also, whereas early EDM events took place in underground clubs, abandoned warehouse spaces (either rented or broken into), and other non-traditional venues, the EDM subculture since the late 2000s has shifted

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[7] It bears noting the connection with the early LGBT movement and early EDM culture, which was frequently enjoyed by African American and Latino gay men.

largely to nightclubs (as well as stadiums, fairgrounds, and state-owned venues). Thus, in their move to establish legitimacy, the cost has come largely in terms of freedom of expression, and assembly. While challenges to some of these rules have been made under the first amendment (see Sein 2004; Aherns 2013), many promoters perceive the risks of challenging the establishment as too high. Even where a state has been unsuccessful in creating legally binding rules, promoters using state-managed facilities often impose these restrictions upon themselves.

In addition to less freedom, legitimation has also brought with it commodifying tendencies seen by many as threatening to undermine the original values of the movement. Increased bureaucratic control, imposed either directly through legislation and rules, or indirectly through fear of harassment, has raised the costs of EDM events dramatically. Licensed venues and permits can be costly, adding security and additional door staff to handle tickets is another expense, event taxes once avoided now must be paid, insurance to cover liability, and a whole host of other expenses are now needed to maintain EDM events. These and other factors have led to the commodification of nearly every aspect of EDM events, and also other elements of the subculture (CDs, t-shirts, etc.). At the Electric Daisy Carnival held annually in Las Vegas, ten varieties of access exist, obtainable directly from the promoter, or indirectly through the black market.

Most importantly, while in its formative years, members were perceived by outsiders as constituting a deviant subculture or counterculture. Today, EDM is a billion dollar culture industry, the impact of which is felt in many different areas of contemporary society. To provide some context, EDM events such as The Electric Daisy Carnival, the yearly event held in Las Vegas, generated $207 million in taxable revenue, and created 618 full-time equivalent jobs in 2012. On a national level, EDM promotion companies such as SFX Entertainment, have become

large scale corporate enterprises. On October 9th, 2013, SFX became a publicly traded company, and has spent close to $1 billion acquiring other domestic and foreign companies. Exactly how this transition has been made possible, what problems it poses for the members of the subculture, and the consequences of this shift has been under analyzed. Critics have suggested that whereas before decisions were made on artistic principles, today, decisions are made based on profitability.

While researchers such as Tammy Anderson (2009a) have examined commodifying forces shaping the EDM subculture, this study differs from previous research in several ways: my role as a former industry insider allowed me unprecedented access to industry insiders, and my research took place after EDM had become a billion dollar industry. Moreover, Anderson and others were more interested in the decline in what they call authentically produced EDM events. While I address this important topic as well, I am also interested in the various dialogues among participants (including both industry insiders and fans) and how outsiders' views of the group changed as the EDM subculture became more commercialized and popular. Thus, based on the limits of previous research, and broader shifts in the popularity of the subculture, this project seeks to address the following questions:

1. In what ways has the EDM subculture changed since its inception in the 1980s?
2. How are EDM event organizers, promoters, performers (and other industry professionals), as well as fans, affected by these changes?
3. How do some members of the EDM subculture try to maintain the core values of the group against changes seen by some as threatening to those values?
4. How do representations by the media shape and reflect the changes occurring within the EDM subculture?
5. What other broader structural forces (especially economic and political) have shaped the evolution of EDM?

The first two questions are closely interrelated. The first refers to what sorts of changes have occurred within the subculture over time; the second to how participants (both producers

and fans) feel about these changes. The third question, central to this study, is to look at how some members try to resolve the tension of maintaining authenticity (from their point of view) amidst larger changes occurring within the EDM subculture. Answering this question opens the door to identifying broader historical forces shaping the movement, and how access and ability to shape the group have changed over time. Preliminary research suggests that one's ability to participate in the EDM subculture becomes increasingly based on elements other than commitment to core values as commodification of the group increases. This is perhaps best embodied in fans' discussions of the notion of PLUR (Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect), the key set of values identified by early members of the movement. Fourth, media representations will allow me to see how societal views of the EDM subculture have changed over time. Finally, I examine the role of larger structural forces in transforming the EDM subculture.

Outline of the Study

In chapter two, I provide a review of the relevant sociological literature. This includes the literature on subcultures, including deviant subcultures and countercultures, the literature on social movements, and that on the culture industry, a concept originated by the members of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory (especially Theodor Adorno) in the mid-1940s. In chapter three, I describe my methods. I employed a mixed qualitative methods approach which included formal and informal interviews, ethnographic work at EDM events, and analyzed documents produced by and about the subculture. In chapters four, five, and six, I emphasize the development of EDM in term of three phases. In chapter four, I discuss the origins of the subculture and the cultural values that characterized the group. In chapter five, I focus on what I call the transitional phase from 1995 to 2003. During this phase, structure and values began to shift, largely in response to negative publicity in media coverage and official government

responses by politicians and law enforcement. In chapter six, I describe what I call the culture

industry phase from 2003 to the present. Currently, EDM has become a vast and hugely

profitable industry. This shift has, in the eyes of many, especially the original participants, come

at a significant cost, compromising the core values of the culture causing members to question if

the subculture even still exists. In chapter seven, I conclude with a summary of the major

findings of my study. I also address what I see as the primary limitations of my work and offer

suggestions for further research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study, I will draw primarily from three sets of literature: the literature on subcultures, especially music subcultures (including, but not limited to, the EDM subculture), on social movements, and on the culture industry. I will begin by providing an overview of the subcultures literature, followed by an overview of the social movement literature, before concluding with a discussion of the literature on the culture industry.

Subcultures

Perhaps no other term in sociology has been more misunderstood than the term "subculture." As Blackman (2007) notes, the origin of the term has been misidentified as emerging in the 1940s, but it in fact can be traced to the so-called early Chicago school (1900-30s). Early Chicago school researchers developed the concept in order to understand the increasing occurrence of deviant youth criminal behavior in the inner city of Chicago (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918; Park and Burgress 1925; Palmer 1928). They proposed that because urban areas were socially disorganized, individuals were not socialized with the same values and norms found elsewhere (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918; Park and Burgress 1925; Palmer 1928). Breaking from earlier positivistic approaches that poised a biological origin to deviant behavior, the early Chicago school saw it as a result in the decline of traditional social institutions (i.e., the family, the church, the school, etc.). In this view, deviant sub-groups (such as drug users, thieves, gangs, etc.) were seen as a result of the decline of these institutions that were unable to hold its members in check.

Early Chicago School researchers recognized the limits of social disorganization theory, and they encouraged ethnographic studies to further a phenomenological understanding of the

groups they studied (Williams 2007). They also have been portrayed as narrow; they, in fact, employed a broad range of methodological approaches in their research (see Shaw 1930; Cressey 1932; Sutherland 1937; Bulmer 1984). The only central thread running through their work was the notion that the city produced new types of social organizations in which deviant or criminal activity was widespread.

Later development of the concept, subculture, drew upon the work of Robert Merton (1949). Merton's theory of anomie, or strain theory, understood deviance as a response stemming from an incongruity between culturally-sanctioned goals and means. The frustration that this produced created feelings of anomie, or disconnect, which led to the formation of deviant groups otherwise known as subcultures. In light of this, theorists in the Chicago School concluded that subcultures emerge to alleviate one's inability to achieve success in society through the development of a new status and value system to take the place of more conventional goals (Cloward and Olin 1960; Cohen 1955). This approach was subsequently picked up by British cultural studies theorists, who stress the role of working class solidarity, and later, identity politics (Turner 1990; Dickens 1994).

Other Chicago school researchers (post-World War II) developed the notion of subcultures as arising out of interaction with others, and were influenced by the work of George Herbert Mead (1934) and Herbert Blumer's (1969) theory of symbolic interaction. This time, the Chicago school took a different approach to deviant groups. Instead of using a macro ecological approach towards the study of deviance, they looked at the ways in which deviance is socially constructed. To match their ontological view, they employed a methodology aimed towards understanding from the actor's point of view. During this time period, a variety of studies

emerged in which researchers interviewed or conducted ethnographic fieldwork with a variety of groups (Becker 1963; Shaw 1966; Polsky 1967, Anderson 1975).

One of the most popular theories to emerge out of the later Chicago school studies was labeling theory. Its most prominent exponent, Howard Becker (1963)[8], studied how jazz musicians defined themselves as "hip," but noted how they were also stigmatized and labeled as deviant, which, in turn, created a deviant subculture formed on the basis of interactions with others bearing the same label (Becker 1963). According to labeling theory, as a deviant group forms, members develop specialized vocabularies, symbols (used to identify other group members), and a culture of their own (Becker 1963).

If the University of Chicago was the center for subculture studies in the United States, the Birmingham School's Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was the epicenter for the study of subcultures in the United Kingdom. Cultural studies researchers often studied male working-class youth groups that had a distinct, or fantastic, style (such as mods, rockers, teds, and punks). In their analysis, they understood members of these subcultures as trying to exert resistance against hegemonic forces seeking to make them conform (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, Roberts 1976). Yet, because these groups can never fully exist outside of the dominant parent culture from which they emerge, they often end up recapitulating the same values they oppose. Through their use of style groups such as mods, rockers, teds, and punks, this allowed members to temporarily resolve contradictions and produce a unique but similar identity (Williams 2011).

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[8] Though Becker (1963) is often credited with founding it, he attributes the origins of labeling theory to the work of several scholars outside of the Chicago school (See Tannenbaum 1938; Lemert 1951; Kitsuse 1962; Erikson 1962; Becker 1963).

Consisting of mostly cultural critical and literary theorists, the Birmingham school was an interdisciplinary program drawing upon Marx when interpreting subcultures, while applying a micro level interpretive-based study of the participants. The result of the Birmingham school's approach was the ability to address both the everyday lived reality of subculture members, as well as the structural components of society (Willis 1977; Dickens 1994; Williams 2011). In Willis' (1977) study of adolescent school boys, he showed how class background influences preferences for a particular cultural group (Willis 1977). Thus, the power of the Birmingham school lies in analyzing the meanings that individuals produce, and connecting them to larger social structures.

Some have criticized the Birmingham School for being overly deterministic and too focused on class as the basis for participation in subculture. Such criticisms are not fully justified, as the best examples of their work (especially Willis 1977) take into account both social structure and socially constructed meaning. Willis uses the term counterculture instead of subculture because he is wary of the cultural relativism the term subculture implies (Willis 1977; 1972: xlvi). This problem stems largely from the fact that they were not sociologists, but mostly literary theorists applying semiotic readings to get at embedded meanings. They have also been criticized for not taking gender, sexual orientation, and to a lesser degree, race into consideration (though much of the work from the Birmingham School took race into account, especially that of Stuart Hall and Dick Hebdige).

Two general criticisms of the subcultures literature have emerged that call into question the utility of the term, subculture. According to one group of critics, the term subculture (like that of 'deviance') reifies and marginalizes the status of the group as not normal (Liazos 1972; Kitsuse 1975). They argue that labeling theorists in particular have imputed their own values to

the groups they study (Mills 1943; Thio 1973). So, while labeling theorists saw their position as humanizing marginalized groups, they may have in fact further perpetuated their deviant identity (Becker 1967).

A second criticism that has been raised against the term subculture is that it lacks analytical usefulness because it has been over utilized (see Yinger 1960; Fine and Kleinman 1979). To resolve this concern, some theorists have argued for the development of the term "contraculture" or "counterculture," to differentiate between groups who actively resist the values of the dominant culture and those who do not (Yinger 1960). The argument here is that the term subculture implies labeling from the outside, whereas contraculture or counterculture implies active resistance on the part of group members themselves. Despite this criticism, recent developments by Hodkinson (2002), Gelder (2007), and Williams (2011) have revitalized the term, arguing for its continued utility.

Other more recent scholarship has argued for the continuing validity of the deviant subcultures framework. Blackman (2007), for example, points out that others operating within the symbolic interactionist tradition resurrect the Chicago school framework by citing Howard Becker's (1963) *Outsiders* as the basis for their own work. This scholarship includes the work of Fox (1987), Epstein (1994), and Haenfler (2004), who emphasize the continued importance of notions of authenticity, identity, and resistance, as opposed to claiming the subculture concept is no longer relevant. They recommend focusing on a variety of analytically distinct dimensions for conceptualizing subcultures including: a distinct style in either dress, music, ritual, and argot (see Cohen 1972), framing one's activity as resistance (however loosely defined), distinct spaces in which members can gather (even if they are translocal or virtual - see Peterson and Bennett

2004), societal reaction that marginalizes or sensationalizes the group, and a shared identity (Hodkinson 2002; Williams 2007; Haenfler 2014).

Generally speaking, studies of EDM culture can be categorized into four distinct groups. First are those studies which analyze the deviant aspects of the subculture (specifically, drug use). The second group are those which take an interpretive approach and try to facilitate a more sympathetic understanding of the subculture, the third, critical approach has begun to emerge which analyzes the larger social and historical significance of EDM subculture, and finally are the postmodern approaches which view the EDM subculture as an empirical example of postmodern fragmentation.

The first and most common group of studies of the EDM subculture focuses primarily on the drug-using aspects of the group. These studies are governmentally funded research studies that equate participation in the EDM subculture almost exclusively with drug use—especially for use of the drug, ecstasy (Kotarba 1993; Adlaf and Smart 1997; Lenton et al. 1997; Weir 2000; Measham et al. 2001; Rome 2001; Yacoubian et al. 2004; Kelly 2005; 2014; Miller et al. 2005; Sanders 2006; Sterk et al. 2006; Yacoubian and Wish 2006; Olsen 2009; CDC 2010). Collectively, these studies examine the EDM subculture for ways in which use of ecstasy and other "club drugs" can be curtailed through social control strategies or harm reduction initiatives. Other studies in this group include Kotarba's (1993) work that analyzes features of EDM events that makes them attractive to drug users, while researchers such as Kelly (2005; 2014) examine the embedded cultural practices of EDM events that might act as harm reduction measures (for example, staying hydrated, utilization of friends to look out for one another, taking breaks, and chill-out rooms).

The second line of research studying the EDM subculture has utilized an interpretive framework either documenting the history of the group (as in journalistic accounts), or analyzes the culture of the group itself (Reynolds 1999; Silcott 1999, Brewster and Broughton 2000, McCall 2001). Journalistic approaches paint an image of a coherent unified EDM subculture which began as a response to a world participants saw as fragmented, anomic, and filled with inequalities (based on class, race, sexual orientation, and gender). Similar academic studies attempt to identify common meanings that constitute the EDM subculture, or make it attractive to its members (Kotarba 1993; St. John 2004; Sylvan 2005).

Other studies which take an interactionist approach focus on how the EDM subculture exemplifies Cohen's (1972) notion of a moral panic (Hollywood 1997; Murji 1998; Hier 2002; Rosenbaum 2002; Ahrens 2013). They argue that this subculture has been constructed as a social problem by exaggerating accounts of drug use within the group. While some drug use certainly occurs, as it does in most other music scenes, they argue that it should not necessarily be treated as a core behavior (Kavanaugh and Anderson 2009b; Siokou and Moore 2008). Many of these studies also point out that the moral panic surrounding use of MDMA (ecstasy), resulting in classifying it as a Schedule 1 narcotic, have actually done more harm than good (Rosenbaum 2002; Anderson 2014). By making the drug illegal, the government has created a black market of impure substances, and constricted harm reduction messages which may have originally prevented problems faced today (Rosenbaum 2002; Anderson 2014).

Critical studies of the EDM subculture make up the third type of research and have taken a variety of forms, especially those looking at how EDM has been commodified, and those that study the EDM subculture as a social movement. Anderson's (2009a) study of rave culture, for example, looks at how commodification of the EDM subculture, alongside other factors, resulted

in the decline of EDM culture. Anderson's (2009a) nuanced approach identifies variations between authentic raves and commercialized raves. Anderson's (2009a) study remains the only study to employ aspects of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, drawing heavily upon the work of Theodor Adorno ([1967] 1975).

Other critical studies of the EDM subculture situate the culture as a quasi-social movement—part subculture and part social movement (see Kosmicki 2001; Hill 2002: Hitzler and Pfadenhauer 2002; Anderson 2007). These studies focus on the politics of the EDM subculture. Group members defined these values as peace, love, unity, and respect (PLUR). However, these notions were also fused with broader notions of advocating for gender egalitarianism, and promoting general feelings of tolerance based on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. Moreover, the movement was also oriented towards being environmentally conscious and saw it as a pressing issue leaders needed to address. Hizler and Pfadenhauer (2002), as well as Ott and Herman (2003), similarly argue that the EDM subculture is defined by a variety of transgressive, political, and liberating behaviors. Challenging copyright laws, appropriating unused space, broadcasting on pirate radio, and other resistance strategies are all cited as examples of how the EDM subculture can be read as a politically oriented social movement. Furthermore, given the origins of house music, at least some ties to political activism through the gay and lesbian movement existed, even if only tangentially. Other critical studies, such as Sein's (2004) and Tepper's (2009), look at how the response to the EDM subculture by government officials violated basic freedoms. Tepper (2009) also notes that, whereas traditional responses to youth subcultures were overtly repressive, to the EDM subculture, bureaucratic forms of control were utilized to undermine the subculture's political potential.

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Where critical scholars see new strategies of resistance in the EDM subculture, post-subculture theorists argue that the EDM subculture best illustrates postmodern emphases on fragmentation, decay, and the apolitical nature of contemporary youth subcultures (see McRobbie 1994; Thornton 1996; Malbon 1999; Reynolds 1999; Bennett 2000, 2001). Instead, they emphasize the hedonistic, fantastic, and consumer orientation of the EDM subculture—echoing earlier concerns of the group as deviant subcultures (see Redhead 1997; Williams 2011), or taking a cultural populist approach (see McGuigan 1992). Instead of seeing youth cultures (especially EDM cultures) as part of an interconnected group, they see a plethora of subcultures based on particular genres within electronic dance music (house, deep house, tech house, techno, dubstep, trance, psytrance, goa trance, etc.) (Redhead 1993; Bennett 1999; Malbon 1999; Muggleton 2000).

Others argue that there used to be a coherent EDM subculture, but that it no longer exists and has been absorbed into the more generic notion of club cultures (see Thornton 1996; Hodkinson 2002; Siokou and Moore 2008; Anderson 2009a). What the Birmingham School emphasized, the post-subculturalists saw as limits. In particular, they point to the EDM subculture's lack of clearly defined group beliefs and attitudes, the diversity of participants, and a focus on hedonistic consumption lacking deeper meaning or substance as reasons for creating a theoretical break from the previous ways youth cultures have been studied (see Redhead 1993; Bennett 1999; Malbon 1999; Muggleton 2000). While the observation that EDM culture has been absorbed into a more general "club culture" in some ways fits the historical narrative of EDM's development offered in this study, what is missing in these accounts is any sort of empirical analysis of how EDM culture was transformed.

At a purely theoretical level, the post-subculture perspective has developed from Bennett's (1999) critique of the term subculture. His argument is that classical studies of subcultures conceived of groups as static and unchanging which required a high level of commitment by participants. He deconstructs the concept, finding that what we call subcultures are in reality temporary and fleeting, and whose participants lack any sort of enduring commitment to the group. Bennett (1999) argues that researchers should instead utilize Maffesoli's (1996) concept of neo-tribe as an alternative framework, as it provides a more fluid approach to the study of youth groups. While Bennett sees neo-tribe as a more appropriate term, substituting it for subculture merely creates another catch-all term. In a similar fashion, Muggleton (2000) emphasizes that there is no structure underlying youth culture. As such, we are left treating the consumption patterns of youth as either devoid of meaning, or so highly specialized that any generalization is impossible. Interestingly, outside of Gottschalk's (1993) attempt to empirically investigate whether youth exhibit postmodern tendencies, there have been few researchers who actually ask the people they are theorizing about what they think. Indeed, Gottschalk's study may yield a much more viable solution to this theoretical debate.

Finally, Anderson (2009a) deals with the post-subculturalist critique by placing EDM events along a continuum, ranging from authentic raves to commercialized rave-like events. According to Anderson (2009a), the authentic EDM or rave culture of the late 90s no longer exists due to a variety of forces, including commodification of the EDM subculture. She traces the current commercialized form of the EDM subculture to what her interviewees claim is its more authentic past, allowing her to circumvent criticisms from post-subculturalists and treat her object of study as an ongoing historical achievement. Moreover, she is able to analyze how this change occurred by examining the larger structural forces alongside participants' interaction in

the setting. To date, her study remains one of the most thoroughly conducted empirical accounts

of the EDM subculture.

Social Movements

Early members of the EDM subculture embraced to a philosophy they called PLUR

(mentioned above as peace, love, unity, and respect). As Frankie Bones (Frank Mitchell), a well-

known EDM music artist in the subculture recalls, PLUR eventually evolved into PLUM (peace,

love, unity, and movement). He claims that the difference was the latter implied action on the

part of participants to maintain their subculture values, whereas the former was an abstract

philosophy (Bones 2012). Some media reports, and talks given at EDM business conferences,

have compared the EDM subculture to the counterculture movement of the 1960s. Some

scholars working within the youth culture/subcultures field also have begun to conceptualize

these groups as social movements (Haenfler et al. 2012). They follow Melucci's (1980) claim

that new social movements (NSMs) have blurred the distinction between social movements and

subcultures. NSM theory examines collective action that is based on shared collective identity—

itself based on ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, a collective identity, and symbolic resistance

strategies (Buechler 1995; 2000). One could make the argument then that subcultures like those

participating in the EDM movement, with their use of symbolic resistance through style and a

shared collective identity, exhibit many of the same features as NSMs. The analytical fuzziness

surrounding what constitutes a social movement and a subculture is the same argument first

identified by Yinger (1960) when he argued for the term counterculture as a way to distinguish

between active resistance and passive resistance. Seen in this way, all social movements are

both subcultures and countercultures (so long as they actively resist), but not all subcultures are

social movements.

Empirical studies of the politics of marginalized groups such as the LGBT, feminist, and civil rights movements have examined the differing political strategies used by groups formed after the Vietnam War. However, some critics have argued that while groups like gays and lesbians, women, and some racial minorities have successfully lobbied for greater inclusion into the political order, they have done so by still operating within the market-based system of society (Valocchi 1999; Chasin 2000; Barrett and Pollack 2005; Guidotto 2006). These critics of assimilationist political strategies also note that access to mainstream politics comes at the price of sacrificing unique group characteristics, reproduces inequalities in society, and sacrifices those members who do not meet changing expectations (Valocchi 1999; Chasin 2000; Richardson 2005).

In the LGBT movement, these changes have oriented the politics of the movement to represent the interests of white gay middle-class men at the expense of lesbians, the intersex community, the poor, and other minority group members (Valocchi 1999). In the process, membership and involvement often becomes tied to consumption, where advancing the political agenda means being perceived as affluent by the dominant group (Richardson 2005). Also key to this process is the role the media has played in, for example, creating the perception of gay men and women as being highly educated, desiring high end products, embodying effeminate traits, engaging in travel, and having an exceptionally "fit" physique (Valocchi 1999; Chasin 2000; Shugart 2003; Richardson 2005).

As Chasin (2000) has shown, the creation of the category of the "modern gay man" has privileged only a select few, and ignored the real needs (employment, housing, discrimination, etc.) of the majority. This cycle can be seen in a variety of other social movements: the women's movement (Epstein 2014), black civil rights movement (Kennedy 2008), and other marginalized

groups in America. Each of these movements have had to deal with reconciling a variety of issues (identity, purpose, authenticity) as they become more incorporated into mainstream society.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn for the study of subcultures by including the new social movement framework. First, that social movements may say more about identity-based music subcultures than one would initially assume (see Haenfler et al. 2012). Second, and most important for this study, the social movement literature has examined groups who transition from small grass roots organizations into larger professionalized bureaucratic ones. Buechler (2000) has done an excellent job in pointing out the connection between political organizing and contemporary politics as shaped by business interests. That is, one of the quickest, if not the only path to legitimation and acceptance in a capitalist system such as America is through shifting a groups' political orientations more toward one in line with consumer capitalism. What has not been fully studied is what happens to members of the movement as such a transition is made, and what factors make such a transition possible. Third, the social movement literature suggests that the nature of politics in contemporary American society has changed, therefore, social movement theory needs updating to account for these changes. Some of these issues have been addressed, albeit in a much different context, by the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, as pointed out by Masquelier (2013).

The Culture Industry

The concept of the "culture industry" was first developed in the 1940s in the work of Frankfurt School critical theorists, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno ([1944] 1972). In the introduction to a later article, Adorno ([1967] 1975) points out that this term was developed as a

critical response to the notion of "popular culture," which implies that culture emerges spontaneously from the people. Instead, the culture industry concept argues that culture is becoming increasingly imposed in a top down, or administered, manner.

The term culture industry consists of two main features: standardization and pseudo-individualization. Standardization, Horkheimer and Adorno argued, was made possible by new technologies of mass communication (in their time, the TV, radio, and film). These developments in turn allowed for the application of Fordist-style production techniques that made possible the quick, cheap, and profitable reproduction of cultural commodities. Thus, a sphere of life where economic factors were once relatively minimal is now shaped by them as a primary motivation. The result, under the theory of the culture industry, is a cultural sphere devoid of critical thought, and ideologically harmful to consumers by dulling their intellectual capacity. The second feature of the culture industry, pseudo-individualization, refers to the notion that individual cultural products, be they works of art, music, literature or film, are marketed as unique, when in fact, they are all derived from a common formula.

Adorno and the other Frankfurt school theorists, especially Herbert Marcuse, recognized that there always was a commodified aspect to culture, but with the rise of the culture industry, culture becomes commodified through and through. In a later essay, Adorno ([1967] 1975) explains:

> Ever since these cultural forms first began to earn a living for their creators as commodities in the market place, they had already possessed something of this quality [profit motive]. But then they sought after profit only indirectly, over and above their autonomous essence. New on the part of the culture industry is the direct and undisguised primacy of a precisely and thoroughly calculated efficacy in its most typical products (13).

This is not to say that communal, political elements have completely disappeared, but rather they have been extremely marginalized by the corporate profit-oriented nature of the culture industry.

Though Adorno was the most negative critic of the culture industry among the Frankfurt School theorists, even he in his later work recognized that culture can never be fully commodified (or rationalized in Weber's sense). Instead, it merely colonizes indigenous or spontaneous forms of culture (see also Frank 1997), as attempts by industry professionals to create cultural products from scratch are often unsuccessful. In a later essay titled "Free Time," Adorno ([1977] 1991) cited a German study in which Dutch citizens actually rejected the mass mediated messages to which they were exposed. From this, Adorno concluded that the culture industry can never fully erase the critical potential that it promises but does not deliver. This is also pointed out by Paul Piccone (1978) and Slavoj Zizek (1997), who argue that the system today even incorporates a depoliticized concept of dissent or rebellion. This parallels my earlier discussion of social movements that become commodified. Under the logic of capitalism, difference is repackaged through identity politics, and then sold back to us.

METHODS

I utilized a mixed qualitative methodological approach in conducting this research study. I conducted interviews (both formal and informal) with EDM participants and industry professionals (including book agents, radio show hosts, DJs, writers, non-profit organizers, and event promoters). These interviews ranged between thirty minutes and two hours. I also conducted ethnography fieldwork at numerous EDM events, including clubs, festivals, professional business conferences, and arena events. Finally, I analyzed a range of documents produced by and about the EDM subculture. The documents produced by EDM participants included: news blogs, online discussion boards, fan sites, flyers and other advertisements, technical riders, contracts, and reports by industry professionals. The documents produced about the EDM subculture included media reports (primarily from television and newspapers), official government and police reports, and documentary films.

Research Questions

While researchers such as Tammy Anderson (2009a) have examined commodifying forces shaping the EDM subculture, this study differs from previous research in several ways: my role as a former industry insider allowed me unprecedented access to industry insiders, and my research took place after EDM had become a billion dollar industry. Moreover, Anderson and others were more interested in the decline in what she calls authentically produced EDM events. While I too address this important topic, I am also interested in the various dialogues among participants (including both industry insiders and fans) and how outsiders' views of the group changed as the EDM subculture became more commercialized and popular. Thus, based on the limits of previous research and broader shifts in the popularity of the subculture, this projects seeks to address the following questions:

1. In what ways has the EDM subculture changed since its inception in the 1980s?
2. How are EDM event organizers, promoters, performers (and other industry professionals), as well as fans, affected by these changes?
3. How do some members of the EDM subculture try to maintain the core values of the group against changes seen by some as threatening to those values?
4. How do representations by the media shape and reflect the changes occurring within the EDM subculture?
5. What other broader structural forces (especially economic and political) have shaped the evolution of EDM?

The first two questions are closely interrelated. The first refers to what sorts of changes have occurred within the subculture over time, the second to how participants (both producers and fans) feel about these changes. The third question, central to this study, is to look at how some members try to resolve the tension of maintaining authenticity (from their point of view) amidst larger changes occurring within the EDM subculture. Answering this question opens the door to identifying broader historical forces shaping the movement, and how access and ability to shape the group have changed over time. Preliminary research suggests that one's ability to participate in the EDM subculture becomes increasingly based on elements other than commitment to core values as commodification of the group increases. This is perhaps best embodied in fans' discussion of the notion of PLUR. Fourth, media representation will allow me to see how societal views of the EDM subculture have changed over time. Finally, I examine the role of larger structural forces in transforming the EDM subculture.

The Field

Las Vegas has proven to be an invaluable location to conduct this study as it is home to the largest EDM festival in North America, the Electric Daisy Carnival (EDC), attracting an average of 133,333 per night (400,000 total tickets over three days) in 2014 (see Prevatt 2014), the annual EDMbiz conference (an industry insider music business conference), and top

producing EDM music artists performing nightly at local clubs. There were also several other EDM events that occurred in other venue spaces (primarily concert halls within local hotel-casinos). A recent article in the *New Yorker* pointed out that EDM has become a major influence, producing more revenue than gambling for Las Vegas casinos (Eells 2013). Thus, I was at the epicenter of change both for Las Vegas and for the EDM subculture, and witnessed the explosive growth of a highly commodified version of this subculture. While I conducted a great deal of this study in Las Vegas, this was only because of the concentration of EDM professionals and participants flying in from all over the world.

Researcher Role and Ethnographic Experience

Prior to attending graduate school, I worked in Indianapolis, Indiana as an event promoter while earning my undergraduate and master's degrees. From 2002 – 2009, I organized a variety of events (both EDM and non EDM). The relevance to this study is that I entered into this project as a complete insider (Adler and Adler 1987). This proved useful in several ways: I already had a list of industry contacts from which to draw upon for interviews, I knew the "language" of the group, and I was aware of the internal workings of the EDM business allowing me to investigate potential areas that prior research had neglected.

My previous connections in the EDM business also gained me unparalleled access to industry insiders. I was able to attend professional EDM business conferences, EDM music festivals, and other EDM events held in Las Vegas for free. Between the fall of 2010 and spring of 2015, I attended five EDM music festivals, two EDM one-off events in major Las Vegas event arenas, ten EDM nightclub events, and three EDM pool parties. For all but three of these events, I was granted all access, or backstage, passes. I was also invited to informal gatherings such as

dinner with DJs in Las Vegas restaurants, gave rides to industry professionals in town, provided

lodging for industry professionals and fans, and was even given exclusive tours of EDM

venues/events. I was also employed for a year as a promotional assistant for an EDM music

festival in 2010 in Las Vegas. I recorded my field experiences in a research diary that was

derived from jottings recorded using my mobile phone, small pieces of paper I could carry in my

pocket, and photographs taken with my mobile phone to aid my memory when possible. My

research diary contained 300 pages of notes and other items (ticket stubs, backstage passes,

posters, etc.).

Experiencing EDM events firsthand exposed me to happenings in the field that I would

not have thought about and which allowed me to tailor the other methodological strategies of this

study. For most every event I attended, I was "chaperoned" by a key informant. However, I also

took frequent breaks from them, allowing me to experience the setting on my own and not be

influenced by my participants alone. I was able to observe how participants interacted with one

another, the overall organization of the events, and talk informally with a variety of attendees.

Sample

I utilized a snowball sampling technique to obtain a sample of respondents (Denzin

1978). Snowball sampling is a technique whereby research subjects already participating in the

project recruit future research subjects from their social networks. My initial contact list was

made up of individuals with whom I had worked with during my time as a participant in the

EDM subculture, and as an industry insider. The initial list was composed of five industry

professionals, and five EDM enthusiasts. Out of the five industry professionals, three of them

continued to communicate with me for the entire length of the project. The second and third

wave of industry professionals continued to stay in the study for the entire length. Overall, I was able to interview 20 EDM professionals, all occupying different positions of status within the group. The most interesting interviews came from promoters who had been in the EDM business for several years, or those who had previously been EDM event organizers but had stopped participating.

One of my key informants introduced me to a colorful and diverse "tribe," or group of participants in 2010, who served as my main group of fan participants. The "tribe" was made up of twelve individuals whose friendship was based on a shared appreciation and participation in the EDM subculture. These individuals invited me with them to EDM festivals and events they were already attending. I was able to ask them questions during the event, and observe their behavior. Two of the group members stayed with me on five different occasions while they were in Las Vegas for EDM events. These visits lasted between three days, and one week. The group who accepted me as one of their own also referred me to online EDM forums from which I observed others postings, asked questions, and interviewed three of these individuals in depth.

Interviews

As is often the case in ethnographic work, I did several informal interviews between 2010 and 2015, but only conducted formal interviews in 2014. During formal interviews, I asked a variety of questions such as: How long have you been involved in the EDM scene? How has the EDM changed since you have been involved? What led you to become involved in the EDM scene? What changes do you feel are occurring because of EDM's popularity? How do you relate to the fans of EDM subculture? What do you think about other non-professionals who are

members of the EDM subculture (see Appendix B)? I then let the individuals I interviewed

guide the interview and asked them to clarify unclear topics.

Content Analysis

My second method involved analyzing texts produced within and about the EDM

subculture. I focused on two kinds of texts: those produced by participants (news blogs, online

discussion boards, fan sites, flyers and other advertisements, technical riders, contracts, and

reports by industry professionals), and those produced primarily by the mass media and

government officials (media reports primarily from television and newspapers, official

government and police reports, and documentary films). Stanley Cohen (1972) was perhaps one

of the first researchers to utilize mass media accounts to study subcultures. He used media

accounts to trace the history of mods, rockers, and punks. His methodology revealed the media's

role in the creation of moral panics. Cohen (1972) saw that analyzing media accounts, along

with other techniques (insider interviews, and ethnographic fieldwork), revealed how groups are

marginalized by outsiders (similar to Becker's classic work, *Outsiders*).

I utilized mass media accounts to analyze how the EDM subculture's label changed over

time, to gain insight into the history and origins of the subculture, and to monitor changes in the

EDM business. This has allowed me to examine the historical changes which have influenced

the evolution of the EDM scene since the late 1980s in order to help understand how the

subculture has come to be largely accepted by mainstream society. While finding earlier press

articles in the United States is problematic because many news sources have disappeared or have

yet to be digitized, more recent sources are readily available. Since 2010, I have had a Google

search alert running, and have printed nearly every news story about the EDM subculture to date.

I created the internet search alert to allow me to stay abreast of this ever-changing group. This search tool utilizes the names of key individuals, EDM companies, popular EDM events, and other terms used to describe the group (rave, EDM subculture, EDM culture, or EDMC). These articles were filed and collected in large three ring binders before being digitized for analysis in a qualitative computer software program. While I let the themes emerge from the articles themselves, I found that most focused on the following issues: the perceptions by those outside the movement, changes in the emphasis on relevant characteristics of the group, as well as knowledge about the particulars of how EDM events are produced and constituted.

Analysis

To analyze my data, I utilized the Nvivo software program which allowed me to keep a digital archive of news stories, interviews, research notes, and other relevant information. I began analyzing the data by organizing my documents based on the source: fan, official accounts, and producer accounts. I then further divided these accounts into older fans, newer fans, and resistors. Each method utilized strategies which some contemporary ethnographers refer to as "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Lofland et al. 2006; Charmez 2006). First, I identified repetitive themes in my data, then these themes became categories, and these categories then became focused codes that further fleshed out my analytical concepts. When possible, I tried to utilize Gertz's (1973) notion of thick description in interviews, field notes, and other data.

Theoretically speaking, I used a multi-level analysis to examine the subculture from both the micro and the macro level point of view. I examined the structural features shaping the movement, alongside the ways individuals reacted to this process at the micro level. Interviews

with members of the group (including fans and cultural producers), and ethnographic field work at EDM events allowed me to understand the micro-level interpretive process, that is the beliefs, values, and culture of members of the EDM subculture (fans as well as artists, agents, and promoters). Here I will get at how members come to create the culture, and witness firsthand how individuals interact in the setting. The structural level features shaping the group from the macro level were accessed by utilizing media accounts, industry reports, contracts, and other member produced documents (such as blogs, fanzines, and other material).

Validity

The design of this study has been intentionally chosen to allow for triangulation of the data (Denzin 1978). Triangulation involves using multiple methods, as well as multiple voices within the hierarchy of the group, in order to validate one's findings. The real value of this approach is that it requires the researcher to strive to uncover nuances in the field, to verify and cross-check findings, and to try to refute one's findings. In this study, I will be collecting interview data, examining documents, and conducting field work. Interviews allow me to capture what are the participants' beliefs, relevant documents allow me to examine historical accounts, and fieldwork provides me with first-hand interactions with group members. I have also taken triangulation into account through my sampling method, by incorporating members from a variety of different statuses within the EDM subculture.

Ethical Consideration and Political Implications

This project is motivated by my former role as an EDM promoter. In 2005, I began a career as an amateur promoter of EDM events. At the time, I felt that a variety of sociological theories and concepts could be used to understand the EDM subculture. Due to my insider

status, and role as a complete participant (Adler and Adler 1987), I was able to utilize existing personal networks to garner participation and entry into the field. Early on, as a participant in the field, I realized that Horkheimer and Adorno's ([1944] 1972) culture industry thesis could be used to explain changes occurring in the EDM subculture.

Fieldwork comes with a variety of complications, pitfalls, and other ethical quandaries. It has been described by Duneier (1999: 336) as, "a morally ambiguous enterprise." By utilizing my own personal networks, I risked betraying the trust of friends, former colleagues, and other associates I met while working within the EDM subculture. To resolve these problems, I invited my participants to talk with me about my project. I continuously asked them how they felt about what I was doing, discussed new developments, cross-referenced my findings against their experiences, and discussed any concerns they had with my project. To my surprise, I was more concerned about harm than my participants. In many ways, they felt I was not critical enough. My participants have unanimously responded that they appreciated that someone wanted to tell their story. In the words of one of my key respondents, "this is an important story, and one that deserves to be told."

Even still, since one of my foci is on the role of industry professionals, I had to be mindful of the potential ethical dilemma that could be produced. In short, I had to ask myself, "would my study potentially harm those participating?" Galliher (1980) and Domhoff (2010) have addressed these issues regarding accommodations, harm, and the protections of anonymity in studying powerful individuals. This study, however, focuses not on individual stories or actors, but on the larger historical narrative of the group. My interest in conducting this study was to understand the more general process of social change within the EDM subculture. Thus,

by focusing on the underlying social forces shaping the subculture, I limit the ethical quandaries produced by my findings.

PHASE I: BEGINNINGS (1980s-1995)

The EDM subculture was born out of the underground "house music" disco club[9] scene. Early house music venues were frequented by gay Latino and African Americans[10] in the late 1980s up until the early 1990s (Brewster and Broughton 1999; Silcott 1999; Hindmarch 2001). Getting into these underground clubs often required membership, which was obtained by securing a sponsor who was already a member. Thus, entrance to these clandestine venues, and knowledge of their existence, was spread mostly through word of mouth (Brewster and Broughton 1999; Maestro 2003). The name "house" was used to describe a variety of music played at the then famous Chicago nightclub, The Warehouse (located at 206 South Jefferson Street).[11] House music was characterized as soulful due to its roots in disco and the use of strong, often African American, female vocals. House music anthems such as "Move Your Body," "Love Can't Turn Around," and "Sensation" contained strong sexual overtones, while other songs offered escape by urging revelers to be free, rise up, or to keep on moving. Together these themes gave house music a quasi-religious element, in effect resembling race hymns. Not surprisingly, these themes resonated well with listeners, who were themselves marginalized outside of the underground club scene due to their race and sexual orientation (Silcott 1999; Hindmarch 2001).

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[9] Including the continental baths, a chain of gay bathhouses (see Maestro 2003).

[10] As Brewster and Broughton (2000) have pointed out, hip-hop was also a major inspiration for this genre. Hip-hop artists developed the technique of using turntables as a way of creating music. So much of the technique was inspired by musicians within that genre. This may help explain why, initially, early EDM artists were African-American men, often times working out of gay clubs (see also Silcott 1999).

[11] Interestingly, garage music, an off shoot of house music, was also so named because of its home at the Paradise Garage in New York (a gay club at 84 King Street). Most EDM historians either emphasize one or the other.

As a new form of music, house's creators utilized advances in new computing technologies that were just becoming available at the time, along with a fundamentally different way of thinking about performing music. Drum machines, synthesizers, and other musical and computer production gear were becoming available at relatively affordable rates, which allowed for early musical pioneers to engage in music production. One of the most important items for early EDM DJs was the drum machine (a programmable electronic machine that produced repetitive beats). Drum machines helped DJs to "beat match" (matching two different songs to create a seamless transition between them) songs, and could be used to insert new musical ideas not in the original song. These early DJs did not have the luxury of sophisticated technology made specifically to meet their demands. Instead, these early pioneers had to edit songs by splicing tape, or manipulate consumer turntables not originally designed for what they were doing. "Live" DJs were known for playing the latest and most cutting edge music, and their ability to mix this music into seamless performances could last up to eight hours. Initially, there was little distinction between those who produced music (producers) and those who performed it. They formed a reciprocal relationship with the producers making new music, and live DJs performing at clubs introducing it. Among producers, there were those creating original music and those who were remix artists. Remix artists were music producers who took music from other artists and added new sounds over on top of them. The result is much like how some bands may reinterpret a classic song, however, in some cases, it is often a completely new result—or in some cases, musical odysseys mixing songs from two different music genres. EDM musicians and the culture they helped create were forward-thinking early adapters of emerging advances in technology.

Also being developed within the same time period was a style of music known as techno by musicians in Detroit. Techno musicians were much more interested in making their own music, as opposed to mixing or remixing, and their style was much more discordant than Chicago-based house music (Brewster and Broughton 1999; Silcott 1999). The two genres of EDM were also philosophically founded on slightly different principles. Techno emerged as an edgy response to house music and was critical of contemporary society, emphasizing a desire for social change. Techno was composed of futuristic sounds made possible by computer synthesizers and electronically produced drum patterns, and was characterized as a series of repetitive beats (Bredow 2006). Early pioneers of techno have also pointed out the influence of forward-thinking European music acts such as Kraftwork, Gary Numan, and Depeche Mode.

Philosophically, techno embedded futuristic ideas reflected in the music, song names, artist names, and even flyers (Reynolds 1999). Matos (2015) has cited Alvin Toffler's writing as an influence inspiring groups like Cybertron (an early techno band formed by Rik Davis and Juan Atkins), which Matos describes as a "Tofflerian word splice, combining 'cyborg' and 'cyclotron'" (Matos 2015: 8). As a secondary influence, musicians were inspired by postmodern science fiction which debated the role of technology in society. Simon Reynolds (1999), one of the first EDM music historians, has also noted these influences, and how artists intentionally embedded these themes throughout their work. Composers of early techno music were reacting to the failing industrial and automotive-producing sectors of Detroit (something occurring widely across the United States), white flight, and the modernization of factories displacing workers and producing a sense of anomie among residents (Brewdow 2006). As a music genre, techno offered a critique of contemporary urban life in Detroit. However, as Silcott (1999) has argued, these ideas also resonated with those outside the Detroit area. As it spread, EDM picked up

more influences, creating at least the semblance of a unified subculture. At this time, it was

simply known broadly as "the underground culture."

Early Developments

As these music styles started to mature, they developed a following in parts of Europe. Known as a hot spot for European tourists on vacation, Ibiza, a Mediterranean island off Spain's coast, in particular played a crucial role in the development of EDM culture. Ibiza's significance lies in the role music venues played in booking the latest avant garde music. Soon house and techno musicians from Chicago and Detroit were being asked to play Ibiza, just as American blues musicians before them were imported into Britain. This exposed a new kind of music from these two emerging genres to audiences from all over Europe. As American DJs mixed with Europeans, a cross-pollination of ideas occurred both musically and culturally. Europeans picked up on these developments and began producing their own version of house, called acid house.

Acid house was initially developed by musicians in Manchester, and became popular in the late 80s and early 90s. The UK's role was so influential that it resulted in the major motion picture release, "24 Hour Party People" (2002). As the film shows, the UK added in influences from rock and roll, new wave, and psychedelic rock. More importantly, its arrival in Manchester marked the further fusing together of separate lines of culture into a subculture:

> Basically, the music came from here...Detroit and Chicago and got big and blew up in Europe. They added the culture, and social scene to it. Then in the 90s, when it came back to the U.S., it was more a social scene. When it came back over, hip-hop was big, so it wasn't cool to be a raver. In the 90s, all the cool people went to these [EDM] parties...gay people, transvestites, black people, green people, etc. Everybody in one room, like a hundred people. To me, I'm like holy shit, this massive world you walk into. Everybody was so nice and open. There was no internet too...I liked dance music but it wasn't solely because of the music. It was more due to the social aspects of it. (Male, 45, Promoter).

The cross over to Europe also brought with it developments in fashion, language, and a shared sense of style and identity. The particular style of dress, brought over from Europe, included

baggy, loose fitting, bright, neon-colored clothing, much of which resembled that of the hippie counterculture (Reynolds 1999). However, even in the early years, as the subculture developed, it incorporated different styles of dress. In fact, one of the hallmarks of the EDM subculture has been the notion that wherever it went, it borrowed and incorporated new styles. While different styles existed, their common themes emphasized a reclaiming of one's youth, and notions of play. [12]

What the EDM subculture did then was to produce a series of challenges for the established social order. While mainstream culture emphasized hard work, material success, and being serious, the rave subculture stressed being playful, emphasized letting go of inhibitions and responsibilities, and an appreciation for the sensuous (Reynolds 1999; McCall 2001). More specifically, the EDM subculture challenged the system by emphasizing hedonism via dance parties occurring late at night, drinking and drugs[13], breaking copyright laws through the sampling of others' music, holding unlicensed parties, holding events in spaces without permission, and generally circumventing the normal channels of society. Collectively, these features, which were at the center of the subculture, led the perception by outsiders that the subculture consisted of deviant members.

Subcultures and countercultures always emerge in reaction to larger historical and structural contexts (Hebdige 1979). In the case of the EDM subculture, these included the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, the end of the Cold war, the first Gulf War, the LA Riots, and a series of natural disasters such as Hurricane Andrew in 1992, massive flooding of the Mississippi River in

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[12] As observed in shirts bearing cartoon logos, stuffed animals, and pacifiers.

[13] Though many authors point out the drug connection, they also point out that not everyone took drugs, arguing that the events themselves were enough of a stimulus for many participants.

1993, and a 1993 eastern seaboard blizzard. The EDM subculture also emerged in the shadow of

a politically conservative era: the Thatcher and the Reagan administrations war on drugs,

deregulation, the cutting of public funding, a rising national deficit, and an aggressive foreign

policy. In the wake of these larger historical forces, the early members I talked to described their

general feelings of rejection and isolation, what Durkheim termed "anomie." They recalled that

the EDM subculture gave them a place where they could develop a sense of self, or in their own

words, "a place where 'freaks can be freaks'" (Female, 45, DJ). As one self-labeled historian of

the scene recalled:

> If you were different in that time [1990-1995], you didn't really have a place you could
> go. The reason the culture took off was because we gave others a home. We didn't have
> legitimate venues, and most club owners saw us as weirdos so we had to create our own
> spaces (Male, 39, Fan).

Early EDM culture was about finding an escape through pleasure, combined with a social

commentary on the current state of society (both in the UK and the U.S.). Through establishing

the EDM subculture members rejected the values of their parent culture, expressed a collective

longing for relief (brought on by the social strains mentioned above), and sometimes

demonstrated active resistance by collectively organizing. Some music critics have also pointed

out the countercultural underpinnings of the EDM subculture as being grounded in the twin

influences of the sensual (house), and the critical (techno) (see Brewster and Broughton 1999;

Reynolds 1999).

One of the first documents to define the EDM subculture, produced by a member of the

group, was the underground EDM CD titled, "Shamanarchy in The UK." Inside the compilation

CD were extensive liner notes written by Fraser Clark (1992), calling for acid house listeners to

embrace the counter cultural features embedded in the music:

> Across a reemerging pagan Britain, underground anarchist armies regularly deliver illegal dance music to the people against all odds.
>
> Unpaid guerilla-rave networks of mad jihad dance fanatics and sound terrorist activate intuitively intricate strategies by fone fax'n foot to outwit the lawbreaking efforts of government agencies spending millions of taxpayers money to stamp out unlicensed dancing and get everybody back into the pubs before the anarchic spirit of dancing with fellow beings under open skies in tangy pagan groves sends them barefoot mad and unemployable - as well as unemployed and living in cardboard boxes as many of them already are.
>
> When we start asking why they do it, we come face to face with deeper questions like: Can anyone 'own' land, especially 'common land'? What the Hell has become of the noble Albion dream of a golden flowering of civilization which still lurks in each of our hearts? What went wrong? Is it changing fast enough? And what more can I do?
>
> As the depression in the dominator system deepens into final collapse the cooperative free festy/rave/squatter/new new age/techno tribal traveler crossover counterculture will become dominant. Since the '80s, Hippies in the underground have been saying that the only hope for the dog-eat-dog Western culture before it destroyed itself and the planet was an invention that would enable every single individual in it, one by one, to escape the materialist made dream in their heads by getting back in touch with their hearts and bodies.
>
> In the '90s, every High Street in the land of Britain boasts exactly such a facility, a club retailing SHAMANIC TRIBAL DANCING SIX NIGHTS A WEEK to large groups of the youth of Western culture. A whole generation is getting out of its collective fucking head...and back into its body! That's Step One. But then you have to realize that "You can't have a perfect club in an imperfect society: You have to change society." And that's when the wild shamanic energy of Rave gets radicalized by meeting Hippy/Punk and comes of age just in time to transform the culture. No current cultural phenomenon but the scene has the mass eyes-open energy to spread this consciousness craze globally among the youth before the planet is destroyed!
>
> And now such shamanic workshops are mushrooming across the planet! As the recession deepens throughout the decade, the cooperative free festy/rave/squatter/new new age/techno traveller tribal crossover counterculture scenes are the real green shoots in the Communal Economy which will grow unstoppably into the new dominant goddess-worshipping techno-tipi dwelling eco-culture that will inherit a cleansed planet.
>
> The System is disintegrating everywhere you look.

Right On! Up the Evolution!

The Old Age Control System abandons more physical & psychic territory to the spirit of SHAMANARCHY every day. The Centre is a life threat to itself as much as to everything else and cannot hold.

Supply us with the technology and the facilities and sweep the streets - we can handle the rest!

The Music Biz corrupted Rock n' Roll into MILLIONAIREBELS in thousand dollar rags and perms playing revolutionaries for teenage pubescents. Punk turned out to be mostly just the second childhood death throes of Rock 'n Roll after all. But the best stayed true and were still on the road when House came along.

House is different, we all feel that. This time, we won't be fooled - we don't have time! If Rock 'n Roll was the rebellious trumpet that blew down the walls and left the New City of Albion open to us, the people, House is the background music in our headphones, synthesizing the triumphantly shining shamanarchic new rave culture as people power re-enters to inherit and assume command (Clark 1992; see Appendix C).

Clark's manifesto reflects many of the subcultural values which were coalescing together. Specifically, EDM participants were offering a radical critique on society. In questioning ownership of music, culture, and ideas, they were protesting against the structure of society. They were also offering up a view that criticized notions of inequalities stemming from capitalism in society. Clark's reference to shamanism denotes EDM participant's commitment towards building a community bound together by forces other than economic ones. His treatise also reflects anti-war beliefs, and ideas about living in harmony with others, as well as broader environmental concerns. These notions are what led him to characterize the subculture as the Zippie subculture. Coining the term in 1988, Clark thought that the early EDM subculture was a rebirth of the hippie counterculture (Collin 2009). He believed that the zippies embodied radical Marxist ideas, a free love spirit which characterized the hippie counterculture, and, most importantly, he saw the potential for social change and revolution reflected in the subculture.

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While Clark has been characterized as an eccentric, others within the scene have also commented on the connection between the EDM subculture and previous subcultures. As one blog poster noted:

> Other generations have all the luck. Their subcultural miscreants were usually tied to some sort of ideological principles. You know, peace, free love, that sort of thing. It's almost as if the preceding counter-cultural movements took all the good visionary underpinnings and we were stuck sorting through the remnants bin. Our take on rebellious youth culture amounted to Seattle Grunge culture and Euro-techno ravers. We may not have been as idealistic as the hippies who came before us, but it could have been worse. After all, we could have been pseudo-intellectual fake glasses-sporting ironic t-shirt clad hipsters.

> There were some vague alliances between rave culture and principles, but the connection was fuzzy at best. At its heart, rave culture represented the happy-go-lucky invincibility that characterized the 90s. You know you're getting older when you start drawing broad metaphors between youth culture and the state of the economy, but it's an aging leap I'm willing to make. Raving was youth culture in its purest, least dilute form: wild, irresponsible, and generally under contempt of adults everywhere (Children of the 90s 2010).

Sociologically, this connection to the past makes sense. Dick Hebdige (1979) has noted that music subcultures are always influenced by others before them, and the EDM subculture is certainly no different. Thus, it should be no surprise that members of the EDM subculture took elements from those who came before them to build something new. This new subculture brought in elements of the hippie counterculture, more philosophically based concepts such as futurism, and expressed these ideas through music and style. Matos (2015) trying to explain this cites a recent interview he conducted with Neil Ollivierra, a Detroit techno musician:

> Mojo made it okay for young black people to listen to "white" music….When they saw that was possible, they realized you could tear down similar boundaries in terms of fashion and music and literature and style and friendships and culture. They realized you could change all kinds of stuff about your life (Matos 2015: 8).

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Another historical event in the EDM scene took place on July 4th, 1990 when Adam X, born Adam Mitchell and who was considered a founder of the New York EDM scene, painted the words P.L.U.M (Peace, Love, Unity Movement) on a train car (Wender 2015). This term would eventually become P.L.U.R. (Peace, Love, Unity, and Respect). This motto, PLUR, was embodied by the movement. A retelling of the story which has been widely circulated by Adam X's brother, and longtime DJ, Frankie Bones (Frank Mitchell):

> Now back to that so-called famous speech I made in The Bronx in 1993... A fight breaks out between a guy and a girl and they bump right into the table all the DJ gear was on. It was on a 1960s IBM office table, so it didn't budge, but because of the memory of Happyland [a nightclub fire in the Bronx], I completely snapped. I jumped up on the table and got on the mic and addressed the situation. We never had something like this happen in 3 years. I knew everyone would understand me when I said "I'll break your f*cking faces." It was to imply I was serious. Everyone at that party knew me, so it wasn't as if I was threatening anyone with violence. The party went on into the early morning hours without incident… The movement part of PLUM turned into PLUR that night by Hyperreal [an online rave chat room] 'cause the Movement was established, making the "M" become an "R" for respect. Otherwise it's one and the same. It's the only thing that connects EDM and the original scene for its duration (Bones 2012).

One respondent that I interviewed noted that PLUR had always been embodied in the setting. In his own words:

> PLUR was always within the scene, even before it was the scene. It didn't really matter what party you went to… and in a way we all felt like we had to go to everyone's party because part of PLUR was supporting each other. It was expressed in a variety of ways, but it was not until the late 90s that people started using it. And even if you didn't use the term, you still followed it (Male, 45, Fan).

PLUR also bears many similarities to the hippie counterculture. Again, reflecting Clark's (1992)

manifesto, the countercultural sentiments and desire for peace which characterized the hippies

was also a crucial development to the values of the EDM subculture.

Clark also describes the challenges EDM events produced to notions of genre and form

through the use of elaborate visuals (lasers, lights, new projection technology, psychedelic

imagery, etc.), a pastiche style of dress by participants, the use of non-traditional spaces for

events, and the informal dissemination of event locations. [14] While most members of the

counterculture did not engage in direct political activism, like some of the hippies or punks

before them, they became politicized because of the way in which society reacted towards them.

Instead of launching protests or sit ins, they carved out spaces where they could enact their

vision of a society not biased due to race, class, gender, or sexual orientation. It is also worth

again noting the early EDM subculture's roots in house music (one of the first genres under the

EDM umbrella) was first performed in clubs catering to gay Black and Latino men in Chicago

(Silcott 1999; Reynolds 1999; McCall 2001; Collin 2009). Thus, music anthems containing

lyrics speaking about being set free were more than just hollow words. They were a response by

those who felt real suffering due to their marginalized status, making EDM events a temporary

escape (for a more detailed account see Buckland 2002).

Media Coverage

In the early 1990s, investigative journalists started to draw attention to the EDM—then

called rave—subculture. Initially, portrayals of the subculture in America were presented

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[14] Early rave events would utilize party info lines sometimes announcing the location within hours of the actual event, or map point locations whereby one had to go to a series of locations to find out the event locale.

primarily in television news shows and daytime talk shows. One of the earliest portrayals was on the *Today Show*. The morning news program aired a segment in 1993 titled "Raving is Latest Dance Craze" (Today Show 1993). Instead of focusing on the deviant aspects of the culture, this clip focused on how participants of the culture dressed and danced, and their allegedly bizarre musical style. The show described the subcultural gatherings as a throwback to 1960s "love ins." The news piece only mentions drug use briefly at the end, and followed up with comments from attendees who disavowed any connection between the subculture and drug use. In fact, the segment focused more on "smart drinks" (non-alcoholic, caffeinated beverages), smoothies, water, and candies. One person they interviewed in the report responded to inquiries about ecstasy use at raves by saying:

> People aren't just doing ecstasy at raves, they're doing them at clubs. I have nothing to do with that stuff. I think what raving is about is having a good time, meeting people, and enjoying music (Today Show 1993).

While the *Today Show* portrayed the EDM subculture in a positive light overall, other media portrayals were far less positive.

Lifetime Network's *Jane Pratt Show* (1993), was more emblematic of most major news media coverage in its attempts to sensationalize and link ecstasy use with participation in the EDM subculture. One DJ who appeared on the show, named DB, expressed his dissatisfaction with the journalist's attempts to link ecstasy use with rave culture:

> I've been drug free for about 6 years, and I started DJing after I gave up taking drugs. For me the music is the high… Um, I feel a little disappointed with this whole show, to be honest. I feel like I've sort of been brought down here under false pretenses. I thought we were here to talk about rave culture and the whole thing has been about ecstasy (cited in Pratt 1993).

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Other so-called investigative news stories similarly emphasized the deviant aspects of the EDM movement. These programs also frequently portrayed law enforcement as inept and unable to contain their events. Moreover, they often portrayed the promoters as engaging in morally questionable, though legal, highly profitable business ventures. This sort of coverage of the subculture reflected dominant societal values as to what constituted legitimate leisure activity. Despite participants' claims that drug use was not a central aspect of the EDM subculture, officials adopted the views presented in news reports that sensationalized their behavior.

Interaction with Officials

Some of the ways officials tried to control EDM events was through dance music permits, liquor licenses, and other blue laws which regulated "legitimate" spaces as well as through other bureaucratic measures such as special event permits for non-traditional spaces. Many EDM organizers who tried to go through legitimate channels were often denied. This was due largely to the fact that EDM events lasted from dusk until dawn. In response, members of the early EDM movement sought ways to circumvent the law. In order to procure spaces to hold their gatherings, some promoters would rent warehouse spaces and either lie or not fully disclose the nature of what they were doing. One promoter I interviewed talked about using the tactic of telling landlords that he owned a professional sound company (in order to explain why there might be loud music playing at night). Other promoters that I talked with said they broke into abandoned spaces. Thus, like the hippies before them, they appropriated spaces for their own countercultural purposes. The political connotation of these organizing strategies was articulated by several early promoters I spoke with, and is also contained in Clark's (1992) manifesto (see Appendix C and Appendix D), where he called into question private ownership. Thus, the

organization of early EDM events reflected the flippant anti-establishment attitudes embedded in the subculture.

Law enforcement and other government officials responded quickly to the sensationalized media reports, and the moral outcry of parents who perceived a link between EDM parties and drug use, by focusing on the organizers of EDM events. Law enforcement agencies utilized a variety of tactics to restrict early EDM events including juvenile curfews, fire code violations, health and safety ordinances, and liquor laws (National Drug Intelligence Center 2001). Simply put, officials treated the early EDM subculture as a threat to public safety, and ultimately as a threat to the power of those in authority. This raises the question that if the media had not presented such an incompetent picture of law enforcement, would members of the subculture have faced such harassment? One early event organizer recalled that many of his events were shut down for violations of the fire code, not having the appropriate permits, and a host of other issues. As he recalls:

> Respondent: The fire department came and inspected the building. This inside building is illegal. They were going to shut us down. Plus, the fire marshal had to tell the owner of the building, if you're making money here, you've got to take the visqueen down and all the heaters. It was freezing out. The party went on. I got a liquor permit, which allowed us to circumvent the dance laws in the city. I don't remember what time, but you had to shut down at 12, 1 am. If you have a liquor permit, you're exempt from the dance rules. So the whole goal was to circumvent the dance rules. The fire inspection, the police and all this stuff. Around 1995, I decided to buy up this space, which I believe is still empty, in order to have a dedicated venue and not have to worry about getting shut down. So I played cat and mouse with the building inspector. I always returned his calls, but I still played cat and mouse...in that little gray area. I got the building approved, but I made a mistake. There used to be a place where the kids had parties...an underground place. They got shut down, but I let them use my venue. With that came a lot of more attention from the neighborhood. I ended up with this city politician who made my life difficult. The first night, the building got raided. They came in and held all the minors, and arrested them for curfew…. we just started the party and in 15 minutes, or maybe half hour after we started the party, they raided. Representatives from every agency you could think of, on our first night of being legal. I was arrested for maintaining a public nuisance, and maintaining a business where I had knowledge of drug use.

Interviewer: Were you able to fight it and continue on?

Respondent: I hired a public defender. The public defender had a child and was very grateful that I gave space to the consortium of punk kids. This child told him how cool it was, so he asked me, do you want to fight this? I said, yeah. So the city found out I was the former secretary of state. She said I invoked the secretary of state's name. She decided to call my former boss and said what I did. My boss now happened to be the Attorney General. I'm sorry, she called the Secretary of State. It was all fishy, then this woman uses abuse of power. Not the city, chief of state and attorney general. My attorney thought that to fight this would be for abuse of power. The number of people that were arrested for controlled substance was a small fraction. Everyone was searched, like airport searched. They found a small number of people with narcotics. They held the minors until after curfew, then arrested them for curfew violation. My attorney said, why we don't subpoena them. The chief of staff, attorney general, former U.S. Senate candidate. This was abuse of power...the county jail has more drugs, any basketball game has more drugs. My charges were dropped. After some bullshit...but the charges were just dropped.

Interviewer: Then did you just pick up like business as usual?

Respondent: No, I was not. It broke my heart to lose that. A lot of time, a lot of money and broke my spirit some too. We weren't doing anything that we believed was wrong. Maybe a lot of people wouldn't agree with it, but it was not immoral (Male, 50, Promoter).

This individual talked about always having problems with law enforcement but nothing that he was not able to solve, usually by explaining to the police officers the nature of what they were doing. By 1995, however, a renewed emphasis in public policy to get tough on drugs meant that the members of subculture would be treated as criminals. One DJ offered this insight as to what changed:

It [EDM] challenged the establishment, it challenged the rock concert community, it was kids doing different things then they had done in the past. Much the same as people were afraid of rock in roll when that came in the 50s and 60s. People were afraid of you know. People in the 60s were afraid of people smoking pot. In the 200s or the 90s people were afraid of people taking ecstasy. But it's very much the same thing as ignorance. It is hard if you're a parent with a kid who dies or gets really sick then of course you're going to be afraid and not want your kids to go back to these events. That is completely understandable. But consider in Europe, they went a little bit different route where they set up places for kids to test their drugs and to educate people. Here they set up laws, and tried to prevent people from going at all which then further drove it underground and then in the underground everything is completely uncontrolled (Male, 60, DJ).

In his comments, he notes that EDM challenged the prevailing rock concert industry, which at the time was experiencing all-time lows in attendance—yet another challenge to those in power. He also notes the similarities between perceptions of rock music and marijuana usage with that of the EDM subculture and ecstasy. Finally, he notes that how it was handled in the United States was counter-productive, making the problem worse.

Industry Professional Reactions

One of the key ways in which early EDM events remained free from potentially co-opting outside forces was in how they were organized. While they initially were put together by groups of individuals, there was often one person in charge of bringing everything together— often referred to as the promoter. Because of their subcultural capital (see Thornton 1995), these individuals acted as important gatekeepers to their area's subculture. This type of organization made the early EDM subculture in America like fiefdoms within a larger kingdom. [15] One respondent recalled:

> It was like the mafia. They were the king; it's their market. That's how they operated (Male, 45, Promoter).

The leaders of the subculture, in Weberian terms, were charismatic individuals whose power stemmed from their personality and likeability among members of the group within a given territory. Many of these early EDM promoters, such as Disco Donnie, had a funky style, but

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[15] This is a point which is important in the third phase. Whereas in this first phase there are a variety of promoters, they eventually come to be dominated by only a handful of people—bought up and merged into corporately owned EDM promotion groups.

also a larger-than-life personality. Moreover, many of these individuals were revered for enchanting an otherwise dull world with fun and amusement. As one notable DJ told me:

> Those parties were some of the wildest events of my life. He [the promoter] was a true visionary that cared that everyone who went to his events had a good time, but also brought something different and unique to the table (Male, 46, DJ).

Initially at least, these early promoters were less business oriented. The chief focus was on maintaining a sense of community and adhering to the anti-consumerist sentiments of the subculture. In keeping with those principles, EDM events were produced for free or charged attendees a very modest fee (under $20).

While early members of the EDM subculture worked together to create an underground economy, nearly all the respondents I talked with noted that economic concerns were secondary. Some promoters who were perceived to be profiting from EDM events even faced repercussions from members of the scene. One EDM promoter showed the following picture (Figure 1 below) and explained:

> It was a big negative for anyone to be successful in the 90s rave scene. They were mad I was charging $25 (Male, 45, Promoter).

Figure 1: Flyer Protesting a New Orleans Rave Promotions Company

One of the ways EDM events were kept largely free or moderately-priced produced lay in the fact that these events did not focus on looking as though they had been professionally organized. As one respondent noted:

> We didn't care how good looking stuff was. The point was just to do it. Of course, they didn't look professional; we were lucky if they didn't shut the thing down. The point was we were there for a purpose, and that purpose wasn't a giant stage with a Moloch-looking owl (Male, 40, Fan).

To have professionalized them would have defeated the purpose of these initial events and undermined their core values. Thus, the volunteers who came together to produce EDM events were crucial for maintaining the costs associated with producing them, and thus retaining the free

spirited communal atmosphere. Because the participants were involved in the production of their culture, they acted to protect one another as if part of a family. In the end, the result was a locally produced grassroots counterculture in which members felt intimately connected to one another.

Just as EDM spread to parts of Europe incorporating different styles, genres, distinctions, and other features, so too did it spread in the United States, acquiring different features wherever it went. For example, some organizers in New Orleans became known for creating a playful atmosphere by juxtaposing different artistic elements, creating a hodge-podge of music and art defying notions of boundaries (e.g., having a gospel choir sing hymns at the end of EDM events, puppet shows, and other interactive performers). Promoters in Minnesota and Milwaukee, for instance, added heavy metal musical and cultural influences (such as having satanic alters and other satanic iconography). Ideas that became popular were subsequently imitated and then spread, ultimately serving to unify different aspects of the subculture as common themes became repeated. There were also overlaps in EDM-themed events as shown in these undated early to mid-1990s rave flyers (see Figures 2 and 3). Many promoters, DJs, and others I talked to informally said that during this time period, it was not necessarily looked down upon but rather was seen as a sign of reverence, or a nod of recognition, to copy innovative ideas and concepts. One promoter explained this to me in the following way:

> Yeah, we would travel to Louisville, Chicago, Dayton, Cincinnati, and sometimes beyond. You'd see something at an event and go, "Hey that's cool, I should do that" (Female, 55, Promoter).

Figure 2: Flyer Depicting an Alice in Wonderland Themed Event (Chicago, IL.)

Figure 3: Themed Event "Through the Looking Glass" (Los Angeles, CA)
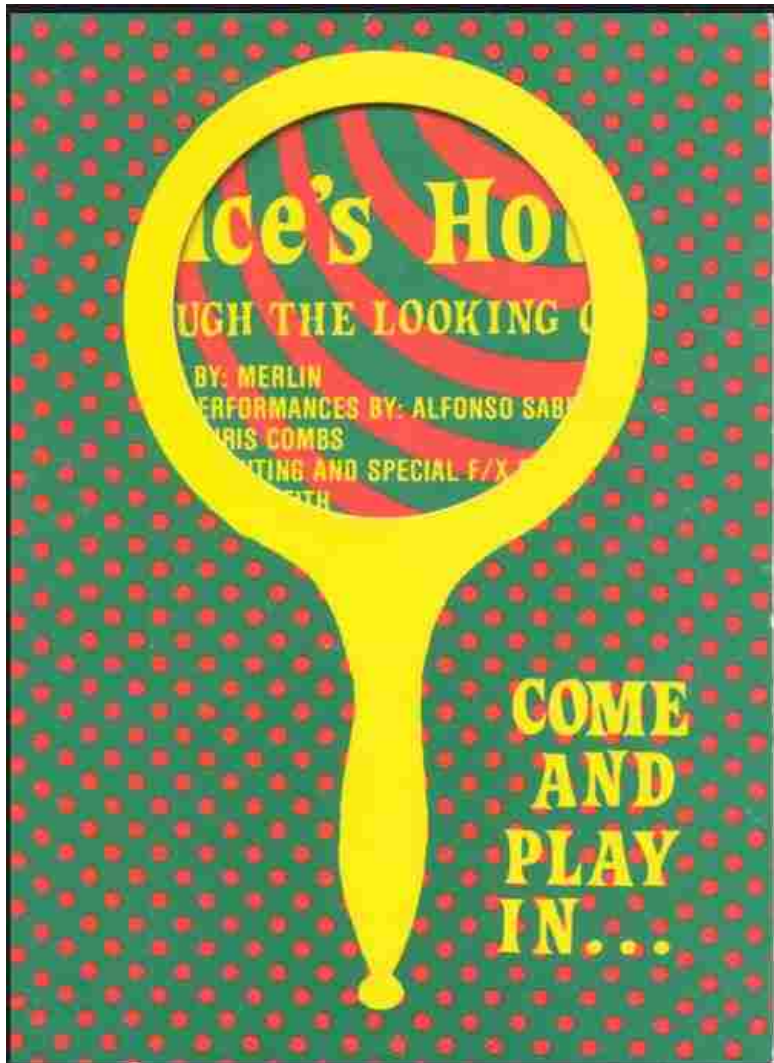
Some researchers have taken the localized distinctions as evidence of what Andy Bennett (1999) describes as a neo-tribe. Drawing upon the theoretical framework of Maffesoli (1996), he argues that neo-tribes are a better characterization of what sociologists have described as subcultures. Bennett's notion of neo-tribe argues that the idea of youth culture is no longer tied to class origins, and thus we can no longer derive meaning from the signs and symbols of these groups. Notions of style are rendered free-floating concepts devoid of "real" meanings. Thus, neo-tribes are composed of less definitive distinctions between insiders and outsiders, focusing instead on loose-knit ties with fellow group members, and a lack of commitment to a cohesive set of values. While the theory is partially accurate, it has been used to justify the argument that no broader cohesion exists in the EDM subculture. Some members of the subculture reflected on this tribal connection saying:

> The word "tribe" was once used everywhere to describe rave PLUR-ality and dance collectives (Tribal Gathering, Spiral Tribe, Moontribe, Dubtribe) until ravers got sort of tribal in a bad way. No matter how much we believed we were one tribe, people always resolved to cliques. Still, everyone's heart was in the right place, and the idea that future primitives could help dream up the future was real (Kelley 2014).

The author of the above passage only partially upholds the idea of a neo-tribe, however, still referring to some sense of collective identity as a member of a larger EDM subculture. Additionally, the neo-tribe concept rests on the notion that groups that came after the 1960s are fundamentally different from their 1960s counterparts. However, fluidity is always present, to some degree, in social movements, subcultures, and other terms used to describe subcultures (youth or otherwise).

EDM events challenged traditional notions of presentation, performance, and art through the incorporation of projected visuals (made available through new computing technology), elaborate psychedelic-influenced stages, and other non-musical performances. The participants themselves challenged traditional values by going to clandestine venues, dancing all night, using drugs, and in promoting an alternative value system. More specifically, they were responding to a society that emphasized order through curfew laws, the war on drugs, and viewed success in terms of affluence or economic gain. If the dominant society could be characterized as bland, tightly organized, and overly formal, the EDM scene was characterized as colorful, disorderly, and playful.

Early EDM DJs also presented challenges to notions of authority in the way they performed and produced music. As remix artists utilizing previously recorded music, they challenged proprietary notions concerning the ownership of music. Such concerns are the central focus of the film *Copyright Criminals* (Frazen and McLeod. 2009), which was the inspiration for the book *Creative License: The Law and Culture of Digital Sampling* (McLeod and DiCola. 2011). Some DJs claimed that no one owns the music, while others felt you should always obtain permission. Still, other EDM DJs felt that you should produce original music. Paradoxically, DJs and artists enjoyed a special reciprocal relationship. DJs became popular by finding new undiscovered music and artists became popular by having DJs perform and remix their work. These debates are still being waged, illustrating the politics of music, and are rooted in the free spirt of the early EDM subculture.

Advertisements for EDM subculture gatherings, or raves, clearly reveal notions of anti-establishment tendencies and a sense of child-like playfulness. Many flyers and ads were designed by creating parodies of product ads found in the mainstream media. Flyer designers

would repurpose these more familiar ads and then make slight modifications to subvert the original meaning. Figure 4, for example, shows how this was achieved in relation to popular children's literature such as Dr. Seuss, or in Figure 5 by rebranding household items such as Windex (Spindex refers to the act of spinning records). Other ads reveal the EDM subculture's criticism of dominant society through the vision of a futuristic technologically created utopia (see Figure 6). Like dress and style, these flyers played a crucial role in not only conveying event information, but also in promoting the values of the subculture, as well as in some cases, historical information about the DJs and performers (some flyers contained biographical information not easily obtainable through other sources).

While EDM flyers did communicate the necessary event information, they did not always identify the physical location for the events. Instead, some EDM event promoters used info lines. These were phone numbers in which prerecorded answering machine messages gave attendees the location of the event—sometimes updated just hours before the event. Another tactic was the utilization of map points, which were locations participants had to go in order to obtain a special map revealing the location of the event. Sometimes promoters listed several locations, making finding their events like a scavenger hunt. When conducting my fieldwork, I heard rumors of older attendees having to obtain a special item, available at one of the map points, in order to get in. Other researchers have described elaborate systems involving info lines, passwords, and secret drop locations (Ott and Herman 2003). This allowed EDM promoters to elude law enforcement threats, and to keep the events exclusive to members of the subculture.

Figure 4: Flyer Illustrating a Party Info Line and Spoof of Childhood Characters

Figure 5: EDM Flyer Depicting Anti-Consumerist Attitudes and Objection to Mass Culture

Figure 6: Rave Flyer Depicting Notions of Futurism and Utopia
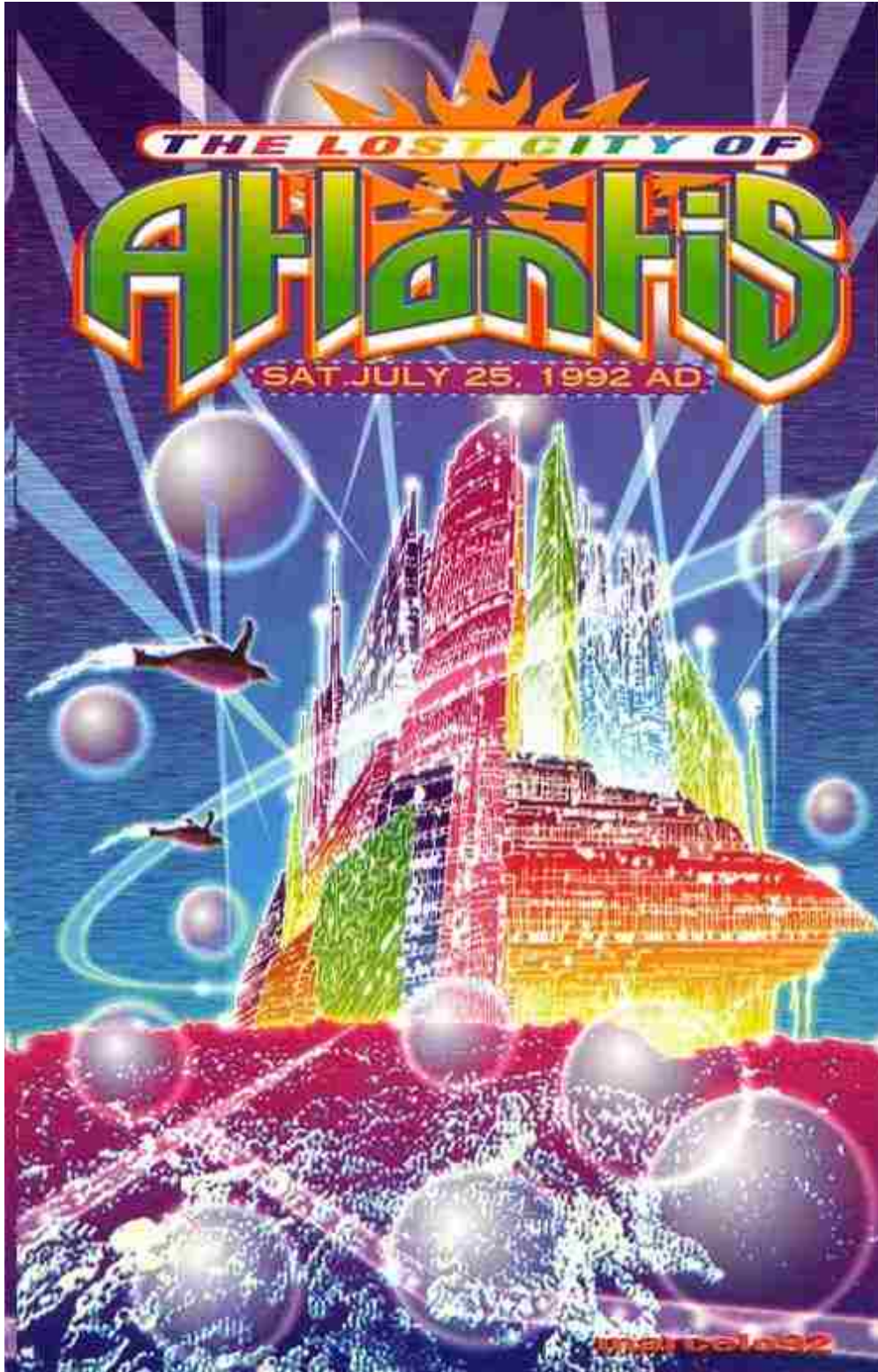
The DJs, promoters, and other industry professionals I talked with commented on being committed to notions of the EDM subculture as "being in it for the right reasons." At the 2010 annual EDMbiz Conference, a panel reflected on this idea:

> Moderator: There are actually people in this panel who actually embody what Simon is saying. Simon, when you started out as a journalist, which I'm sure was high up for low return. I'm sure you got numerous blogs before you came, before you became the editor in chief of Thumb. When you started in 1992, it was more for the passion of music, not the dollars. I still believe there are people out there doing it for the right reasons. However, I feel that it's been overshadowed by trying to make a quick buck.

> Panelist A: But I think there's more to it than that. I used to be invited to parties all the time to raise money for a cause, whether that was for Hurricane Katrina or Aids awareness or something small and personal, like someone's personal health crisis. You don't really see those things anymore. I think it's hard to reconcile the ethos of EDM, and certainly it's EDM's business which has defined success of a singular thing with the idea that of us being a community that also cares about the future and legacy and the quality of life for not just ourselves, but the entire world...

As with the conference panel, when I spoke with respondents in both formal and informal interviews, they defined authenticity as consisting of the following ideas: commitment to the music, prioritizing artistic excellence, building community, expressing concern for the future (especially environmental concerns), and rejecting the idea of placing profits above the values of the subculture.

Authenticity was also maintained by utilizing informal networks to produce aspects of the EDM subculture. According to one DJ:

> We created economies of scale. I remember talking to Rick Thompson, and back then they talked about how he would pay this guy some money for these lights, and then this guy paid him money for design, then he paid me money for doing some stuff, and I bought records at the record store owned by other guys in the scene. It was all interesting how the money circulated in our own economy. It went other places too, but certainly it kept circulating. You can kind of do that; you can be intentional about that. I want to rent a sound system from someone I know that's busting their ass and has been buying

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great sound equipment. Well, let's hire them so they can buy great sound equipment. So you know someone who knows the music who is doing sound. You want a flyer design; ask a DJ who graduated with a degree in graphic design. Don't hire outside. You can keep that money circulating if you're intentional about it (Female, 40, DJ).

Two concepts in this statement stand out as important for notions of authenticity. By utilizing informal networks, the EDM subculture created its own informal economy. This individual contributed out of a sense of loyalty to other members and a feeling of commitment to something larger than herself. Others I spoke with expressed similar sentiments such as "supporting their friends," because "they [the event organizers or performers] were cool people," due to "who might show up," or "to support the scene." So, while utilizing informal networks resulted in an underground economy, its main purpose was to support those committed to the creation of the subculture. DJs reflecting on how they got their start in their careers noted that they were often paid very little to perform, had to sleep on friends' sofas, and made agreements with little more than a handshake. This was true for even DJs who were critically acclaimed within the EDM subculture at that time.

In the EDM subculture, innovation played a key role as a marker of authenticity and cultural capital (Thornton 1995). Becoming a DJ was initially a difficult task due to a lack of professional equipment. Early DJs thus either innovated, or invented their own machines to produce and perform music. As one DJ recalls:

At the time, we didn't have BPM counter and meat matching. Remember, this was pre-technic 1200 [one of the most popular turntables still somewhat in use today by DJs]. So what we had to do was find consumer turntables that had a pitch control. Usually they had a + or a − which allowed you to adjust the pitch. So if you were really good, you could go + + - + - - and make two records sync up. You memorized the beats of your records to know what you needed to do. We tried all kinds of things, cutting reel to reel tapes, etc. The other thing you would do is take the metal piece on the turntable and manipulate it to adjust the pitch. This is a far cry from what you are capable of doing today (Male, 60, DJ).

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The difficulty in being a DJ in the early EDM subculture created several barriers preventing outsiders from entering. Producers of original dance music sometimes stumbled upon equipment that they could manipulate into producing a desired effect. One example of a machine that was repurposed this way was the 303, which was initially designed for Karaoke. Early music producers found out that by using it in a way it was not designed for, they could create new kinds of electronic sounds (Hindmarch 2001). Other producers created their own elaborate musical contraptions, such as Mr. Quintron (see Figure 7). Quintron was known for his many inventions, including a light activated drum machine.

DJs also had to make a significant commitment in terms of both money and time by investing in equipment, learning how to perform, and trying to find new music. As one blog poster illustrates:

> Speaking of primitive, mixing used to be fucking hard. It took full concentration just to match beats, much less take people on a seamless journey. It took hard-earned cash to buy turntables and a mixer and to build a record collection. DJs had to hunt for vinyl at specialty record stores tucked away in big cities. There was no Beatport, no SoundCloud, and no Discogs. DJing was a labor of love by default. Because it was, you could hear the revolution in the music (Kelley 2014).

When successful, the DJ was awarded a significant amount of respect in the EDM subculture. One early EDM DJ recalled the effort required in his line of work. This included cutting reel to reel tape, searching for specialized equipment, and coming up with clever solutions. Another reason DJs had to be innovative was due to the technological and production limitations within the music industry (Brewster and Broughton 1999). Even though compact discs had become popular in this time period, DJs composed their performances with vinyl records because it was the only way they could manipulate the songs they played. Later innovations such as CD

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turntables (CD players which mimicked vinyl record player, thus allowing for easy

manipulation) or computerized turntables (laptops which allowed for digitized music to be

manipulated like vinyl) were not yet readily available. Because the major recording labels had

begun to shift their production away from vinyl, and indie labels often produced only small runs

of vinyl, this made a DJ's record collection extremely significant. Thus, DJs were also judged

on the basis of these collections—which were both unique and represented a major investment of

time and commitment spent tracking down hard-to-find records. Some DJs I talked to also

referred to the importance of owning rare, pre-release records called "white labels." White label

albums, which consisted of early released or limited release compositions, could only be

obtained through connections to the music producers themselves.

Early EDM DJs and performers were also important in the role they played as

gatekeepers to the music. While DJs often recorded their sets on cassette tapes and traded them

around, it was only through the DJs that EDM could be heard—even if only on a mix tape. They

were also important due to the lack of identifiers in early EDM, meaning audiences often did not

know just what, or who, they were listening to. Thus, the lack of information elevated the status

of DJs. As one of my respondents noted,

> Yeah, back in the early days, we didn't know who anyone was or the names of any of the tracks. You couldn't buy a dance music CD in those days like you can now, or go online and find stuff. So I remember one of the first artists that took off had this track and the only word in it was dominator, and the whole song just repeated the word over and over (Male, 45, Promoter).

This promoter is talking specifically about acid house and techno music which became far more

popular after EDM emigrated back from Europe. However, all genres of EDM were just as hard

to come by.

At early EDM events, DJs were often placed in dimly-lit corners or off to the side—in marked contrast to today's multi-million dollar spectacles where they are placed at the center of attention. This meant the focus was more on the DJs skill and ability as a performer. If a DJ was placed center stage, (s)he was usually surrounded by decorations that obscured rather than highlighted them. Any cameras, which were used in projected visuals, focused on their hands (the main way DJs manipulated records) rather than their faces. The only qualifiers that might differentiate early EDM performers, outside of their talent, came from their geographical location (i.e., a DJ coming from the UK to play in the US), or because they incorporated some kind of special gimmick (see Figure 7) that was advertised on the flyers. In this early, era notions of being a superstar DJ (known only for their name recognition) were virtually non-existent.

Figure 7: Mr. Quintron

Fans' Reactions

In the early days of the EDM subculture, there was little distinction among industry professionals, fans, and artists. Much of this had to do with the collaborative nature of these events between stakeholders who resided primarily in major urban areas (Chicago, Detroit, New York, New Orleans, etc.). Events were often held in clandestine venues, abandoned warehouses, or spaces which could be obtained for free (either through legitimate or illegitimate means). Early EDM events were characterized, in the literature and by those I spoke with, as intimate affairs with attendance ranging from a few hundred to as many as several thousand people. One

respondent told me he had as many as 4,000 people at one of his events in 1993. Yet, he

maintained he knew the participants because of the organic nature of how the subculture

developed.

One early event organizer I interviewed, reflecting on the intimacy of the early EDM

subculture, talked about the network of individuals he relied upon in order to make his events

happen. His group consisted of approximately six individuals in charge of various event aspects

such as venue, lighting, sound, DJs, decorations, and flyers. In his own words,

> The main difference between today's EDM scene and the early days was that these events
> produced a sense of family; they weren't about making money, and we were all
> equal…not only the people attending, but the people making these things happen (Male,
> 35, Promoter).

Thus, these events were communal and produced from shared group resources. It is perhaps this

characteristic which drew early adopters to the subculture—the general feelings of

disconnectedness alongside the yearning for a place where they could feel a sense of belonging.

Another major defining characteristics of the early EDM subculture was the willingness

of members to challenge the official rules, and reject societal values prevalent at the time. Their

critical political orientation and free-spirited nature, coupled with media accounts linking

members of the EDM subculture with drug use (which I discuss later), meant that in the eyes of

outsiders, those associated with EDM were members of a deviant subculture. Sociologist

Stanley Cohen (1972) has also referred to this process as a moral panic—a process by which the

media exaggerates the deviant aspects of the group, making them into scapegoats for other

societal problems, otherwise known as "folk devils." Similarly, other sociologists argue that

their active resistance to the rules of society differentiates them, and other groups like them, as

countercultures (Yinger 1960; Fine and Kleinman 1979).

Many have wrongfully characterized early EDM culture as being apolitical—due to its

emphasis on "free love" as expressed in PLUR rather than political mobilization. However, the

early EDM subculture in fact had a variety of politically subversive countercultural aspects

embedded within it. This is perhaps best expressed by one of my interview respondents:

> I've always been an anti-establishment kind of guy. I was always involved with liberal
> politicians…you should have the right to have private property to do what you want.
> Why does the government have a say what time you dance to? So, definitely we were
> just trying to live free. We weren't necessarily trying to change the world. We were
> trying to create a place…a utopian society existing inside the larger world (Male, 60,
> Promoter).

Or this blogger who recalled:

> Dancing to electronic dance music was a liberation that broke the mold. Old-school
> ravers danced with a primal freedom that often scared those looking in…Rave came
> along in the computer age, during the dawn of the internet, and before the trauma of 9/11.
> It freed minds and got asses moving (Kelley 2014).

The openness and accepting nature, embedded in the idea of PLUR, made it attractive to a

variety of other marginalized groups. Thus, early EDM subculture events were made up of a

diverse array of individuals who were simultaneously looking for spaces centered on allowing

others to express themselves in a tolerant environment. These included individuals discriminated

against because of their gender, sexual orientation, class, race, religion, or other identity markers.

Structurally, authenticity was maintained through boundaries which acted to prevent

outsiders from entering. In the early EDM subculture, this was achieved by members having to

be invited by other members. One blogger reflected on how information, and thus access to

early EDM events, was obtained:

> Pagers, answering machines, tape decks, landlines, paper fliers, zines—there was no
> internet at rave's genesis. You had to know someone to get the number that got you to
> the party that got you a flier that got you to the next party. Pagers, hotlines, and
> answering machines helped grease the wheels. Back then, word of mouth was actually
> word of mouth.

> Things like map points—a second or sometimes third location you had to find to get final
> directions to an underground party—along with three to four-hour drives to a rave were
> part of the adventure. No festivals hosted this music; you had to go the distance. These
> twists and turns were a ritual that added to the anticipation and excitement. They told
> you the future was in front of you (Kelley 2014).

Many of the people I spoke with actually enjoyed the urban scavenger hunts. Several club

owners I spoke with even talked about producing their own urban scavenger hunts in special

events to recapture the sense of mystique from the early days of EDM. Despite such nostalgic

claims, the outlaw nature of EDM events meant that hosting them was a gamble. Early EDM

gatherings were often shut down or faced significant logistical problems such as power outages

or inadequate sound equipment. As one participant recalled:

> Sometimes you would go to the party and it would either be shut down, or you had to
> embark on a kind of urban scavenger hunt to find the party. There was more than one
> time we spent the entire night driving around trying to find the party because we couldn't
> figure out the maps or because we'd been given bogus directions (Male, 40, EDM Fan).

In regards to authenticity then, the logistical and legal challenges meant only the most committed

would continue to participate in the EDM subculture.

Subculture researchers have pointed to dress and style as one of the hallmarks of

authenticity within music subcultures. Members of the early EDM subculture, however, wore a

variety of different styles, which Mary Grace Cerni (2014), an LA Times reporter, discussed as a

continuum. At one extreme, early EDM participants wore overalls, tie-dye shirts, plastic beads,

Adidas shoes, baggy pants, or t-shirts. An example of this kind of style can be seen in Figure 8

below (which is from a desert rave party in 1998 to be published in a forthcoming photo book by

Michael Tullberg) and Figure 9. This style of dress allowed early EDM participants to dance

more comfortably. At the other end of the spectrum were styles featuring exaggerated notions of

play and fantasy. Members sometimes used makeup and other theatrics to make themselves into

a kind of unique character (see Figure 10). Others were known as kandi kids (see Figure 11).

Kandi kids were characterized by their brightly colored clothing, and bright beaded jewelry

resembling candy necklaces given to children.

Figure 8: A Desert Rave Illustrating Different Styles of Dress (1998)

Figure 9: EDM Participants (Location Unknown, 1993)

Figure 10: Example of EDM Participants Dressing as Unique Characters

Figure 11: Example of EDM Participants Known as Candi Kids

Like most of the other facets of the subculture, dress and style were appropriated from other

subcultures. This makes talking about a precise notion of style and dress particularly

challenging. Despite such an array of styles, there are some common features which can be

gleaned from looking at these different styles. The particular messages embedded in their style

including notions of playfulness, youthfulness, and, as some discussed with me, the reclamation

of their childhoods. These notions, especially playfulness, are also embedded in the event flyers

presented earlier.

Conclusion

The early EDM subculture grew out of the house and techno music underground club

scene. These early underground clubs helped create a blueprint for musicians to create a genre

of music that would travel the world (to Europe at least) and back again. However, when it came

back to the United States, the EDM culture brought with it a variety of cultural influences. These influences helped participants establish a subculture, or more accurate, counterculture, with a shared sense of values, style (focusing on youth and playfulness), and of identity. Many of its early members were already marginalized members (mostly gay and Black men) of society who felt alienated from the dominant culture. As such, the early EDM subculture faced many of the same stigmas. They also provided a powerful critique of society by offering a shared vision of the future organized around notions of Peace, Love Unity, and Respect (PLUR). As a counterculture, they were resisting conformity to a system which they felt perpetuated inequalities based on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation.

Media reports and subsequent response by legal and political authorities constitute the "official view" that the EDM subculture was a threat to society or, in sociological terms, a moral panic. Often portrayed as little more than a deviant drug-using subculture, the EDM subculture was made into a folk devil—a scapegoat for what was perceived as a prevalent drug problem in society (Cohen 1972). Their resistance further entrenched these notions as they found ways to subvert official efforts to prevent them from gathering (because they were hiding from law enforcement, thus confirming their deviant identity). Furthermore, they were ripe for being presented this way due to their alternative image and unconventional style. This also meant that such official views were easily justified.

Despite these official viewpoints, the EDM subculture was in fact focused on a commitment to the notions of PLUR and a future society, aided by technological innovation aimed at eliminating social inequalities. Its members resisted efforts to contain them, and invested a great deal of time in order to maintain control of the culture they were creating. Fans, DJs, and promoters all earned respect according to how closely they followed these core values.

The initial gatherings of the EDM subculture were produced with an emphasis on the artistic and creative aspects over conventional notions of professionalism.

Despite the adherence of most members of the EDM subculture to a set of principles resembling the free love mentality of the hippie counterculture, the mass media continued to exaggerate the notion that those who attended EDM events were part of a drug-using deviant subculture. A number of factors played an important role in facilitating the development of a second phase in the EDM subculture. The first factor facilitating this evolution came from the popularization of the subculture, largely due to increased media attention. While the media did not intend to do so, it inadvertently exposed a wider audience to this emerging subculture. The result was that EDM events which originally attracted, at most, a few hundred people to its events, were seeing attendances well into the thousands. Second, and most importantly, this increased growth led to increased continued friction with the media, politicians, and other officials. This culminated in the mobilization of law enforcement entities to charge EDM promoters under laws intended to close down crack houses. Eventually, a separate law titled the RAVE Act was drafted. It is in this context that the EDM subculture entered a second phase— one marked by both heightened popularity and controversy.

PHASE II: TRANSITIONS (1995-2003)

From 1995 to 2003, the structural makeup of the EDM subculture transitioned away from

its original countercultural beginnings. One of the most visible, and significant, changes to occur

was in the location of EDM events. During this time period, promoters began holding EDM

events primarily in nightclubs, and other "legitimate" music venues. The change in venue was

partially caused by an increased awareness brought on by the media, and increased pressure from

public officials (politicians and law enforcement agents). These new spaces were public venues

which were licensed to serve alcohol, host dance events, and followed strict legal guidelines.

Indeed, this era in the history of the subculture, is best characterized as a struggle to achieve

legitimacy in the eyes of the public. This shift might best be understood as a reaction, to both

old and new pressures, brought on primarily through legislative tactics seeking to undermine the

countercultural aspects of the movement. The change in venue was only one of several changes

brought on by pressures, many of which had been there since the inception of EDM. The

structure of the EDM subculture was transitioning due to media attention, creating a significant

surge in its popularity, but also later legislative action criminalizing the subculture.

The most significant factor shaping the subculture in this time period was a sudden

increase in its popularity. Due to this heightened popularity, promoters faced significant

challenges in utilizing clandestine, often illegally obtained spaces (i.e., warehouses, cornfields,

desert spaces). Organizers of these events saw a dramatic increase in attendance, ironically

brought on by lurid media coverage that attracted more young people. The infrastructure of

these spaces, which were often not intended for the purposes they were used for, were becoming

unsuitable for EDM gatherings. Organizers of these events grew concerned about safety at these

events for the participants, and realized they needed a greater infrastructure to handle these

massive gatherings. The chief concern was that should someone get hurt, they might be held

liable. As one promoter explained:

> Everybody realized that we had to get legitimate, because basically we had 600 people
> with no security, no liquor license. At some point, any human being is going to be like,
> "oh shit, this is dangerous. I'm going to get fucking sued, right?" There is a tipping
> point (Male, 40, Promoter).

At the same time, some industry professionals noted the benefits that came out of moving to

more legitimate spaces. One EDM professional commented on this shift:

> I went to a party in New York City. It was either 95 or 96. An Electric Zoo type of
> event. We drove from New Orleans to go to this party. It was huge with 70,000 people.
> To us, the best thing ever, right? It was at a stadium and legitimized. Not a dingy
> warehouse. Could get shut down. In the 90s, when it really got legit, is when I moved to
> these bigger venues. It became an overall better experience for people involved. It's not
> like a warehouse, Porta-potties, no safety, no insurance, no liquor license. It'd grown too
> big and we moved into legitimate venues to help make it grow (Male, 40, Promoter).

Despite these benefits, not all fans were happy about the move. Promoters faced a tough sell to a

group which had become accustomed to free events, or very inexpensive admission fees. As one

promoter explained:

> When we first started using the Steakhouse in New Orleans, it was a lot of throwback.
> Now we're on Ticketmaster, magazine ads, radio ads, and people were like, this is
> bullshit, you sold out, but the venue was amazing and was a lot safer. Easier to deal with,
> we didn't have power shutdowns, security, not being underground anymore. There were
> some constraints on the tickets, stuff like that. There was just a whole lot of negative
> flow from the fans sometimes (Male, 40, Promoter).

This move also made attempts to resist law enforcement initiatives harder, due to the fact that

legitimate venues were identifiable venues. This allowed for greater police intervention aimed at

the EDM subculture, as an event with only a few hundred attendees could remain relatively obscure and hidden, while events with attendees ranging from 500-1,000 were much harder to keep secret. While promoters began utilizing legitimate venues for valid concerns, such decisions would carry consequences for the members of the subculture in the years to come.

Transitions

As the EDM subculture became popular and perceived as highly profitable, the major music industry started to take notice. Promoters were beginning to be featured on television news shows, and EDM events were described as drawing thousands of attendees. Beginning in 1993, following the perceived success of underground promoters, Elektra Records (a subsidiary of Time Warner) launched the first ever touring rave concert, titled "Rave New World." The tour featured a variety of acts, most of whom began as underground DJs performing for incredibly low fees. The tour consisted of six major U.S. cities, including Washington D.C., New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, Denver, El Paso, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The tour had a significant impact in popularizing the EDM genre, and demonstrated the genre's profit potential to major corporations. Following the success of this first wave, additional dates were added (expanding the tour to 26 total dates), as were other acts, the most important of which was a rock-oriented EDM group from Britain known as "The Prodigy." Following the success of the tour, a follow-up one called "See the Light" also took place in 1993.

The significance of the "Rave New World" and "See the Light" tours was that they marked the entry of major recording labels into EDM. It also marked a significant shift in the public perception of EDM. The genre had previously been marginalized due to its roots in the

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gay club scene, but electronic groups like The Prodigy and Richard Melville Hal, aka Moby, were able to turn rock audiences on to EDM due to the way they packaged their live performances. Both acts utilized elements of the live performance, a departure from the traditional DJ performance. For instance, Moby utilized live keyboards, and the The Prodigy was a group of performers who, on stage, resembled a more traditional rock band (guitarist, singer, drummer, etc.). However, both acts utilized electronic synthesized beats and DJ equipment (laptops, keyboard, DJ equipment) in their shows. For American audiences, this was a much more familiar format—only slightly different from what they were used to seeing. At the same time, hip-hop audiences were also being turned on to "breaks," a genre of EDM. Groups like DJ Icey and The Dust Brothers (later known as The Chemical Brothers) were combining rock, hip-hop, and EDM, while also experimenting with audiovisual lighting and projection techniques. Errol Kolosine, an EDM industry label professional, explained the importance of this:

> The Brothers' live show offered salvation. Black people, white people, gay people, straight people, frat boys—you name it. Everybody here is equal, and the music is what is bringing everybody in here together. It occurred to me, if I get enough people to experience this, we can't lose (cited in Matos 2015: 213).

Clearly, the mainstream music industry was figuring out how to make EDM popular, and profitable.

The involvement of major music corporations also opened up a variety of other avenues to EDM artists. For the first time ever, due in part to the above mentioned tours, EDM artists were being played on radio stations (Matos 2015). Also, some EDM groups had already started to receive significant recognition in 1997, major film studios started to take note and began

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licensing EDM artists for their music. The Crystal Method was one of the first groups to achieve such recognition. Following the 1997 release of their album, *Vegas*, an homage to their native city, the group began receiving licensing deals from major film studios, and other artists outside the EDM genre seeking to update their sound. EDM was thus crossing over and beginning to attract audiences outside of the subculture. Many promoters recalled this time period with great enthusiasm. In their minds, they were receiving recognition for the hard work they had put in, but, more importantly, they still also had some autonomy from the major corporate entities. Indeed, the first EDM tours were only possible due to partnerships with local promoters.

DJs, fans, promoters, and others involved in the subculture I spoke with pointed to the rise of trance music as a sign of just how much the mainstream music model had come to influence the EDM subculture. The top grossing DJs toward the end of this era were predominantly trance and progressive house (a fusion of house and trance) music DJs. Trance music was one of the first post 90s EDM genres to include vocals in the production of songs. While early house music used vocals, it was rare for vocals to be used in the late 90s. Trance musical compositions changed that. Trance music is best characterized by its harmonic melodies, its use of predominately white female vocalists, and a more standardized format than most other genres of EDM. The genre in many ways resembled a fusion of classical music theory, pop music, and elements unique to EDM (use of synthesizers and other computer created sounds). Unlike DJs in other genres, trance DJs played around the world, toured the U.S. in lavish tour buses, and performed in massive venues ranging in capacity from 1,000 to 10,000 persons. Some popular DJs would sell out venues in minutes, and often played multiple dates in areas like Chicago, where this style of music was particularly popular. However, trance eventually became a very broad word applied to artists who did not necessarily conform to the

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above description. Other DJs who were producing lyrically-infused songs were branded as

trance musicians—in short, members of the EDM scene branded anything resembling pop music,

or affiliation with the major recording industry as trance.

With this newfound success among some EDM artists, members of the subculture began

to start their own EDM businesses. Those I spoke with talked about a desire to try to turn their

passion for music into a career. As early as 1996, EDM management companies began to

emerge. Booking agencies such as AM Only started off as small cottage industry-style

businesses. At the 2012 EDMbiz conference, promoters recalled how this developed:

> I started off paying the DJs $150, sometimes more, and they stayed on my couch.
> Then the agents got involved and I had to start paying more, booking them hotel
> rooms, picking them up from the airport in a limo. Early on, it was underground and
> community driven (Male, 40, Promoter).

The need for this was more than superficial; DJs are, first and foremost, artists with little to no

experience managing a business. Moreover, DJs often found themselves showing up to cities

where shows were cancelled, or lacked the necessary equipment, or were victimized by

promoters who left the venue before paying them, and a variety of other problems. Management

companies took over this responsibility, and because they were often founded by EDM

enthusiasts, they were able to shelter artists from the darker side of business. Matos (2015) also

points out those early promoters were young high school and college students who lacked

financial security in the event of problems (poor turnout, natural disasters, etc.). One promoter I

interviewed spoke of his own problems with his business partners:

> He [his business partner] and I ended up working together for Mardi Gras in '96. We did
> really well. At the time, he was letting me settle all the shows. After the Mardi Gras
> show in '96, he asked me to take the artist to the hotel while he settled the show. So I

drive them out to some roach motel by the airport, 30 minutes out from the venue, and then it took me another 30 minutes to get back. I went to the venue and they said, "Oh, he already left." So I go to this house to find out where my cut of the money was. By the time I got back to his house, his roommate said he just left for the bus station. He had taken all the money and bought a bus ticket to Houston. I talked to him and he's like, "Oh, you know. Since I did all the work, I took the money, and I need it to start a new company in Houston." And I'm like, that's not fucking right (Male, 40, Promoter).

Many industry professionals had similar stories. While they recalled this era with nostalgia, they also agreed that professionalization of the subculture was the only way it could continue to exist.

While early EDM management companies were established by enthusiasts, they nonetheless introduced a variety of professionalizing features. Two key changes at the time were the introduction of legal documents that formalized the nature of EDM events. The first of these documents were formal contract agreements with the artists (see Appendix G). Contracts specified the amount to be payed, date of the performance, ticket prices, location of the venue, and the liability between event organizers and the artists. While in reality these contracts lacked any real penalties, especially early on due to the relatively small sums of money being risked, they symbolized and codified the arrangements in a manner foreign to original members of the subculture. Prior to this, agreements were made with a handshake and a promise, or negotiated on the back of a cocktail napkin. While it is true that a promoter of an event could be sued for violations, this rarely happened. One promoter explained:

Well, what happened to me was, because my partner fell through, I had to pay the money back to the agencies I want to work with. But, because we have such a good relationship, and because they understand the circumstances of the situation, I'm paying it back to them out of the shows that I'm continuing to do with them. Yeah, they could lock me out, but then that would only hurt them (Female, 45, Promoter).

Thus, these contracts played a crucial role in bureaucratizing and standardizing the event process.

The second change was the introduction of the technical rider which specified the production aspects of EDM gatherings (see Appendix G). Whereas the contract defined cost, location, and time of performance, the rider stipulated the technical aspects such as specific equipment that will be on hand, lights that will be used, stage setup, and other important items relevant to the production of EDM events. From the perspectives of artists and managers, these documents were designed to limit problems and ensure the best possible performance. Early on, the organization of EDM events was amorphous—even in the best situations. However, while formalizing contract agreements brought a greater sense of control over this process, it also led to increasing standardizing of the production of live shows.

The technical rider also contained a portion devoted to "artist hospitality" (a modern example of this is attached as Appendix G). This section detailed a range of items that would be provided to the artists such as: lodging requirements, meals, liquor, and other items. For example, one DJ requested every flavor of a particular brand of gum, another that inflatable rafts be provided, and still others asked for trivial mundane items such as socks.[16] Conversely, many promoters that I talked to viewed the hospitality rider as something that could be overlooked, and others felt it was a badge of honor to deny artists items on the hospitality rider. As one female promoter explained:

> I always ignored the hospitality section because it is completely unnecessary. The hospitality rider gets longer the bigger these guys ego get. I mean, what are they gonna do. Not play because I didn't give them the exact beer they wanted? C'mon. Also, I

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[16] This was based on my work as a former industry insider, as well as informal conversations I had with promoters.

always felt like, as a promoter, that if I provided them everything, then they would walk all over me. (Female, 50, Promoter)

Another promoter offered up a different, yet similar, explanation to an artist's hospitality rider:

> Interviewer: When I used to produce shows, I thought DJ X [actual DJ name omitted] asked for every flavor of Orbitz gum on his rider.
>
> Respondent: You do know they're not serious with all that shit, right? It's a test to see if the promoters are reading the riders.
>
> Interviewer: Really? They always expected me to have all that stuff.
>
> Respondent: Right, because they were testing you. If they played with you again, you could have gotten away with asking the tour manager what they actually needed. There was a point where I asked an agent if DJ X [actual DJ name omitted] *actually* needed something on his rider. I think it called for 'One Representative Dog'. He actually laughed in my ear for like three minutes. Bastard had me stressed out trying to figure out what the hell a representative dog meant (Female, 40, Promoter).

Thus, the requests made within hospitality riders often had more to do with status, displays of power, and as a mechanism for hazing outsiders trying to become promoters.

Another factor contributing to the popularization of EDM was the development of file-sharing technologies. In 1999, the file sharing service, Napster, was launched. Napster, and other file sharing services like it, allowed for the rapid spread of EDM dance music. Participants in the EDM subculture tended to embrace new technologies far more quickly than the general public—a feature embedded in the founding principles of the group. The significance of the development of file-sharing technologies for the EDM subculture was threefold: it allowed for artists and fans to more expediently trade music, it created a demand for DJ equipment capable of utilizing the file format, and it allowed the music to spread in ways making it problematic for some insiders.

As EDM rose in popularity, EDM promoters saw increased attendance at events, were more profitable, experienced heightened public visibility (even celebrity status for some), but also a greater perception of risks associated with EDM events. Many promoters dealt with this latter issue by utilizing licensed legitimate venues better equipped to handle large crowds. At the time, venue owners were still attuned to the rock music genre as the dominant model. For them, EDM was relatively obscure, and generally not well understood. Promoters often had to haggle with owners of large spaces and convince them in order to book their venues. One promoter explained this process to me:

> We found out very early on you couldn't use the word 'rave' anymore. It had negative connotations. I was trying to do a fundraiser for an AIDS charity and the executive director freaked out at me. He emailed me and asked me if this was a rave, and at first I said no, but then later I said something like it has a rave kind of feel to it. He about lost his mind. So, I learned firsthand that rave was a four letter word (Male 33, Promoter).

While promoters benefited from the popularity, it was not something most of them actively sought. Rather, they preferred more natural organic growth. They were very much aware of what could happen if the subculture expanded too quickly. As much as they could, they tried to curtail artificial recruitment. Rather than seeing themselves as business people, they saw themselves as providing a service to a community and building bonds among other members:

> I think it boils down to experience. You build bonds and connections and build a family within the scene. Sharing experiences like doing drugs together builds strong relationships. The connections I have in Indianapolis and the Midwest—I like actually know these people. The people I have met elsewhere are like a second family. I moved to California and was at a party by myself and became friends, and it was like a second family. There are a lot of different levels that lead to other levels. Ultimately, I think the music and the passion behind the event really brings people together to lay down the foundation to make those connections (Male, 29, Promoter).

No other story best illustrates the complexity of social forces shaping the EDM

subculture at this stage than the story of the Reducing Americans Vulnerability to Ecstasy Act

(aka the Rave Act, see Appendix A). To understand the Rave Act, however, you must also

understand the story of the promoter who was the primary target of the bill. In 1995, James D.

Estopinal, Jr., best known as "Disco Donnie," emerged as a promoter. He quickly became a

legend throughout the New Orleans area and in other parts of the southern United States. He

typified what it meant to be a promoter during this era—concern for the scene, a larger-than-life

demeanor, a unique style of dress (see Figure 12), imagination in how he produced his events in

terms of title and theme (see Figures 13 and 14 below), and a commitment to keeping his events

affordable at a time when others were raising their costs. Disco Donnie became one of the most

well-known promoters rivaled by few (West Coast promoters Magical Mickey, Pasquale Rotella,

and Frankie Bones were perhaps his only equals at the time). Like other promoters, Donnie

moved his events to a large-scale concert venue, the State Palace Theater, known for hosting

national touring acts. His decision was based primarily on the needs of having a reliable

infrastructure and concerns for the safety of participants.

Figure 12: Photo of "Disco Donnie" Estopinal

Figure 13: Attack of the 50 foot Raver Zombies
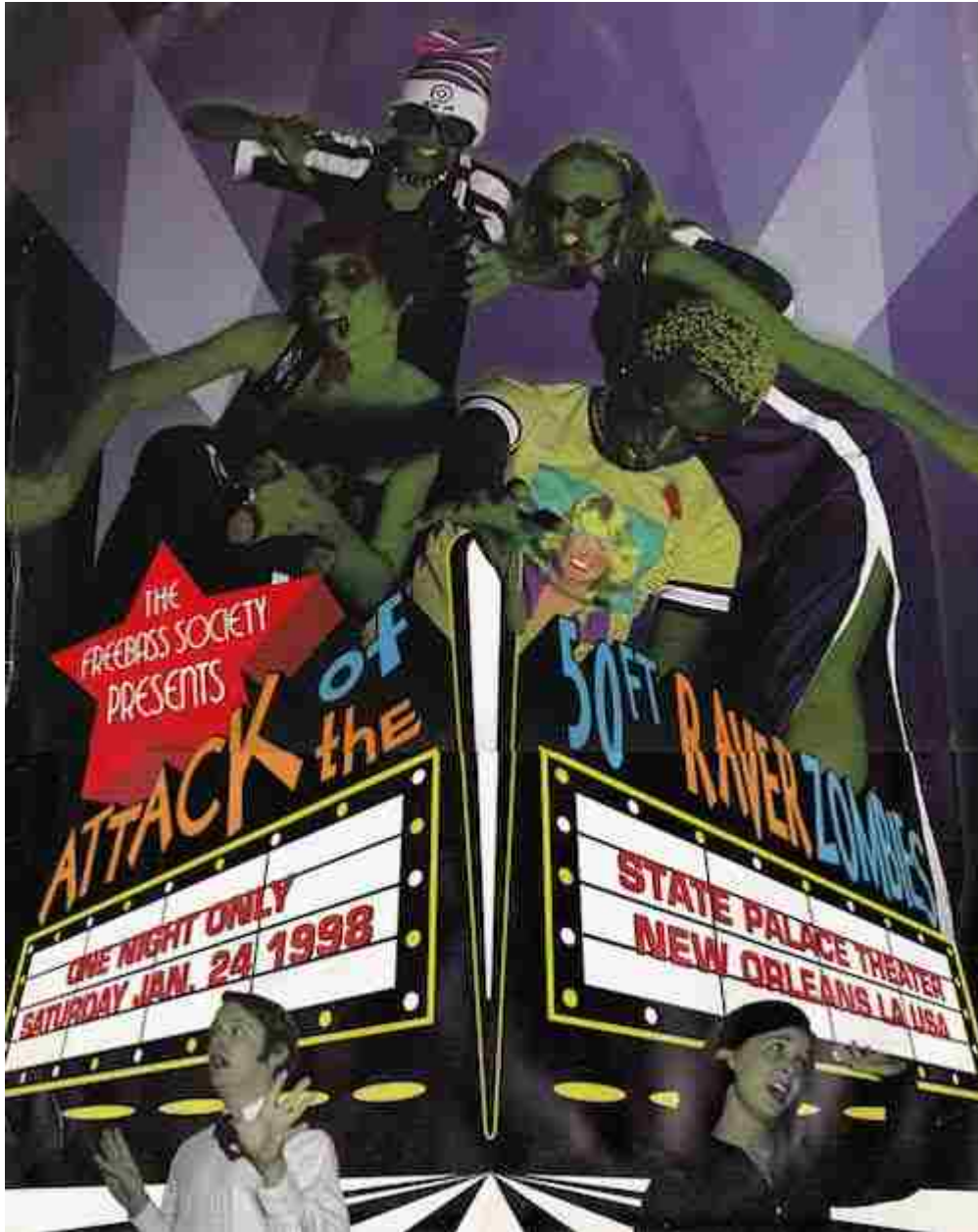
Figure 14: SupaPhat Hong Kong Phooey Twooey

At one of these events in 1998, a 17-year-old girl, Jillian Kirkland, was rushed to the

hospital where she died. Her death was classified as due to ecstasy-induced dehydration.

Ecstasy fatalities are often attributed primarily to dehydration, due to the spike in body

temperature from its use, and exacerbated by those who used it to dance for hours on end (though

Matos, 2015, also found that some EDM enthusiasts were experiencing similar complications

from highly caffeinated "smart" energy drinks). Others I spoke with claimed that official

statistics were often misrepresentative of ecstasy use, since emergency rooms often classified

dehydration due to other causes as an ecstasy overdose. Despite this ambiguous data, an

ambitious Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agent seized this opportunity to launch

"Operation Rave Review" in 1999. The allegation the DEA made was that Estopinal was using

European DJs to traffic drugs, which were then sold at his events, and that the venue owners

were also co-collaborators (due to the fact that they were promotional partners with Estopinal).

Following a six-month investigation in which undercover agents bought illegal drugs from EDM

event attendees, the DEA raided the State Palace Theater just hours before a scheduled event that Estopinal was hosting. They thought that they would find evidence proving their allegations, although none was found.

Despite the lack of evidence, the DEA pressed charges against Estopinal and the venue owners under a law known as the "Crack House Statute." The law was intended to give law enforcement the power to shut down spaces which knowingly were maintained by owners whose clientele used them to sell, buy, and use drugs. They alleged that Estopinal and the venue owners were maintaining the State Palace Theater as a front for drugs. In the DEA's defense, these events appeared quite unusual, as they had strange titles (such as Attack of the 50 foot Raver Zombies, and Super Phat Hong Kong Phooey Twooey), and featured psychedelic laser lights with bizarre decorations and performers (a guy in a chicken costume, a giant UFO, or a gospel choir). Moreover, Estopinal's larger-than-life persona, as well as the unconventional dress by attendees, did not help his cause. Most outsiders would have probably assumed that he was leading a culture, or that it was a drug-using subculture. One Australian promoter echoed these sentiments:

> It was about really connected, getting people connected, and connecting with other people. You might not be able to hear a word they're saying, but you're connected on a totally different level. Predominantly, nightclubs were like, hey, that bitch is hot. I want to talk to her. The cops were freaking out because there would be people lined up down the block, and there would be like guys sitting massaging some other dude, another guy sitting and massaging a girl. So they're all massaging each other. This wasn't typical partying, so they assumed that there's something illegal going on, but they're not sure what it is (Male, 45, Promoter).

While Estopinal held out, the venue owners entered into a plea agreement with prosecutors. The agreements prohibited certain items such as glow sticks, pacifiers, Vicks VapoRub inhalers, bandana masks, and plush backpacks as contraband, in the belief that they

were somehow connected with the use of ecstasy. While this may have been the case for some

of these items, others (such as backpacks and glow sticks) were little more than signs or

references to the EDM subculture. Promoters at this time thus began trying to distance

themselves by limiting any and all references to the subculture for fear of prosecution. While

this had already been occurring, the charges confirmed the promoters' suspicions that law

enforcement agents were unfairly targeting them, causing them to redouble their efforts.

Although the plea agreement was later nullified and all charges were dropped, Estopinal and

many other promoters as well were intimidated and increasingly fearful concerning the future of

the EDM subculture.

Despite all of this, then Senator Joe Biden proposed the RAVE Act of 2001 (see

Appendix A), which proposed a widening of the 1986 crack house statute from maintaining,

managing, or owning any place used to manufacture, distribute, or use drugs to include

temporary or permanent uses of the premises. The new language of the bill read:

> (1) knowingly open, lease, rent, use, or maintain any place, whether permanently or
> temporarily, for the purpose of manufacturing, distributing, or using any controlled
> substance;
>
> (2) manage or control any place, whether permanently or temporarily, either as an owner,
> lessee, agent, employee, occupant, or mortgagee, and knowingly and intentionally rent,
> lease, profit from, or make available for use, with or without compensation, the place for
> the purpose of unlawfully manufacturing, storing, distributing, or using a controlled
> substance (see Appendix A).

While the RAVE Act was initially overturned, largely due to the vagueness and potential for

misuse and abuse, a second attempt to pass the bill was successful by placing it inside the 2003

AMBER alert bill (attached as Appendix F). For rave promoters, venue owners, and other

stakeholders, the message was clear: if these events were to continue, they would have to

prohibit all aspects of the EDM subculture that were viewed as deviant. The strategy that many

promoters turned to was to produce their events more like rock concerts. Whereas before the

passage of the RAVE Act attendance was not an issue, now promoters found themselves

struggling to achieve even modest turnouts:

> After the court case in March, some of the franchises were skipped. It was about eight
> months where they were doing big shows. Everyone was saying when he got out, that he
> would be bigger than ever. But the numbers were going down. They weren't terrible, but
> we'd do a show where we'd get 3,000 and only get 1,000 if we were lucky–that's a big
> difference. It was a big shift (Male, 45, Promoter).

<center>*Media Coverage*</center>

In this era, the media had a significant and ironic role in popularizing the EDM

subculture. While the media had previously portrayed the subculture in a negative light, during

these years, it began doing so more intensely, describing raves as illegal warehouse parties

featuring excessive drug use. Sensationalized media coverage started to occur more frequently

in national media outlets, such as *USA Today*, which began reporting on the "growing nuisance"

of EDM events (see Figure 15). While most news stories reported the subculture in a negative

light, it nonetheless brought the group into the minds of the masses and expanded its media

exposure. Popular television sitcoms began referencing raves as an issue facing teenagers. One

example is a 1994 episode on the Fox sitcom series, *90210*, which focused on the EDM

subculture (Matos 2015).

Figure 15: USA Today Front Page

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

Special Reprint Edition

TEACHERS.
THE ANTI-DRUG.

USA TODAY
NO. 1 IN THE USA

As seen in
USA TODAY
News
Reprinted from USA TODAY 2002

Cities crack down on raves

All-night dance parties seen as a growing nuisance

By Todd Plitt, USA TODAY

Party people: Interior scene during a September rave at the State Palace Theatre in New Orleans. In recent years, the all-night dance parties have sparked complaints that raves have become a public nuisance.

By Donna Leinwand
USA TODAY

NEW ORLEANS — They began more than a decade ago in remote fields and abandoned warehouses, out-of-the-way places where teens and young adults grooved all night to ear-splitting electronic music. Today, rave dance parties are big business, held in downtown nightclubs and theaters by promoters who charge $30 or more for admission.

Ravers say the scene is still all about the music. But a rising number of critics dealers peddle pills and stoned kids trash the neighborhoods where raves are held.

Here and in several U.S. cities, there are growing complaints that raves have become a public nuisance. In a twist to the "Not In My Backyard" debates that have long shaped government decisions, New Orleans and a few other cities have used the federal statute designed to shutter crack houses to try to shut down raves or force them to clean up their act.

Besides tapping the federal law to accuse rave promoters of fostering drug

Ecstasy is not nearly as popular as marijuana, but its rise as a party drug has made it a priority for health officials, who cite studies indicating that the stimulant can cause brain damage and neurological problems.

Officials have had mixed success prosecuting rave promoters under the 1986 crack-house statute. Such charges can be tough to prove, and the law is aimed at the owners of residential properties where there is continuous drug activity, not transient concerts or parties.

But Congress is considering a plan to change that: A bill before the U.S. Senate would specifically link raves to the crack-house law, which holds property owners liable if they knowingly allow illegal drug activity on their premises. Owners or promoters found liable could face up to 20 years in prison or be fined $250,000 or twice the gross receipts derived from each violation, whichever is more.

The assaults on raves have prodded groups of young people to political action. While acknowledging there is some drug use at raves, supporters of the parties say that officials should not automatically equate raves with Ecstasy, which has hallucinogenic properties that give users a euphoric feeling.

New Orleans' efforts to stop drug use at a local rave venue reflects the increasingly aggressive approach authorities across the nation are taking toward raves — as well as some officials'

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The media in this phase used the EDM subculture to create a moral panic. According to Stanley Cohen (1972), the originator of the term, moral panics are triggered by first lobbying for action (often in the form of sensationalized media coverage), a subsequent reaction by legislators and law enforcement agencies. In this process, the media plays a crucial role in moral panics, helping to promote them and legitimating claims against the groups they target, although Cohen (1972) also points out that heightened media coverage has the unintended consequence of making targeted groups more popular. In his work, he notes that mods and rockers developed a greater sense of identity and group solidarity thanks to negative media coverage. Not surprisingly then, lurid media coverage, which ironically brought on a dramatic increase in attendance, also drew the attention of public officials.

Interaction with Officials

Public officials (politicians and law enforcement agents) were forced to react to public outcry from parents who were being warned by the media about the dangers their children might face. At the same time, politicians and other law enforcement officials were being depicted as inept, if not incompetent, in their ability to "deal with" the EDM "problem." This presented a political nightmare, but also infuriated officials who felt they were being humiliated in the press. As a response to the attention directed at the subculture, rave event task forces began to emerge. The goal of these task forces was to shut down illegal non-licensed gatherings. As EDM events moved into nightclub spaces, members of the subculture were now doubly stigmatized both as a deviant subculture, and from the negative affiliation of utilizing nightclubs which were targeted by the DEA, who had declared a war on all club drugs. Respondents recalled that:

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Every time a vet clinic was broken into, we got the blame because they assumed some raver was stealing ketamine [a popular club drug] (Male, 40, Fan).

Public officials represent what Becker (1966) referred to as "moral entrepreneurs," or individuals who seek to either create or enact legislation on the basis of some moral principles. In the case of the EDM subculture, this was exactly what was happening when the RAVE act was proposed. However, this was not the first time in America in which laws regulating dance music were enacted. In many cities, laws dating back to the 1970s restricted when, where, and how people danced. In Indianapolis and New York, for example, some men dressed in drag due to police raids by law enforcement agents enforcing a ban against same gendered dancing (Duberman, 1993; Higgins, 2013). Many of these laws were used to target EDM events even after they had moved to so-called "legitimate" venues. In Chicago, for example, owners faced stiff penalties if patrons danced in unlicensed venues. What these laws did was concentrate the power "legitimate" venues had over members of the subculture, benefiting those who already had negotiated deals in these often larger spaces.

Caught between legislators and EDM professionals were law enforcement officers, and others who had to enforce these rules on the ground level. The law enforcement agents who I talked with had a much different take. They recalled not having many problems with the EDM subculture, with both promoters and law enforcement agents saying that so long as there were no noise complaints, they were left to their own devices. However, once politicians became involved, things changed. As one officer I talked with said:

They didn't really prove a problem. The worst problem they presented was trespassing if they used an illegal venue. Then the media got involved and that's when our job got worse. Now the big wigs were involved. The chief had to put on a dog-and-pony show so that the town council would get off his case. It was so stupid. The worst we ever

came up with was a couple joints and a handful of pills. If anything, it was probably more dangerous when they moved into the clubs having to deal with drunk drivers, drug dealers, and other stuff (Male, 47, Police Lieutenant).

In recalling the early days, one promoter explained a situation he encountered with local law enforcement:

> Yeah, I was throwing this big party in Ohio. The day of the show, we are all ready to go and the cops show up. Well, here I thought, I'm screwed, I've got like 1,000 kids coming and now the party is going to be busted. The police chief took me in and told me he really didn't care what I was doing, but that he needed to cover his own butt by making me pay a fee for an event permit. I paid my fee and that was that. Apparently, one of the town council members caught wind of what we were doing, so to solve the problem and not have 1,000 kids in his town with nothing to do, he handled it this way (Male, 51, Promoter).

Thus, in the early years, local law enforcement agents on the ground had much more latitude in dealing with the EDM subculture.

Initial government information bulletins provided only loose guides on how to identify EDM events, though later, publications told officers what laws could be enforced to shut them down, and suggested what powers to exercise based on the problem. In both cases, the tone was one that suggested that if there was not a problem, officers might consider not taking any action. It was not until notices about Operation Rave Review were circulated that these events started to have serious criminal penalties levied against them (National Drug Intelligence Center, 2001). According to Matos (2015: 250), this prompted some promoters to hire lawyers to attend their events in case the police showed up. One promoter I spoke with attended law school just to deal with legislative challenges from officials.

Public officials also affected the design of EDM events through legislation and policies such as the RAVE Act. For example, one item that public officials pointed to as evidence of promoters' connections to drug use was the use of "chill-out rooms." These rooms were kept much cooler than other parts of the venue, and offered a space where participants could go relax, cool off, and talk to other event enthusiasts. The RAVE Act limited these rooms because legislators believed that the rooms were maintained in order to facilitate use of the drug, ecstasy. Specifically, public officials argued that these rooms were provided to combat the elevated body temperature of dancers produced by ingesting ecstasy. While it is plausible that promoters were aware of this, the chill-out room was primarily a space for people to get away from the loud music and dancing in the main room. As some members argued, these rooms provided a much safer environment. Thus the regulating efforts of public officials made EDM gatherings far less safe for attendees, and also removed an important space for congregating and socializing (Anderson 2014).

Industry Professional Reactions

As described above, promoters reacted to heightened attention by law enforcement, brought on by increased media attention sensationalizing the subculture, by changing how they organized EDM events. Initially, they justified the use of licensed spaces as an attempt to accommodate attendance numbers while meeting the demands of infrastructure—thus the move from abandoned warehouses to nightclubs. They articulated love for the music as music that contained notions of social justice and change. Despite their efforts to remain true to the core principles of the movement, industry professionals recognized that the move into nightclubs

greatly affected how they thought about their work. Essentially, they noted how they came to be more aware of business concerns.

One major change was in the language promoters used to talk about organizing. Instead of focusing exclusively on the music, or the political intent of the subculture, they talked about profits as shaping decisions once made based on artistic merit alone. They also used phrases like "making loot" [from shows], and told stories of tricking major corporations into sponsoring their events (and often failing to give them mention). This is all reminiscent of the early phase in which they were more like a counterculture. In short, they were holding onto their original values of the culture while becoming part of the corporate music industry.

Members of the early EDM subculture utilized non-conventional spaces not only out of necessity, but also because they had more creative license. Using legitimate spaces, however, meant that owners had to approve how these events would be structured, promoted, and aesthetically produced. Abandoned warehouse spaces could be physically altered (i.e., knocking out walls or other impairments) if the structure was an issue. Such alterations were not possible in legitimate venues. Thus, the design of these events became more streamlined, or as one respondent described it, "turn-key." The goal was to produce these EDM events more effortlessly. Moreover, the promoter was traditionally also a part of the creative process in terms of theming the event, decorating the event space, and providing an aesthetically appealing environment. As DJs became more prominent, they started to become the ones in control of these features. Because they were increasingly from different locations, this sometimes became an issue as some demanded highly-specific lighting designs, staging, or other components necessary to host their event. One DJ, for example, required a $5,000 lighting rig at each show where he performed. Another required LED screens of different dimensions mounted on the

sides of the stage and one behind him. Venues and promoters unwilling, or unable, to meet this requirement were not given the opportunity to host the performance. Instead, booking agents would look for another promoter in the area, or more often, would just skip cities unable to meet certain requirements.

Recognition of the enhanced role of DJs within the EDM subculture is documented by Brewster and Broughton (1999) in their discussion of the Superstar DJ. Due to increased press coverage, aspects of celebrity culture were introduced into the EDM subculture. This led to changes in how DJs were presented, how they produced music, and in growing distinctions between DJs and DJ producers. Initially, DJs and producers worked together, one creating music for the other, and who served as an outlet for introducing these songs to audiences. During this phase, reputation came to be earned solely on the basis of producing music. In short, relations among members within the scene started to be measured in terms of productivity and in relationship to the product, rather than subcultural values. Skill in performing was important, but not so much as producing music. It also became harder to get a DJ booking based on skill alone. In fact, flyers during this era mostly listed producing DJs as headliners. It was, in fact, very rare for a non-producing DJ to be listed as a performer on many major events. When non-producing DJs were utilized, they most often occupied a very early time slot. The primary effect of these shifts was that the career path of DJs was altered, and began to reflect the dictates of the major recording music industry rather than creativity and skill.

DJs also began to produce their music in different ways. As major labels became involved, DJs wishing to sign with them had to produce original tracks within a proscribed format (generally within a 3:00 to 3:50 minute length). This included fitting the format and slicing individual songs up into tracks instead of seamlessly blended mixes. Additionally, major

record labels gave DJs access to equipment that allowed them to refine production techniques (Matos, 2015). There was also a transition in how DJs performed live. Early EDM DJs often occupied a small corner off to the side of the dance floor, which was often dimly lit. Their position had more to do with being able to see the behavior of those in the crowd than it did with highlighting themselves. Indeed, many participants in the early EDM scene noted that they often had no clue as to who was playing. Once EDM events started being produced in legitimate spaces, this changed. DJs became featured on the ads, and placed front and center like a live band. By putting DJs on top of a well-lit stage, it changed the interaction between DJs and the audience.

Media attention stimulated the growth of a market for broader public consumption of the music. This included EDM radio stations, such as Mars FM, an L.A.-based EDM radio station. Members I interviewed talked about how this helped extend the boundaries of the subculture, but Matos (2015) notes an unintended effect this had in increasing the availability of highly sophisticated and expensive state of the art equipment. EDM enthusiasts were no longer simply a rag tag group of kids; they were becoming a specialized niche market and perceived as a viable business enterprise.

The presence of the major record labels also brought other professionalizing agents into the EDM subculture, such as booking agents, managers, and tour managers. As these individuals became more prevalent, the costs of producing EDM events increased significantly. This occurred both directly, through the artist's fee, and indirectly, via production costs. As mentioned above, tour riders consisting of technical and hospitality requirements became standard, as well as formal contracts. While initially many of these newer professionals were members of the subculture, this was not always the case (this trend becomes even more

pronounced in the next phase). It is perhaps the self-contained way in which these new professionals emerged that allowed the subculture to remain primarily shaped by those who were around when the movement first began.

In this era of heightened popularity and demand for EDM, DJs faced a variety of criticisms about just what they were doing. Outsiders claimed that they were not "real" musicians, while insiders questioned if some DJs had strayed too far from the movement's core values and were simply producing music for the masses. Trance DJs, in particular, were the most harshly criticized, with the first of these criticisms to emerge attacking their skills. One of my respondents explained this debate in reference to the music producer, Brian Wayne Transeau (B.T). They stated that he was a famous performer in the EDM subculture, but he was not very well respected for his DJ talent. In fact, he was known as an exceptionally poor DJ. Despite this, he attracted a loyal following who attended his live shows due to his status as a producer.

A second criticism lodged at DJs was part of a larger societal critique that DJs were not "real" musicians. Many DJs responding to this criticism went out of their way to compose songs that were reminiscent of classical music. One example of this is the well-known EDM producer, Tijs Michiel Verwest, better known by his stage name, DJ Tiesto. As one of the forerunners of the trance genre, one of his best known compositions is "Adagio for Strings" which was based on the 1936 Samuel Barber orchestral composition of the same name. Other DJs faced criticisms that they played pre-recorded sets, and performers like Moby faced criticisms that their incorporation of traditional music equipment was part of a pre-recorded act.

A third criticism that DJs faced concerned new technological advances. Early EDM DJs only had vinyl records to use, but computer technologies evolved so that DJs could manipulate

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CDs in a fashion similar to vinyl records. This also enabled DJs to make use of file-sharing services which had become popular at the time, such as Napster. As a whole, trance DJs and producers tended to use CDs and other technological innovations more often than house DJs, who still preferred vinyl records. A 2008 post on an internet forum reflects these debates:

> CD DJs I don't respect, it takes hardly no skill or effort. You could get a monkey to do it. Plus the backspins and crazy types of scratching are a laugh (like it's a toy compared to a deck) on even a top DJ CD player and can't beat that of doing the same on a technics deck, and beat matching is fairly easy. For d n b [drum and bass] it was harder but the trick was finding two tunes sounding the same speed—that was easy as I have a good ear for that. Mixing them at the right point was slightly harder, but I used to wait until the second intro part on the vinyl had finished, then slower, bring the fader across whilst the other one was just past the first intro of the other vinyl (Dragonxninjaxpowa 2008).

There was also a racial aspect to this debate, as house musicians were predominately persons of color and their trance counterparts were predominately white.

Trance musicians were predominately white Europeans from the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Russia, and Poland. This was a notable shift from the American founders of the EDM subculture, who were mostly African American and Latino gay men. The Europeans also were highly image conscious, prominently displaying images of themselves (on album covers or in the liner notes), and by paying significant sums of money to hire photographers to help them enhance their looks. This flew in the face of the principles of the subculture in which beauty, sex appeal, and glamorization of one's image were frowned upon.

By 2007, many trance DJs had reached such acclaim that they refused to play before audiences of less than 1,500 people. Trance grew in popularity because, unlike other genres, it was melodic and contained lyrics that could be easily identified. Yet, among long time

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participants of the subculture, trance represented everything they were against—conformity via

harmonics, genre and form, and, most importantly, the celebrity status trance DJs came to

occupy due to their popularity.

<div align="center">Fans' Reactions</div>

In many ways, this phase brought about a heightened sense of political activism due to

the mobilization of forces against the RAVE Act, as groups began organizing in protest to the

targeted efforts by law enforcement and other agencies. One such group was the Electronic

Music Defense and Education Fund (EM:DEF), founded in 2001, whose purpose was:

> To raise and provide funds for legal assistance to innocent professionals in the electronic dance music business who are targeted by law enforcement in the expanding campaign against club drugs. In addition to providing funds for legal efforts to protect the industry, the EM:DEF will serve as a spokes-agency for the electronic dance music industry -- providing an independent voice on behalf of industry professionals, while allowing professionals to avoid public association which could result in retaliation by law enforcement. Priority of funding of cases will be based on the following (in order):
>
> - Impact on the electronic dance music industry's ability to remain economically viable,
> - Impact on the broader music industry's ability to remain economically viable,
> - Impact on members of the electronic dance music community including fans and industry; and,
> - Impact on members of the broader music community including fans and industry.
>
> The EM:DEF was founded in an effort to support the defense of three men in New Orleans who are being charged under federal crack house law (EM:DEF 2012; see Appendix H)

Interestingly, one of the main arguments used by the founders of the EM:DEF was based on

EDM's potential as an "economically viable" business.

Promoters began hosting events across the country in support of the EM:DEF, fans were encouraged to write their congresspersons, and a general feeling of activism was fostered. There was also support shown by other groups, such as the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), who recognized that all kinds of events could be targeted under the RAVE act. These efforts aided to some degree in preserving the counter cultural spirit and feelings of authenticity among many members of the EDM subculture.

Despite this, many fans spoke rather nostalgically with me about how this shift began as being a confusing time period in which notions of solidarity and group identity were becoming difficult to maintain. My respondents, like those in Anderson's (2009a) study, also noted that, "sometimes people would just wander in that had no business being there to begin with" (Male, 36, Booking Agent). Other "outsiders" come to EDM events trying to "hook up," which was heavily frowned upon by group members. The early rave subculture prided itself on not being oversexualized, more egalitarian, and allowing for more gender fluidity amongst its members, but things now seemed headed in the other direction.

One way fans coped with these changes was through utilizing new communication technologies to voice their dissent. The internet provided many EDM enthusiasts with space in which they could communicate with artists, other fans, and promoters about issues they felt were significant. Some DJs during this time period were accused of producing pre-recorded sets. An early example of this were accusations that Moby's live performance (discussed above) was "fake." A fan posted on an online mailing list that his "live keyboards" were not actually plugged into anything. Later musicians, especially trance musicians, were accused by fans of pre-recording their sets onto a CD. Regardless of the veracity of these claims, the internet provided fans with a direct line of communication with other fans and the artists themselves.

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They could, and many did, use it as a way to reprimand artists and other industry professionals whom they felt strayed too far from the subculture's core principles.

At the same time, the internet also broke down some barriers to entering the EDM culture, which was further aided by the shift in the kinds of venues being used. Those who became interested in EDM no longer needed cultural capital in order to gain access to the subculture, its music, or its events. EDM was now available to anyone with access to a computer. This also produced changes in the demographics of the group. The subculture, which was once a subculture dominated by African American and Latino gay men, was now composed of predominately white heterosexual middle class youth. Early participants argued that this new crowd often had little if any connection with the subculture. These shifts were also accompanied by commodifying tendencies, as EDM events moved into licensed spaces. Status was becoming less intertwined with one's commitment to the subculture, and tied more so to consumption (see Thornton, 1996).

Structurally, the free spirit of the early EDM subculture was challenged by the introduction of VIP areas and other tiered tickets arrangements whereby fans could pay to obtain different experiences. Thus, notions of status became tied to social class and ability to pay. Malbon (1999) has pointed out that this shift into legitimate spaces merged the EDM scene with what he calls club cultures. According to him, it stripped the EDM subculture of its unique substance and homogenized it into reorienting participants towards more decadent pleasure-seeking behaviors rather than the core principles of the subculture.

Conclusion

Members who participated in the second era of the EDM subculture experienced a variety of reorienting effects due to internal and external pressures to become more "legitimate." During this era, members were marginalized, popularized, criminalized, and finally exonerated as they moved into legitimately ran venues. This second period is perhaps best understood by Durkheim's notion of "anomie," a French word meaning, "without norms," in which group solidarity is jeopardized as social norms are thrown into ambiguity. In this study, original EDM enthusiasts were faced with questions about the culture that they helped create and began to question the group's norms, authenticity, and what exactly it was that defined them as a movement. Event organizers no longer seemed fully committed to the values of the subculture, but instead became focused on making money. However, some promoters tried to maintain notions of authenticity, justifying their switch to a more business-oriented model, by claiming that this was the only way they could preserve the original core values of the subculture.

The concerns raised by some members of the EDM subculture point to an emerging industry framework that was promoted by the major recording companies. National tours such as the "See the Light Tour" and "Rave New World Tour" mentioned at the start of this chapter were made possible by major corporations, who organized the tours in tandem with local promoters. Thus, an emerging partnership was established which some promoters recalled, in hindsight, was an attempt by the companies' major corporations to create a formulaic, marketable version of EDM. A few of the individuals I interviewed also noted that the major labels attempted to produce their own versions of artists and EDM events during this time period, but these were unsuccessful.

Despite the presence of outside forces to commodify the subculture, some members struggled with autonomy and adherence to the group's initial core values. The result was an arrangement that, at first, kept outsiders from being able to fully dominate the subculture and forced them to rely on key insiders, such as Disco Donnie Estopinal. By 2003, however, even this sort of limited autonomy was becoming difficult to maintain. Promoters were not solely to blame, nevertheless, as DJs also played a significant role by signing with major record labels. By altering the format of their music, hiring managers, employing booking agents to find them shows, and, most importantly, by embracing celebrity status, the DJs changed the trajectory of the subculture. Thus, while promoters played a role in the commodification of electronic dance music, in many ways they were also responding to the demands of the DJs and the EDM artists themselves.

PHASE III: EDM AS CULTURE INDUSTRY (2004-2015)

By 2010, the EDM subculture had emerged into a full blown culture industry in the sense first described by Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1972). They developed the concept of culture industry in opposition to the more common notion of popular culture. The term is differentiated by what they saw as an increasing tendency to mass produce culture as objectified commodities. Horkheimer and Adorno identified two major features of the culture industry: standardization and pseudo-individualization. Standardization was used to refer to the Fordist-style production techniques and other features allowing for the mass production of culture. The term pseudo-individualization refers to the various techniques that mask the mass-produced quality of products manufactured by the culture industry, and also give the illusion of differentiation or uniqueness among them. In a similar vein, Herbert Marcuse (1964), another Frankfurt School critical theorist, emphasized the increasing presence of bureaucratic control over cultural production and consumption, another prominent feature of contemporary EDM events.

This third phase was set in motion by promoters of EDM seeking greater autonomy from nightclub owners. The increasing fees, largely the result of DJs demanding higher fees and more expensive stage productions, created a situation where EDM promoters were looking for innovative ways to defer these added costs. Event organizers began to seek out, and were approached by, major corporations who began sponsoring their gatherings. This was already an established practice that I noted before, however, promoters often had to share the revenue with nightclub owners. In this phase, they moved into state-owned facilities and venues which allowed them greater control and management of their events—both artistically and financially. Anderson (2009a) noted this shift in her study of the alteration and decline of raves at the turn of the century. She saw EDM festivals as one format in which authentic elements of EDM culture

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might be preserved. Festivals resolved many of the problems faced by the move into nightclubs, including age restrictions, space for dancing, the ability to promote multiple styles of music, and dress codes.

EDM Today

In the summer of 2010, three major events took place both exemplifying and further shaping the movement. The first of these was near record attendance at the Electric Daisy Carnival (EDC) held in Los Angeles. An estimated 185,000 participants attended the 2010 event. This largely was due to artists from outside the genre performing and making celebrity appearances. Two examples of this was an appearance by rapper Lil' John (real name Johnathan Mortimer Smith), and WILL.I.AM (real name William James Adam Jr.), a member of the pop-rock group, Black Eyed Peas. Secondly, organizers of EDM events had themselves learned how to standardize and mass produce their events. Insomniac, the company that produced EDC, held events in four different locations: Denver, Dallas, Orlando, and San Juan, Puerto Rico. The third and final major historical event involved a series of political and legislative battles following the death of a fifteen year-old girl named Sasha Rodriguez at the 2010 EDC in Los Angeles. Initially, public officials placed a moratorium on all EDM events seeking to use publically owned venues in Los Angeles. This was followed by a legislative proposal banning these events all together, though this was ruled unconstitutional upon review (see appendix I). Instead, a revised bill was drafted and passed which required event organizers to develop emergency action plans in conjunction with local officials (see appendix J). Having held the event at a publicly-owned venue isolated organizers from criminal charges, though the Rodriguez family would pursue civil charges. With the moratorium on EDM events, and

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because the event was attracting more participants than it could hold, Insomniac needed to search out other places for its flagship event.

As a result, Las Vegas became home to the EDC in 2011, and where it has remained ever since. Major factors behind this move included an enthusiastic response by Las Vegas city officials and by major casino resort hotels who opened EDM-themed night clubs. These were so successful that, in 2013, the *New Yorker* reported that EDM nightclubs were making more revenue for resort hotels than casino gaming (Eels 2013). With DJs getting contracts to become resident DJs, and nearly every casino having its own EDM club, the press dubbed Las Vegas the EDM capital of the world. Journalists also made comparisons between Ibiza and Las Vegas by calling it the new Ibiza of electronic dance music (Feldberg 2011; Rilling 2008). Publicity statements made by the event organizers described the EDC as the largest North American dance music festival in the United States. EDM provided the media and local officials with an easily marketable product they believed fell in line with the Las Vegas party lifestyle.

Also following EDC's success in 2010, Live Nation, a publicly-traded multinational company that produced the majority of music events in North America, tried its hand at producing its own traveling EDM festival. The event was largely unsuccessful due to Live Nation's lack of familiarity with how to produce EDM events, as they structured theirs more like a rock concert. Instead of seamless DJ performances, production managers paused the music between the acts. They also utilized amphitheaters and other arena-seated venues, which made their events less conducive to dancing. More to the point, they sought to supplant established EDM promoters who understood the EDM subculture. For most of the dates, Live Nation gave away hundreds if not thousands of tickets, more than they sold. Even still, the event was sparsely attended. While the tour was repeated the following year, it too was a failure.

In 2011, in the wake of their failed attempts to produce EDM events themselves, major corporations began making offers to the largest EDM event organizers. Companies like AEG, Live Nation, and SFX Entertainment realized to be successful as EDM promoters, they would have to utilize the established promoters themselves. This strategy was exactly what SFX founder Robert F.X. Sillerman did in the 1990's with rock music (Budnick and Baron 2011), buying out major rock promoters across the United States. Sillerman realized that individually, their profit margins were small and the business very risky, but collectively, they provided a great business opportunity (Budnick and Baron 2011). Through his efforts Sillerman created and eventually sold the company now known as Live Nation. Sillerman recognized that EDM was in a period of growth, not unlike what he saw in rock music, and made one of the earliest attempts to buy out EDM promoters. Donnie Estopinal and Pasquale Rotella, two major EDM promoters, who had merged their own companies in 2006, separated over this issue. Estopinal kept and re-branded his touring DJ network as Disco Donnie Presents, which was the first company bought by Sillerman. On June 5, 2012, the week of the EDMbiz conference (held annually in Las Vegas one week prior to EDC), the *New York Times* ran an article announcing the deal and Sillerman's plans to buy up other EDM businesses. To date, SFX Entertainment now owns, or is at least a 50% stakeholder, in sixteen different companies. Most of these companies produce music festivals, but the conglomerate consists of other companies including Beatport (an EDM file sharing service), Flavorus (an EDM ticketing company), and Disco Productions (producers of hundreds of events across the U.S., usually in nightclubs). While Rotella accused Estopinal of selling out, he too would eventually sell part of his company, Insomniac, to Live Nation.

Shorly after the merger, between Estopinal and Sillerman, SFX became listed on the NASDAQ, making it the first publicly traded company devoted solely to EDM. On October 19,

2013, Sillerman stood alongside Nick Leonardus van de Wall, better known as DJ Afrojack, to

ring the closing bell on Wall Street (Ross 2015). EDM had achieved an unparalleled status as a

fully legitimized corporately organized culture industry. Many fans and industry insiders

referred to it as a symbolic death knell. Soon thereafter, other EDM companies which had held

out also began to sell.

The owners of EDM production companies were cautious in how they explained their

decisions to sell. Rotella, for example, reframed his decision as a "creative partnership" between

himself and Live Nation. He describes it in the following letter to his fans:

Dear Headliners, Family and Friends,

For nearly 20 years, I have dedicated my entire existence to working hard to provide you
with the greatest experiences imaginable. You, the fans, are the ones that have made
Insomniac's incredible success possible and it has been a dream come true for me to put
on these events for you.

In order to continue to achieve these dreams, inspire you, and produce events on a scale
grander than anyone ever has, I realized that Insomniac needed to do something more and
to create strategic partnerships that would continue to make it possible. For me,
Insomniac is more than just a company; it's a passion that began when I was a teenager
standing on street corners and handing out flyers to promote my first events. That's why I
take all aspects of choosing any partner so seriously and personally.

I am pleased to announce that Insomniac and Live Nation have formed a creative
partnership that will take our events to the next level. I made this choice with my heart to
expand our dreams. Live Nation and their team truly respect and understand what we do
and why we do it. Together we will preserve and grow the spirit of our events and our
culture. This was not a decision that was based on who offered the most money, but who
is the best partner.

The Insomniac team, led by myself, will maintain complete creative control of all events,
just as we always have, only now we will all enjoy access to a much larger and diverse
variety of venues and resources. Our ticket prices will continue to be fair and reasonable
given the experience we provide and we will continue to surprise you and deliver more

than we advertise. Your joy, your comfort, and your safety will always be our top priority. I, and everyone at Insomniac, will continue to listen to you, communicate with you, and celebrate with you. Our headliners are the most important people in our world and the music and sense of community that brings us together will not change; we want you to be inspired every single time you attend one of our events…

Sincerely and with love

Pasquale (Rotella 2013).

Despite such assurances as these, involvement from these companies resulted in significant changes. Events such as the Electric Daisy Carnival held in Las Vegas, for example, attendees had to utilize Ticketmaster for Insomniac's events, corporate sponsorship came to dominate the event, and the types of venues used are increasingly corporately controlled arena style venues. One of the selling points made by the owners of EDM companies to fans was that the people who created them would stay in charge. Yet, many of the originators found themselves replaced by outsiders with more experience in corporate environments (Flanagan 2014).

There were also several important developments within the music and among the musicians themselves. Whereas in the previous era, EDM was shaped by the major recording industry; in this era, EDM was shaping pop music itself:

It's not that I've changed what I do. I'm a top 40 DJ. But, something happened. EDM became pop music, and pop music became EDM. The two learned from each other and changed. I still play top 40, it's just that top 40 is now EDM (Male, 35, DJ).

Pop musicians started sampling EDM artists. For example, Kanye West used the chorus of Daft Punk's "Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger" in 2007. This group, a DJ duo featuring Thomas Bangalter and Guy-Manuel de Homem-Christo, is known for its signature space-age costumes

complete with face-obscuring helmets. Very rarely, if ever, have fans actually seen their faces.

The duo was hired to produce the soundtrack and appear in the 2010 blockbuster, *Tron Legacy*, a

sequel to the 1982 movie, *Tron*. Their use of mystery, stage craft, and incorporation of multiple

music genres is emblematic of emerging EDM artists.

Figure 16. Rolling Stone Cover of Daft Punk

Other EDM artists, such as Adam Richards Wild, known as DJ Calvin Harris, are also producing songs alongside major pop icons. Harris's collaboration on the song "We Found Love," with pop singer Robyn Rihanna Fenty, better known as Rihanna, became the longest running number one single of 2011. Even more significant was longtime EDM veteran David Guetta's collaboration with the pop group, Black Eyed Peas. Together they produced the song, "I Got A Feeling," which, in 2009, became the best-selling song in iTunes history. Even Madonna eagerly jumped on the EDM bandwagon, with her 2012 release of MDNA (a clever play on MDMA, the chemical name for ecstasy), a pop style EDM album. She also was invited to introduce EDM artist Avicii at the Winter Music Conference (Sager 2012). The peak of the merger with mainstream music and EDM artists came in 2014 when EDM artists performed and were nominated for awards at the Grammy Awards ceremony.

While the second phase of the transformation of EDM saw the introduction of commercial elements into the subculture, in the third phase, these became the driving force. As one blogger explained:

> In short, EDM has been given a Hollywood makeover, of sorts, with brown roots frosted over, hairs plucked out, and form shaped to perfect starlet proportions. The so-called "improved" image, in turn, paints an artificial picture of the genre, with its classic traits obscured or removed (Test 2012).

The quote captures a core feature of what Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1972) saw as a major consequence of the culture industry: the colonization of authentic, indigenous cultures by corporate industries, undermining or negating their original values and critical capacity.

Media Coverage

The professionalization of EDM profoundly impacted the way it is today portrayed in the media. Now recognized as a legitimate business enterprise, the media began to cover EDM in a far more positive light. Indeed, the more corporatized EDM events have become, the more positive the portrayal by mainstream media sources. EDM promoters, DJs, and other industry professionals are regularly featured in national news publications (*Wall Street Journal*, *Forbes*, *Rolling Stone*, and *Billboard*), and on billboards throughout Las Vegas. The press emphasizes the dazzling lights, fireworks, the overwhelming sensory experience of EDM events and, most importantly, the amount of revenue they generate. While some negative press persists, it is marginal in comparison to news stories emphasizing these positive aspects of the music and its participants.

While, in the second era, the media only inadvertently played a role in popularizing EDM, promotion is now explicit. Ignoring all countercultural aspects of the original EDM subculture, the genre now receives significant hype. EDM promoters prominently advertise the precautions they take to minimize any deviant activity, and highlight their ties with public officials (see Figure 17). In this way, event organizers now portray themselves as promoting a legitimate form of entertainment. And by so doing, they further cement their place within the culture industry.

The change in how EDM is today viewed by the public is perhaps most significantly influenced by event organizers' utilization of public relations specialists. Instead of simply responding to the media, organizers began generating their own publicity about themselves. In the case of EDC, the use of economic impact studies provided them with data that journalists could use to sell papers, such as "How Music Festivals Pump Billions into the US Economy" or

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"Electric Daisy Carnival Brings $207 Million to Las Vegas' Economy" (Powell 2012; Shah 2015). These same stories also help advertise EDM organizers by publishing information such as the event dates, featured performers, and when tickets are to go on sale. Thus, the media is still involved in creating hysteria, but the intent is now to ignite consumer interests rather than negatively mobilize public officials.

EDM event organizers also have altered the way they advertise their events and promote their companies. One of the biggest changes that has taken place is the introduction of video ads, replacing the more traditional use of flyers. This change reflects broader changes due to the popularity and comparative costs of utilizing social media. EDM event corporations can now reach a larger audience, provide fans with more information, and utilize it in a much more cost efficient way. Organizers also have begun to produce thick informational booklets about their events detailing their history, maps of event spaces, and, for major EDM events, collectible ticket boxes (shipped when fans order tickets for the event). Organizers of the Electric Daisy Carnival have even begun producing their own feature-length documentaries, along with fifty-page glossy magazines distributed via news outlets in Las Vegas. These promotional items read like propaganda, presenting an image of EDM fans, organizers, and artists, as law abiding citizens.

Interaction with Officials

Today, EDM promoters and fans appear not in handcuffs, but rather shaking hands with politicians and law enforcement (see Figures 17 and 18). Many event organizers now use state-owned venues such as parks, fairgrounds, and coliseums and market their events as EDM concerts—not as "raves," which carries a social stigma that EDM promoters want to avoid. They also promote the increasingly popular idea among civic leaders that culturally-vibrant events like EDM concerts will attract a more highly-educated population that will in turn attract

new businesses to create jobs, helping to jumpstart their struggling economies (see Florida 2009). Some EDM promoters even approach public officials directly, presenting them with economic impact studies to show that their events do indeed have this sort of effect.

Figure 17. Pasquale Rotella and Las Vegas Mayor Oscar Goodman

Also, most EDM events are now planned in conjunction with city officials and employ unformed police officers to patrol the festival grounds in order to ensure the safety of attendees. Amnesty bins are another recent innovation being employed by EDM promoters in order to reduce drug use at their events. These containers are placed at the entrance to major EDM events

alongside signs encouraging participants carrying illegal drugs to dispose of them in the bins. In an Orwellian twist, some EDM festival organizers are even beginning to employ drone technology to look for any instances of illegal activity. Rather than resisting public officials attempts to monitor these events, organizers now stood alongside them to ensure conformity among attendees.

Figure 18. Fan and Police Officer Exchange Kandi

Despite local law enforcements close involvement with EDM events, some officials have asked promoters to add additional security measures. One of the more recent strategies to combat drug use at some EDM events is the use of PSA commercials displayed on video screens. These commercials warn festival goers of the dangers of illicit drug use, which attendees are forced to watch prior to entering some EDM events. I also heard rumors that promoters now are

allowing undercover sting operations at their events. Some DJs have commented on these recent developments as the emergence of a police state within the EDM subculture. Thus, whereas promoters of early EDM events actively resisted law enforcement, today they have become incorporated into the new systems of control.

<p style="text-align:center">Industry Professional reactions</p>

In this third phase, EDM events have become even more standardized in order to allow not only for easier reproduction, but also predictability. In many EDM nightclubs, especially those in Las Vegas, this is made possible by the use of communications technologies such as short-range radios. These allow for coordination between DJs, auxiliary performers such as dancers, lighting technicians, and club managers. Many Las Vegas nightclubs also have designed elaborate productions that are specifically timed at predetermined intervals. In one such space, the DJ is told a specific song to play at the top of the hour, a pre-set light show is made to match the song, and dancers then perform a choreographed routine. Like sailors preparing for an oncoming wave, security, performers, and technicians scramble to take their places in order to be in position to coordinate their actions according to the scripted routine.

The establishment of a DJ tour circuit has become a crucial mechanism for standardizing EDM gatherings. Previously, DJs were flown in to cities for their performances. The result, for DJs, was a sporadic tour schedule. In 2002, Donnie Estopinal created a network of promoters who coordinated their shows in conjunction with one another. Soon after, DJs began utilizing tour buses to travel between performances because it was less expensive. In order to maintain the network, the organizers working under Estopinal had to make everything standardized. As the network became more established, more and more EDM events were produced, thereby

making it easier to rely on the same venues, staff, and other personnel. Having to negotiate and find a new venue for each show would have posed a logistical nightmare since Estopinal was negotiating for bulk pricing. DJs circulated around the U.S. similar to items placed on a conveyor belt, playing the same cities, the same venues for often the same crowds, and utilizing the same established professionals. While this made it easier to produce these events, it also meant that some cities were cut off as they lacked the numbers to make it economically-viable for performers to travel there. Thus, EDM events now tend to concentrate in highly urban areas such as Chicago, Detroit, Miami, Houston, Denver, Los Angeles, and Las Vegas.

Festivals and EDM massives, so named due to the large lineup and production scale, employ a variety of techniques unique to these kinds of gatherings. Festivals like EDC are often planned out an entire year in advance. Most importantly, the organizers also hire a large number of workers at these events to:

> Ensure that each time a fan comes to the show, they have the same level of experience (Male, 39, Promoter).

The purpose is to ensure a uniformity and predictability. Practically, the staff act to ensure that performers go on at their predetermined times, that coordinated performances take place as planned, and that everything takes place with clock-like precision. EDM festivals and massive events also utilize multiple stages. These are predesigned and often utilize many of the same pieces from year to year:

> When we plan, we try to think five years ahead. The idea is that we develop a theme that we are going to stick with for some time. We also consider how much can be reused at different events (Male, 45, Promoter).

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One EDM professional told me that a big reason for the uniformity is due to the relatively small number of companies involved in designing stages at EDM events. From my sources, in 2012, only four companies existed which could produce the stages required by massive events. While promoters came up with varied designs, the behind-the-scenes work was done by third parties who worked with various festival producers.

Additionally, promoters, artist agencies, and other industry professionals worked together to ensure they maintained an oligopoly on EDM. At the EDMbiz conference, one of the ways this was framed was by professionals talking about maintaining the community. While not explicit, they spoke of working with those who had "an established reputation" as EDM promoters and not working with newcomers. The main talk during the 2011 EDMbiz Conference concerned how to maintain a sense of community in an era of rising profits. The real focus of the panel was to allow key industry insiders to communicate that they would continue to work with those whom they had a pre-established relationship, provided they continued to make them money. They concluded the talk by advising those individuals wanting to get into the business that they should align themselves with those who had already established themselves, and work under them first.

In addition to the standardization of EDM events, organizers also employ strategies which are best understood as elements of pseudo-individualization. EDM promoters who I talked with and heard speak at music conferences discussed organizing their events as "experiences." Framing EDM events as experiences was also a way that organizers tried to claim a connection with earlier incarnations of these events. They used the term to talk about the more social non-musical, aspects of their events. Some of these features included carnival rides, interactive artwork, and performers who circulated throughout the event, providing a sense of

spontaneity (see Figure 19, 20, and 21 for examples). They also went to great lengths in order to create opportunities for fans to interact with one another in meaningful ways. EDC, for example, has a wedding chapel for individuals to get married and spaces for photo opportunities. Many event organizers also provided chat programs whereby individuals could communicate with others at the event. The organizers of one EDM event provided bracelets that, with the press of a button, allowed for attendees to exchange contact information so they could remain in touch after the event.

Figure 19. Art Installations (Screen Capture From Insomniac.com)

Figure 20. Roaming Performers (Screen Capture from You Tube User GordoGato)

Figure 21. Art Car (Screen Capture from Insomniac.com)

At the 2012 EDMbiz conference, panelists also talked about making the fan the experience. One EDM festival promoter even used the slogan, "you are the experience." These professionals encouraged individuals to dress up and to participate in the production of these events. Taken as a whole, what organizers were trying to do was get attendees to create memories and meaning, thereby generating a sense of authenticity. Fans were encouraged to share their stories, pictures, or even talk about it on camera for documentaries being produced.

The notion of experience also referred to the simulated uniqueness of design and staging of festival events, using fireworks, laser lights, and other tactics to create an environment that overwhelmed the senses. Additionally, top EDM companies produced differently-themed events. In many cases, the same performers were featured but the décor, title, and marketing materials were slightly altered.

Despite these techniques to make EDM events more interactive, they also were becoming increasingly bureaucratically organized. At the 2010 Electric Daisy Carnival, event organizers provided an incredibly elaborate list of more than fifty rules of "do's" and "don't's" for attendees to follow (see Figures 22 and 22.1). Even volunteering for the event became bureaucratically organized. I was allowed to volunteer for the 2010 EDC in exchange for a ticket to the event. I was required to log my hours, take pictures, and provide specific details as to the location of where I passed out flyers advertising the event. I was also asked to pass out flyers on the Las Vegas strip, even at 4 a.m. when the festival closed. Recent participants in the volunteer program are now required to wear a uniform, and put down a sizeable deposit ($700) to ensure that they behave at the event and work the mandated number of hours.

Figure 22. Rules of EDC

FESTIVAL POLICIES

- **NO** Re-entry/Ins & Outs Per Day
- **NO** Camping
- **NO** Refunds or Exchanges
- **NO** Sitting on Designated Dance Floor Areas
- **NO** Moshing, Crowd Surfing or Stage Diving
- **NO** Unauthorized/Unlicensed Vendors Allowed
- **NO** Unauthorized Solicitations, Handbills, Sampling, Give-Aways, etc
- **NO** Tailgating

ACCEPTABLE ITEMS

- **YES** Small Bags, Single Compartment Backpacks and Purses (maximum 12"×12")
- **YES** Reusable Water Bottles (must be empty upon entry)
- **YES** Fanny Packs
- **YES** Non-Professional Flash/Still Cameras
- **YES** Cell Phones
- **YES** Sunglasses
- **YES** Hats
- **YES** Lighters
- **YES** Closed Packs of Cigarettes
- **YES** Sealed/Wrapped Tampons
- **YES** Earplugs
- **YES** Sealed Chapstick and Lipgloss
- **YES** Powdered Makeup
- **YES** Glowsticks
- **YES** Glowing/Illuminated Costumes or Jewelry
- **YES** Sealed Packs of Gum
- **YES** Prescription Medication (You must bring physician's prescription and consult with an Insomniac Safety Officer upon entry)
- **YES** Camelbaks (empty upon entry). While the size doesn't matter, they must have no more than two compartments and one smaller compartment.
- **YES** Plush Backpacks
- **YES** Hula Hoops (Even LED Hula Hoops)
- **YES** Inflatables (must be deflated upon entry)
- **YES** Flags/Banners or Handmade Signs (No corporate/company branded and no hard flag poles)
- **YES** Festival Totems! We accept all totem materials that are no larger than 1" in diameter. Decorated pool noodles are also okay to bring! (any object deemed dangerous will not be allowed inside)
- **YES** Handheld Camera Devices (e.g., Sony Action Cam, GoPro. Must be 6" in size or less)
- **YES** GoPro extendable poles
- **YES** Disposable E-Cigs are okay to bring! However, rechargeable e-cig vaporizers with refillable liquid chambers will not be permitted into the event.

PROHIBITED ITEMS

- **NO** Illegal Substances
- **NO** Drugs or Drug Paraphernalia
- **NO** Pets
- **NO** Messagers
- **NO** Laser Pointers
- **NO** LED Gloves or LED Microlights used for Light Shows
- **NO** Pacifiers or Dust Masks or Gas Masks
- **NO** Eyedrops (available inside festival at the General Store)
- **NO** Over-The-Counter Medication
- **NO** Liquid Makeup
- **NO** Glass, Cans, Cups or Coolers
- **NO** Markers, Pens or Spray Paint
- **NO** Large Chains or Spiked Jewelry
- **NO** Stickers, Flyers
- **NO** Balls or Frisbees
- **NO** Tents, Large Umbrellas, Chairs or Blankets
- **NO** Backpacks Over 12"×12"
- **NO** Bota Bags
- **NO** Large Purses or Bags (Anything Over 12"×12")
- **NO** Stuffed Animals or Dolls
- **NO** Open Packs of Cigarettes or Unsealed Tampons (Upon Entry)
- **NO** Outside Food or Beverages (Including Alcohol and Candy)
- **NO** Weapons of any Kind (Includes Pocket Knives, Pepper Spray, Fireworks, etc.)
- **NO** Professional Recording Equipment – Photo, Video, or Audio (No Detachable Lenses, Tripods, Big Zooms or Commercial Use Rigs)

Figure 22.1. Continued Rules of EDC

ACCEPTABLE FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION FOR ENTRY

Any U.S. government issued driver's license or identification card provided that it contains a photograph and date of birth. A U.S. or foreign government issued passport containing a photograph and date of birth

We now accept foreign driver's license and IDs. You must bring a colored photocopy of your passport along with your ID in order to gain entry.

UNACCEPTABLE FORMS OF IDENTIFICATION FOR ENTRY

School identification. Consular identification. Birth certificates. Xerox copies of any identification.

SAFETY & MEDICAL

Insomniac is dedicated to providing a safe environment for the fans, the staff, the artists, and everyone else who helps make this event a reality. Public and private security and professional medical staff will be present throughout the entire event. If you need any assistance please look for Medical and information tent(s), or seek out a peace officer or event staff member.

PLEASE BRING

- Your Ticket
- Your Photo ID (please see identification details)
- Smiles
- Comfortable Clothing and Shoes
- Good Vibes

Encouraged
- Festive Outfits and Costumes

SECURITY ENTRY

Every attendee will be searched prior to entry into the event. This include members of the media. By purchasing a ticket, you agree to submit to a thorough TSA style search, including emptying your pockets and bags, a full pat down, having all of your items examined and possibly removing your shoes. Police officers will be working inside and outside of the event. All narcotics laws will be strictly enforced. We reserve the right to refuse entry to anyone.

ZERO TOLERANCE FOR DRUG USE OR POSSESSION

The use or possession of any illegal drugs will not be tolerated anywhere inside or outside the venue. Narcotics officers will be working both areas and enforcing all drug related laws. Do not bring any illegal substances to the event as violators will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. If you are found intoxicated at the door, security will not allow you to enter the venue. Event staff reserves the right to refuse entry to anyone. Please come with a smile and be prepared to enjoy the full festival experience of Electric Daisy Carnival.

During this phase, the role of DJs was radically transformed, "professionalized" and commodified. As one accountant I met at the EDMbiz 2014 conference explained:

> So what I do is set up different shell corporations to handle the different aspects of DJs. One corporation might handle a DJ's live performance, another handles their broadcasting rights, and I've set up some to handle the licensing rights of their image. So one thing we do is when a DJ's image is used on the flyer, one of the corporations will sell the image to another company; that way, there is something happening on paper. I also take care of their visas so they can come over. If they create businesses here, they can also become citizens. When you get into being an international DJ, it is really complicated. Since they are dealing with so much money, they also have to get creative in how things are set up. My firm only handles three DJs total because it is so much work (Male, 25, Industry Professional).

When industry professionals spoke about innovation, creativity, community, and collaboration, they were only interested in how these could be used to generate profit. This was a remarkable shift from the original version of the EDM subculture where these principles were the cornerstones of a more humanistic subculture. At the 2014 EDMbiz conference, only one booth out of thirty represented this older notion of an EDM subculture. The booth was devoted to creating awareness of the environmental aspects of music festivals (trash, electricity, *and* other issues of environmental sustainability), and to the cultural ideals which were once expressed as PLUR (peace, love, unity, respect). This group, however, seemed highly out of place amid vendors competing for the business of festival and event producers, DJs looking for ways they could become noticed, and recent college graduates wanting to work in the business. They were marginalized, ignored, and even scoffed at by this newer breed of industry insiders.

While standardizing their shows, touring EDM DJs also hired a small staff to coordinate tour dates from city to city. While this helps standardize a similar performance, it stifles any local innovation. For example, one regular touring DJ I spoke with hired a lighting production manager, a sound engineer, a tour manager, and paid for the opening DJ act which accompanied

him on the road. Additionally, touring DJs also send out light and stage plots ahead of their

scheduled performances. These documents instruct organizers on how everything on stage is

supposed to be arranged, how the venue will be lighted, and any restrictions they might require.

Some even specify how much space there will be between them and the audience, and if any

barricades are to be present. They also have started requesting specific brands of equipment.

Standardization also characterizes how the DJs perform. They describe the EDM songs

they play in terms of a slow buildup of intensity, a change in rhythm they refer to as the "drop,"

and then a return to the original rhythm. Thus, EDM has come to resemble other forms of

musical creation that follow a formula. The group, DJs From Mars, wrote a song entitled "Fat

Ass Drop" whose lyrics read:

How to produce a club track today
Just follow the instructions and you'll be an electronic music producer in no time
Step number one, open your cracked software and import a random loop like this

Now you need a fat ass drop (a fat ass drop)
Here comes the clap (a fat ass drop)
Military drums
Don't forget some wobbles
Now and then, use a crash
Snare drums, can't get enough

Okay, now we need some fat distortion
More distortion
I said more distortion
Time for another fat ass drop

Make some noise with stadium horns
Take out the bass drum
Break down
Hi hats

Now it's the time for a break
Stop the beat, hit some keys
And call it melody

Now add some vocal cuts, like this
And one more fat ass drop
Military drums
Now create a Facebook page and post this crap (DJs From Mars, 2013)

This progression has also begun to appear in how DJs construct not only songs, but their entire performance. It also influences the schedule of their performances, with more mellow DJs playing at the early time slots, and those who perform more intensely playing during the middle and later time slots. This produces a homogenization of sound among the top performing artists all competing for the same time slots. Even the promoter for EDC noted this by commenting on his own event:

Even Electric Daisy Carnival -- which to many epitomizes the genre's flashy new this year, is dedicated to electronic music's greatest hits of the past few decades. Insomniac founder, Pasquale Rotella ,says the fest will also put veteran acts on the mainstage in an effort to expose younger audiences to different sounds. "Last year, I was happy about the show," Rotella says of EDC 2012, "but you would hear, no joke, some of the same tracks on the biggest stage eight or ten times." (Bain, 2013)

In an attempt to distinguish, or "pseudo-individualize" themselves, DJ now put on spectacular stage productions consisting of massive laser light shows, fireworks and other pyrotechnics, dance troupes, animated projections produced on LED screens, incredible stage designs, and by wearing wild costumes. DJs, promoters, and other industry professionals all confessed at the EDMbiz conference, and to me in interviews, that this shift was motivated by the fact that the modern EDM DJ is uninteresting to look at. This was echoed in interviews with top producing DJs such as this one:

I'm just so sick of hearing the "NO!!! IM NOT JUST DOING THIS, I HAVE 6 TABLES UP THERE AND I DO THIS THIS AND THIS." Like…honestly. Who gives a fuck? I don't have any shame in admitting that for "unhooked" sets...I just roll up with a laptop

and a midi controller and "select" tracks and hit a spacebar. Ableton [a DJ program used in live performances] syncs the shit up for me…so no beat matching [or] skill [is] required. "Beat matching" isn't even a fucking skill, as far as I'm concerned anyway. So what, you can count to 4. Cool. I had that skill down when I was 3, so don't give me that argument, please.

My "skills" and other PRODUCERS skills shine where it needs to shine…in the goddamned studio, and on the fucking releases. That's what counts…because this whole big "EDM" is taking over fad, I'm not going to let it go thinking that people assume there's a guy on a laptop up there producing new original tracks on the fly. Because none of the "top DJs in the world" to my knowledge have. Myself included.

You know what makes the EDM show the crazy amazing show that it is? You guys do, the fans, the people who came to appreciate the music, the lights, all the other people who came; we just facilitate the means and the pretty lights and the draw of more awesome people like you by our studio productions. Which is exactly what it is. But to stand up and say you're doing something special outside of a studio environment when you're not just plain fuckin' annoys me (Zimmerman 2012).

It is important to remember, however, that these changes were largely a response to changes in the culture manufactured by EDM event organizers. It has become increasingly rare to see people dancing at contemporary EDM events. Most people just stand and watch the giant screens, laser light shows, fireworks, and other visual stimuli. This represents a stark contrast to the original subculture which was specifically organized around dancing. It is not surprising, then, that how to enhance the appearance of DJs was a consistent theme at the EDMbiz conference. Several companies offered suggestions, such as a touch screen turntable, that allows fans to see what the DJ is doing (see Figure 23 below) and machines which produce holograms to appear on stage.

Figure 23. Smithson and Martin Emulator DJ Deck

One thing seems clear: promoters are starting to see the DJ as a figurehead who just "pushes play." DJs themselves, however, also tried to become more inventive in creating gimmicks, as in the case of Deadmau5 (real name, Joel Zimmerman), who performs while wearing a mouse helmet (see Figure 24).

Figure 24. Deadmau5 in His Signature Mouse Helmet

Another notable change that occurred in how DJs interacted with fans was in the way

they released their music. In the days of the early EDM subculture, DJs gave away their music

as mix tapes, and in the second phase as CD mixes, and today as free digital downloads. A rising

concern has arisen among industry professionals regarding DJs giving away free mixes (recorded

live performances) and originally produced songs. As one professional stated:

There's going to be a critical mass that will swing to the side of the copyright owner, which is what this business really is about: owning copyrights, publishing the masters. And as we continue to cross into this new world, there's enough revenue being generated that the copyright owner can protect himself again, which we have not been able to do for the last 15 years. All these other pieces that you and your lawyers work out. And, by the way, it's the artist's responsibility to get the best deal for themselves, as it is the label's responsibility to get their best deal. This is business. This is not a charity. We're not in this to give it away for free; we are in this to make money. I don't want this to be a charity business. The day it becomes a charity business, we're all in trouble.

All of that said, I believe that the definition of "fair" and "not fair" market value, all these things, is totally *valid*, but will eventually swing to the side of the copyright owner. Within ten years, the copyright owner will be king. I believe that. I believe that we are about to hit not just the copyright owner, but music specifically versus movies and television. They have a much lower barrier to entry, a much lower investment cost to make great artists. The amount of money that they had to invest in Lady Gaga, [that] was probably one of the biggest albums in the last few years, was peanuts compared to what *The Transformers* grossed for the summer (Male, unknown age, Agent).

Shortly after the 2014 EDMbiz conference, where the above quote came from, many DJs found themselves banned from virtual spaces that had been used to release mixes due to copyright infringement issues. One EDM enthusiast pointed out that this directive came from music industry professionals who had only recently entered the genre. He also noted the irony of how the movement started in opposition to this kind of commodification of culture. Soundcloud.com and other spaces utilized by DJs are now partially owned by record labels, forcing them to comply with copyright laws. The end result is what one DJ called "the death of the middle class DJ," who lacked the finances and clout to properly license the tracks they produced. Thus, a homogenizing effect is occurring where older EDM songs are heard less as labels freely give permission for newer releases to be used (or they are made significantly less expensive).

While some DJs have today accumulated massive fortunes, prompting *Forbes* magazine

to create a listing of the top earning DJs on their website in 2012 (Greenburg 2012), those who

lack the backing of major labels talked with me about increasingly being marginalized. These

DJs refer to themselves as the DJ middle class, or as "just a club DJ." A panelist at the EDMbiz

2011 conference consisting of EDM professionals talked about this change:

> You go back 10 years, 12 years, 15 years. DJs created their identity solely on what they were doing as DJs. What they were playing, because they were playing records other guys didn't have. Now the model is, all music is available to everyone immediately. So what sets people apart now more than it was then is the records they are producing and how the record is attached to a lot of what the panel before was talking about. So that's the paradigm shift – identifying artists who were extremely creative DJs versus producers who are doing cutting edge things. There are a lot of producers succeeding and then wanting to transition to live performance.
>
> The era of a DJ just strictly playing tracks in a club and curating the music is over. With DJs, you're not going to find one that's strictly producer-based. This is because the press is not going to follow someone unless they have a record to promote. Going back in time to 15 years ago, this wasn't the case (Male, unknown age, EDM Journalist).

Another EDM professional was very candid with me about this during a personal interview:

> All of these guys talking about peace and love and all that bullshit, it's not. If we're not careful, they will choke it off. This was a rule that was broken in underground and in clubs. They're choking that aspect of it off. Where are warehouse parties now? So okay, we'll do a warehouse party. Then these DJs come in with festival riders, and now it's not an underground show anymore. The cost to build these venues is tremendous, so now you try to do a warehouse show where it used to be $5 to get in; and now you've got to charge $75! The essence of what a warehouse underground party is about, it's not, it's bullshit. Corporate sponsorship is fine if it helps keep the cost of tickets down; they have a method to their madness. The margin is getting smaller and smaller. The room for error is smaller and smaller. Now you have a situation where it's sort of, when you hear about the economy and there's no middle class anymore, I'm starting to see it (Male, 50, Venue Owner).

Being a DJ who consistently received bookings now means having the backing of a major

record label, which provides sophisticated equipment and helps in producing original music.

The notion that DJs are curators of music, taste makers, or that they provided some other

function beyond producing music and touring had changed. Instead, they are now measured by

their revenue-producing capacity. Thus, the truly innovative DJs have been marginalized, and

with their traditional outlets being commodified, the DJ's role had become another rung in the

culture industry's production chain.

Given all of these changes, it is perhaps not a coincidence that EDM festivals featuring

unparalleled stage productions emerged. The 2014 EDC event stage was reportedly the largest

stage ever assembled in North America. One EDM fan site put this into perspective saying:

> EDC Las Vegas welcomed high standards leading up to Insomniac's annual highlight
> festival, particularly directed towards their main stage. The production team definitely
> didn't disappoint. The "Kinetic Cathedral" located at the "Kinetic Field" was the largest
> stage ever constructed in North America. Let's put it into perspective:
>
> The stage was 440 feet long. That's 147 yards which is 27 yards longer than a football
> field: Goal post to goal post. Almost 6 times larger than the stage used during Pink
> Floyd's "The Wall" tour, and more than double U2's 360 tour stage that held the previous
> record.
>
> Just shy of 80 feet tall, this stage was roughly the size of a 7-floor building. If there was
> a single flight of stairs going to the top of the stage, it would have about 140 steps.
>
> The Cathedral also featured 28 LED displays, 1,000 light fixtures, 30 lasers, and required
> 2.5 million watts of power to function (EDM Sauce 2014).

Amidst this spectacular stage design, DJs are swallowed whole by walls of LED lights

and lasers. DJs in turn are less worried about notions of artistic excellence, and more concerned

with the visual aspects of their performance. While the festival experience has become the

preferred site for top producing DJs, for many older fans, the festival experience is a far less

intimate one than the EDM events they first attended. One industry professional, a promoter and

nightclub owner, had the following observation:

> I also think there are a lot of false fronts in the business these days. A lot of people wrestling for control. Is it good to have 3 people calling all the shots? That's dangerous as well. When it comes down to the money, all of these individuals, kids doing freefall things, it's more difficult for them. They can't get talent. There's a festival, all this festivity, and DJs can't play anymore for 6 months anywhere, and you do a big festival, it really hurts. So many facets of the festivals. Tommy Trash is playing Electric Zoo, and he can't play a club. And you like Tommy Trash...you want to see him in a club where you can connect and be there. You go to a festival, you may be a quarter of a mile from the stage. So how does that help Tommy Trash develop? But he'll probably get paid more to do a festival. And then the agents kowtow to the bigger festivals, because that helps make the DJs get more money and it's this vicious cycle...I brought that up last year. I brought it up on the panel, closing comments. And they cut my mic off. It's just suffocating and now what we're starting to see is several of these $40-50,000 DJs now have completely lost their identities because they're not playing at the clubs. They're not exclusive now. And these festivals now with 80,000 tickets, you don't know who's actually bringing in the people. So now they're in shows and not selling tickets. Your fan bases are deteriorating rapidly if you're not a superstar, and there's only a handful of superstars. That's what everybody is ignoring, that fact, because they don't want to, you know. That's something you should include because...why would you make it so your fans can't see you 6 months out of the year? Why are you doing that if you care? It's bullshit (Male, 50, Club Owner).

Fans' Reactions

Fans of electronic dance music today may generally be divided into two groups: those who are usually but not always older who still embrace the values of PLUR which defined the original rave subculture, and those who are either unaware or uninterested, if not downright hostile to, these countercultural values. This latter group greatly outnumbers the older, former rave enthusiasts. The older, long time participants in the EDM subculture are critical of what they see as the encroachment of corporate forces. One of the issues they feel particularly strong about is the increasing presence of outsiders. As one fan-turned investigative journalist wrote:

> Meanwhile, the mainstreaming of electronic dance music has ensured that a once tight-knit underground community has been replaced by hordes of agro fans who didn't realize that artists like Swedish House Mafia and Avicii are directly descended from the old school house of Detroit and Chicago (Bain 2013).

As the above quote suggests, these longtime fans see the younger generation as participating in a culture whose history they do not understand. As one journalist wrote:

> Amazingly, EDM has discovered how to sell itself to straight, white, American teenage boys. The very same lot that, had they lived decades earlier, might have been burning disco music in Comiskey Park. This time around, unmistakably, the movement is fronted largely by white guys, and you'd be hard pressed to find any gay subtext, aside from the shirtless bros bumping into each other in the crowds (Munzenrieder 2013).

The above quote also points out the irony that such popularity has marginalized many of those responsible for creating the EDM subculture, and attracting those were once its enemies. However, many newer fans are simply uninformed about the history of EDM. I spoke with one such individual:

Before attending EDC, I didn't even know a culture existed. Then when I came here, I was really happy to find out that there was a whole community and culture behind the music (Female, 22, Fan).

Some older fans have tried to reach out to these persons. However, they feel that their efforts were undermined by the scale and magnitude of attending an EDM event.

These fans explained to me that what was at stake for them was not only remembering the history of the music, but also the very essence of the culture itself. They talked about the dissolution of the values, beliefs, and rituals that had distinguished them as a subculture of like-minded individuals. They spoke of feeling a loss of the connection with other participants that once was the main focus of EDM events, and talked about a change in how individuals treated and connected with one another, as in the following passage:

> The tone of MW-Raves, says Labocitch, "was very collegial. People were giving each other rides to parties and helping people out. You could be a 16-year-old kid and say, 'Hey, can somebody pick me up from my parents' house?' And somebody would drive out, pick you up from your parents' house, take you to a party, and return you. There were no thoughts like, "Something bad's going to happen to me" (Matos 2011).

Many individuals I spoke with talked about how the notions of PLUR were being lost. As one anonymous blogger posted to an EDM group:

> What is happening to our community? It's become so negative and is revolving around trends. What happened to loving and uplifting one another? Can we take a step back and really remember what raves are about?
>
> [PLUR is] certainly not about drugs or your outfit. It's about uniting with like-minded people; people uplifting one another. Loving one another. Coming together to forget all the negativity in the rest of the world. Where we hug each other and smile, exchange kandi, and give a tiny piece of our hearts to a complete stranger. C'mon. Let's bring back PLUR (Female, 25, EDM Fan).

Additionally, these fans were critical of large scale EDM events. An article in *The Guardian*

captured this spirit:

> The increasingly bread-head and circus-like aspects of EDM have provoked a backlash
> from those who feel dance culture is swapping underground intimacy in favor of soul-
> less bombast that stuns and stupefies audiences into slack-jawed submission. The *Wall
> Street Journal*, of all places, recently railed against, "The Dumbing Down of Electronic
> Dance Music." Long time west coast rave watcher Dennis Romero penned a caustic
> verdict for *LA Weekly* on this June's Vegas EDC: "A press-play parade of millionaires
> going through the motions." Dance Safe's Messer, a veteran of the idealistic PLUR
> (peace, love, unity, respect) oriented rave underground of the 90's, complains that the
> dance festivals offer a "packaged, containerized experience...these events are all about
> raging hard, getting as fucked up as you can. Not necessarily even about dancing, just
> being a face in this giant extravaganza" (Reynolds 2012).

Fans not only discussed feeling disconnected from artists at these events, but from other fans

themselves. As a participant observer at these events, people rarely, if ever, said hello to me. I

was approached by only a small number of individuals. When I approached others, I was treated

rather coldly. One reporter had the following story:

> This thinking harkened back to my early days in New York in the early 2000's, the time
> when I went out to clubs the most and enjoyed myself the least, always wondering how
> everyone knew each other and what it felt to be liked and have a great time. In a crowd,
> the feeling of isolation has long felt like home to me. I'm a lot less awkward and self-
> conscious than I used to be, but it strikes me that the profound aloneness I felt as a result
> of my self-imposed isolation at EDC was a very similar emotional experience to how I've
> always felt in big groups where there is dance music playing. This is why I usually enjoy
> dance music all by myself through headphones. It's been that way since I was 12,
> jamming solo to Black Box and C+C Music Factory. And it's still often that way. The
> world is engaging with dance music on hugely visible levels, but even when I'm listening
> to and loving the same Top 40 pop trash as everyone else, I'm doing it alone with my
> iPod at the gym or on the subway. The illusion of unity is offered, but inessential. Until,
> that is, you find yourself in a crowd, confronted by just how alone you are.
>
> I know I could have penetrated the crowd and turned on the charm just for the sake of
> socialization. I interviewed people on VH1 reality shows for years – I can talk to anyone.
> But what was the point in making friends for a few hours, or a few days? With 20-year-

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olds? Why bother? To make the MDMA-kissed equivalent of camp friends that I'd get to see when we did it all over again next year? (Juzwiak, 2012).

EDM fans however, had a variety of different reactions ranging from the ones above to those who were more accepting of these changes.

The above quote also points out older fans' displeasure with not being able to dance because of the large crowds and the physical layout of the new events. Moreover, many older dance music enthusiasts feel self-conscious in the face of outsiders not committed to the values of the subculture. Finally, older fans expressed frustration with how newer fans used the notion of PLUR to justify what they saw as excessive drug and alcohol use. Many also noted that the huge crowds, tightly-packed venues, and lack of access to water actually made these events less safe both for those using and not using drugs.

Older participants described the newer male fans as part of what they derisively referred to as the "bro' culture." A recent blog post by Saraceno (2013), an EDM enthusiast, both depicts with a photo (see Figure 25) and describes at length the problematic nature of bro' culture in the eyes of long term fans:

Figure 25. Screen Capture of CJ Saraceno's Blog Showing Bros'

It's also the purveyor of cultural ideals that stand in direct conflict with rave culture's ideals. New York is about getting things done with a purpose. New York is not about nonchalantly stumbling upon someone or something to help or assist. It's about me, me, me (and my money, my job, my things).

For the East Coast, EDM events like EZoo are not cultural harbingers of a changing tide in post-Millennium culture. Rather, they are little white suburban meccas for frat boys to take lethal doses of MDMA. They can't be anything more because the dominant culture prevents it. It doesn't play well with the current mindset.

For proof, imagine presenting the idea of there being some greater rave-type EDM-culture forming in today's youth generations to a New Yorker. "Do you think today's youth are becoming more connected, more concerned with one another's wellbeing, and do you think it has something to do with EDM culture?" The idea would be dismissed as "hippy-dippy shit" as they'd exit the conversation to check their email or grab a delicious bagel.

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Seeing events like EZoo where you have 23 Syracuse frat bros getting bussed in
to do "molly" and finance guys getting together to ditch the suit & go pound bears
and "grind up on sluts," while girls from Providence, RI with thick accents talking
about Aveeeecheee, pulling out their camera phones so they can capture moments
on their devices. These are the worst parts of EDM. And Electric Zoo is the
mecca for it. And the worst part: the greater puritanical, capitalist, traditionalist
vibes prevent any of the good parts from being experienced/reached/acquired
(Saraceno 2013).

While some might argue that this is a stereotyped image of what bro culture looks like, it was

also a label that some of these individuals embraced. I met several fans who used the term to

refer to themselves and their friends. "Bro's" emphasized their masculinized, sexist self-image

and young women who were new to EDM culture and dressed provocatively were labeled

"Prostitots":

Besides, turn of the 2012s festivals have far more beefed up security than raves
ever did. Also, "rave" connotes baggy pants and oversized T-shirts; "EDM
festival" connotes hot pants and pasties. Those, combined with fairy wings (a
perennial), came, says Rotella, "from people trying to replicate our flyers. My old
flyers encouraged people to dress up. We wouldn't encourage them to dress
naked." But many did. "Prostitots, we call them here—girls who dress up like
prostitutes, who go to the events in just their bra and underwear," says Bonnie
Chuen. The look took hold about the same time EDC went to L.A. Coliseum—as
social media took over. "It's the Flickr effect," says Glazer. "My theory is, it was
four girls the first year; the next year, a hundred; then a hundred became a
thousand (cited in Matos 2015: 354-355).

An example of a group of prostitots is pictured below (Figure 26). These young women are

sometimes described as the female members of the bro culture and are similarly criticized, as on

the website, raversluts.com. One EDM promoter attempted to ban this kind of dress at his

events, to no avail. Older fans I spoke with criticized the bro's and prostitots for their lack of knowledge about EDM culture, their over-concern with their body, excessive use of drugs and alcohol, refusal to treat others with respect, and their resistance to other fans who were trying to educate them about the group's values. Some trace the emergence of bro's and prostitots back to the decline of raves at the turn of the century and the shift into nightclubs. Prostitots, like bro's, post images of their "EDC-ready bodies" on online EDM groups (see Figures 26 and 27), accompanied with text such as the following: "Current shredding photo, what you brahs [bro's] think."

Figure 26. Group of Prostitots (Screen Capture EDC Las Vegas Facebook Group)

Figure 27. Group of Bro's and Prostitots

Older fans would often try to get newer fans to understand why they were against men attending EDM fests without shirts or for women to go around in scantily-clad clothes. The newer fans respond with sentiments like the following:

> You're actually pretty dumb, EDC is no longer a rave but a music festival AND it happens in one of the trendiest cities in the world. Having said that, you kinda need to shut the fuck up, put on your big boy pants and attend, OR find another hole to crawl back in. Your type is the only ones who still bitch about this. Meanwhile, Pasquale has no qualms about it. Learn from the master [Pasquale Rotella] (Male, 25, EDM Fan).

Moderators of online discussion forums also posted statements like those found in the following image:

Figure 28. Online Moderator Defending EDC Body Ready Photos

February 9 · Edited ·

If you can't handle good looking people showing a bit of skin, then Vegas IS NOT for you. I REPEAT, IT IS NOT FOR YOU!

Stop hating on those who feel comfortable in their own skin, regardless if they're big, small, fit, or not.

So post your sexy selfies, just don't make it XXX. lol

Like   Comment

228 people like this.

Older members responding to these posts often found themselves banned from these discussions for "being hateful," and "not respecting others." Thus, the culture found itself divided into two groups with two very different norms. While those trying to preserve the culture were often older members, many younger members were also a part of this group. Many of the resistors

tried to "look out for others" but were often instead looked down upon by others. The epitome

of their attitude came from newcomers who rejected the very concept of PLUR, as this quote

illustrates:

> You old people need to take your PLUR and get the fuck out of here. No one
> wants to hear that shit. That was then and this is now. These parties are bout
> raging and getting fucked up. Take your hippy shit and shove it (Male, 21, EDM
> Fan).

Older fans who detested overt displays of masculinity were viewed as "being judgmental," "too

uptight," or accused of not "cutting loose."

Racial intolerance emerged from some participants' uncritical reflections on the styles

they used to craft their outfits at EDM events. It is common at many EDM festivals for women

and men to dress up in Native American headdresses and neon war paint (see Figure 29). This

issue sparked significant controversy among members of online message boards and Facebook

groups. The overwhelming majority of members who commented on this issue felt that it was

not an example of racism. Responses ranged from explicitly racist comments to those who were

unable to understand why some individuals might be offended:

> Quit being so butt hurt about a stupid costume. You don't see firefighters and cops
> complaining about people dressing like them on Halloween and they die every single day.
> Get over yourself, it's a costume. (Male, age unknown, EDM Fan)

Similarly, a female EDM fan had the following to say:

> So I'm just kind of curious and want to see how other people feel because I've seen tons
> of controversy regarding wearing native headdresses to festivals but what about another
> kind of feathered headdress like this one [pictured next to her words is a feathered
> headdress with a unicorn horn]? Would people find it offensive? Silly question maybe

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but some people can be ignorant and I personally don't think it bears much resemblance to a traditional headdress. It has a unicorn horn after all (Female, age unknown, Fan).

These discussions always seemed to resolve themselves with a majority of comments claiming

that the displays are, "no big deal."

Figure 29. Ultra Music Fest Fans in Headdresses (Screen Capture of Southflorida.com)

Figure 30. Screen Capture of an Anti-gay Post

So who's ready to look hot naked at Edc no homo

Like   Comment

103 people like this.

View previous comments.   53 of 183

Chris I think u need to untangle your panties playa
June 14 at 2:28pm   Like   2

Their just tangled up in your moms panties
June 14 at 2:29pm   Like   1

Gay asf lol
June 14 at 2:37pm   Like   1

i'm not fond of the armpit pose either emzer
June 14 at 2:41pm   Like   1

Homo??? Umm sure looks like you guys are!!
June 14 at 3:20pm   Like   1

If ur not comfortable being naked with ur bros they're
not ur real bros

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It is a sad irony, given EDM's roots in largely gay night clubs, that homophobic comments are also becoming increasingly prominent among EDM fans, at least online (see Figure 30 and 31). Those who responded negatively to such comments, or who tried to advocate for tolerance, were ejected from the discussion while individuals who made posts such as the one listed above were not sanctioned, and even championed for their looks. In addition to these more subtle displays of heteronormativity, I also observed conversations like the following:

Figure 31. Screen Capture of Anti-Lesbian Attitudes

It would seem that the EDM subculture has come full circle. What was once a group formed

based on principles of PLUR had been transformed into a culture dominated by intolerance,

misogyny, and even hate speech.

Conclusion

Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1972), like their colleague, Marcuse ([1937] 1968),

noted that art was losing its capacity to criticize the society in which it existed. In this way, the

kind of art/music produced by the culture industry inherently supports the status quo. In this phase of the EDM subculture, the commodifying features which first appeared in the second phase became a dominant characteristic fundamentally transforming the nature of EDM and its participants. Their label as a deviant counterculture was replaced by a widespread acceptance that undermined the core principles of the group. Indeed, fans trying to preserve those principles, and the movement's capacity to be critical of society, are themselves marginalized and viewed as outdated relics of a bygone age. The more acceptable version of "bro culture" and "prostitots" became the images promoted by members themselves.

Industry professionals found themselves enmeshed and aligned with public officials who had once criminalized them. As part of the system of control, these individuals dismantled the politically-threatening aspects of the subculture and popularized the more legitimate features. Staging, lighting, and other aesthetic elements became refined, aiding in this process of attracting a widespread audience. In doing so, the meaningful aspects of the culture were detached from their political elements and turned into superficial aesthetic aspects.

CONCLUSION

In this study, I have examined the development of the electronic dance music movement. I have argued that since its inception in the 1980s, it has undergone a significant transformation from being a marginalized, even deviant, music-based subculture to the multi-billion dollar cultural industry that it is today. My interest in this project was motivated by a more general interest in learning how some subcultures, especially those which initially emerge as politically dissident sub-groups, are transformed by outside forces that shape the organization of the group away from their original core values. I chose the EDM subculture to understand this process initially because of my insider status and due to my location in Las Vegas (the self-proclaimed EDM capital of the world). In order to analyze these changes, I organized the transformations of the subculture into three overlapping phases.

In the first phase, starting in the late 1980s until 1995, I describe the emergence of the EDM subculture in largely Black and Latino gay clubs. During this period, members had a strong commitment to subcultural, or even countercultural, values which were first described as PLUM (peace, love, unity, movement) and then later as PLUR (peace, love, unity, respect). Members' commitment to the notion of PLUR was manifested by their creating spaces with the aim of celebrating difference based on ethnicity, race, gender, and sexual orientation. DJs in this era created music embedded with philosophical notions that levied criticisms of American society, especially issues regarding racism and homophobia, and what they saw as a general societal intolerance of diversity. These criticisms were perhaps rooted in the originators own identities, due to their race and sexual orientation, as marginalized persons in society. Thus, the subculture was formed out of resistance to societal values which some members felt perpetrated such inequalities. EDM enthusiasts in this time period saw themselves as part of what

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sociologists call a counterculture, whose commitment to ideas of resistance and social change bore similar characteristics to those of a social movement. Participants in the subculture saw themselves as creating a space in which members were not judged on the basis of race, gender, or sexual orientation. They also practiced their commitment to these ideas by limiting how fans, DJs, and event organizers were treated. Thus, this first wave is focused on a commitment to the ideas of PLUR and community building.

Subcultures and countercultures always emerge in reaction to larger historical and structural contexts (Hebdige 1979). In the case of the EDM subculture, these included the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, the end of the Cold war, the first Gulf War, the LA Riots, and a series of natural disasters such as Hurricane Andrew in 1992, massive flooding of the Mississippi River in 1993, and a 1993 eastern seaboard blizzard. The EDM subculture also emerged in the shadow of a politically conservative era: the Thatcher and the Reagan administrations war on drugs, deregulation, the cutting of public funding, a rising national deficit, and an aggressive foreign policy. In the wake of these larger historical forces, the early members I talked to described their general feelings of rejection and isolation, what Durkheim termed "anomie." They recalled that the EDM subculture gave them a place where they could develop a sense of self, or in their own words, "a place where 'freaks can be freaks'" (Female, 45, DJ). As one self-labeled historian of the scene recalled:

> If you were different in that time [1990-1995], you didn't really have a place you could go. The reason the culture took off was because we gave others a home. We didn't have legitimate venues, and most club owners saw us as weirdos so we had to create our own spaces (Male, 39, Fan).

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By establishing the EDM subculture, members rejected the values of their parent culture, expressed a collective longing for relief from the social strains mentioned above, and sometimes even demonstrated active resistance by collectively organizing. Some music critics (see Brewster and Broughton 1999; Reynolds 1999) have similarly pointed out the countercultural underpinnings of the EDM subculture as being grounded in the twin musical influences of the sensual (house), and the critical (techno). To them, early EDM culture was about finding an escape through pleasure, combined with a social commentary on the current state of society in both the US and the UK.

In questioning ownership of music and culture, early members of the EDM subculture also were criticizing the inequalities stemming from the role of capitalism in American and British society. Early on, these connections were just coalescing together, as described in one popular EDM website:

> Other generations have all the luck. Their subcultural miscreants were usually tied to some sort of ideological principles. You know, peace, free love, that sort of thing. It's almost as if the preceding counter-cultural movements took all the good visionary underpinnings and we were stuck sorting through the remnants bin. Our take on rebellious youth culture amounted to Seattle Grunge culture and Euro-techno ravers. We may not have been as idealistic as the hippies who came before us, but it could have been worse. After all, we could have been pseudo-intellectual fake glasses-sporting ironic t-shirt clad hipsters.

> There were some vague alliances between rave culture and principles, but the connection was fuzzy at best. At its heart, rave culture represented the happy-go-lucky invincibility that characterized the 90s. You know you're getting older when you start drawing broad metaphors between youth culture and the state of the economy, but it's an aging leap I'm willing to make. Raving was youth culture in its purest, least dilute form: wild, irresponsible, and generally under contempt of adults everywhere (Children of the 90s 2010).

The EDM subculture also adopted elements of the hippie counterculture, combined with more

philosophically and literary based concepts such as futurism, and expressed these ideas through

music and style. Matos (2015) cites a recent interview he conducted with Neil Ollivierra, a

Detroit techno musician:

> Mojo made it okay for young black people to listen to "white" music….When they saw
> that was possible, they realized you could tear down similar boundaries in terms of
> fashion and music and literature and style and friendships and culture. They realized you
> could change all kinds of stuff about your life (cited in Matos 2015: 8).

Other early pioneers of the movement expressed an even more direct connection to the

countercultural values of the subculture. On July 4 1990, Adam X, born Adam Mitchell, painted

the words P.L.U.M (Peace, Love, Unity Movement) on a train car (Wender 2015). DJ Frankie

Bones, born Frank Mitchell, retells the story of how this slogan became redefined:

> Now back to that so-called famous speech I made in The Bronx in 1993... A fight breaks
> out between a guy and a girl and they bump right into the table all the DJ gear was on. It
> was on a 1960s IBM office table, so it didn't budge, but because of the memory of
> Happyland [a nightclub fire in the Bronx], I completely snapped. I jumped up on the
> table and got on the mic and addressed the situation. We never had something like this
> happen in 3 years. I knew everyone would understand me when I said. "I'll break your
> f*cking faces." It was to imply I was serious. Everyone at that party knew me, so it
> wasn't as if I was threatening anyone with violence. The party went on into the early
> morning hours without incident… The movement part of PLUM turned into PLUR that
> night by Hyperreal [an online rave chat room] 'cause the Movement was established,
> making the "M" become an "R" for respect. Otherwise it's one and the same. It's the
> only thing that connects EDM and the original scene for its duration (Bones 2012).

Instead of more traditional protest actions, such as launching protests or sit ins, EDM participants

carved out symbolic spaces of resistance where they could enact their vision of a society not

biased due to race, class, gender, or sexual orientation. So, while on the surface the movement seemed apolitical, it in fact had a political intent underlying members' reasons for participating.

In the second phase, from approximately 1995-2003, I discuss how the location of EDM events shifted from clandestine venues such as abandoned warehouses to being held in spaces deemed more "legitimate," with licensing fees, ticket sales, liability insurance, and other legal requirements by public officials. The shift was triggered largely by media coverage that focused on sensationalized stories of widespread drug use, to which politicians and law enforcement responded by passing and enforcing legislation that forced EDM organizers into more legitimate venues. Moving into more legitimate venues, in turn, attracted larger audiences and profits, attracting the attention of the music industry, anxious to get in on the new money-making opportunities. The introduction of the RAVE Act, by then senator Joe Biden, sought to criminalize the activities of the subculture. This act, however, also inadvertently offered rave's salvation as a more "legitimately" organized entity. Thus, organizers in this era faced a difficult decision: they could go legitimate, or fundamentally alter the nature of EDM events. Many who went along with these changes did so thinking they could change things from the inside. However, restructuring these events by moving into more legitimate spaces brought with it the unwanted presence of outsiders. This new broader demographic of fans diluted and detracted away from attempts to maintain the values of the subculture.

As the music industry became drawn to EDM, its professionals started to devise ways in which the music could be made more marketable to outsiders. Many DJs embraced the involvement of big companies, who offered them access to state-of-the-art equipment. However, such access also brought with it added pressures from these corporations to produce a more marketable product. Thus, according to many members, the music in this era began to sound

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more polished and commercial, undermining original notions of aesthetic authenticity. The large

music corporations also changed how DJs performed, by restructuring EDM events to look more

like rock concerts. This was an important way in which EDM was made attractive to American

audiences. In this format, EDM was only slightly different from what conventional music fans

were used to seeing. Errol Kolosine, an EDM industry label professional, explained the

importance of this:

> The Brothers' live show offered salvation. Black people, white people, gay people,
> straight people, frat boys—you name it. Everybody here is equal, and the music is what
> is bringing everybody in here together. It occurred to me, if I get enough people to
> experience this, we can't lose (cited in Matos 2015: 213).

In this era, EDM became more professionalized, with formal contracts, slick advertising,

and expensive, elaborate stage designs. DJs also began to rely on advertising professionals to

market their images and appeal. DJs were presented as likeable celebrities. While, in the

previous era, DJs were largely anonymous figures, their image and attractiveness now began to

be a central focus. A significant result of this change concerned the demographic makeup of

DJs, from being mostly gay Black and Latino men, to being mostly white males from European

countries (especially Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, and Sweden).

A few promoters had already begun to consider the use of more legitimate venues, even

before the introduction of the RAVE act. As one I talked with articulated:

> Everybody realized that we had to get legitimate, because basically we had 600 people
> with no security, no liquor license. At some point, any human being is going to be like,
> "oh shit, this is dangerous. I'm going to get fucking sued, right?" There is a tipping
> point (Male, 40, Promoter).

Thus, event organizers could no longer utilize clandestine, often illegal spaces (i.e., warehouses, cornfields, and desert spaces). This shift, at least initially, was mostly due not to a desire for profits, but out of concerns for safety. There were also other benefits that came out of moving to more legitimate spaces:

> I went to a party in New York City. It was either 95 or 96. An Electric Zoo type of event. We drove from New Orleans to go to this party. It was huge with 70,000 people. To us, the best thing ever, right? It was at a stadium and legitimized. Not a dingy warehouse. Could get shut down. In the 90's, when it really got legit, is when I moved to these bigger venues. It became an overall better experience for people involved. It's not like a warehouse, Port-o-Potties, no safety, no insurance, no liquor license. It'd grown too big and we moved into legitimate venues to help make it grow (Male, 40, Promoter).

At the same time, however, the music was made more accessible and commercialized, leading to a shift in the demographic makeup of fans toward predominately white, middle-class, heterosexual men. These individuals had little or no collective commitment to the core values of the subculture. Despite these changes, some members still tried to maintain a degree of autonomy and commitment to the core values, but they were becoming a distinct minority.

Event organizers also faced a tough sell to fans accustomed to free, or very inexpensive, costs of attendance. This move also problematized the notion of resistance. The very notion of an "underground" subculture is to avoid surveillance and public officials' attempts to control them. Utilizing public spaces made such efforts harder, due to the fact that legitimate venues were identifiable venues. Moreover, use of legitimate spaces meant increasing production fees. Thus, sociologically speaking, what the RAVE Act, and other actions on the part of public officials, did for the EDM subculture was to institutionalize a series of changes stemming from the increased negative attention of the media.

In the third phase, extending from 2004 up to the present, EDM has become corporatized. Thus, this phase of the development is best characterized as a full blown culture industry in the sense first described by Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944] 1972). They described the culture industry in terms of the increasing tendency for culture to be commodified and organized using standardizing practices, which are masked by superficial differentiating characteristics they refer to as pseudo-individualization. The change of venue in the previous era thus set up a series of changes by which the EDM subculture was transformed into a culture industry.

This phase was set in motion to a large degree by promoters who were seeking greater autonomy from nightclub owners. State-managed facilities provided them with greater flexibility, creativity, and control over their events. At the same time, however, rising costs have forced promoters to seek corporate sponsors. The increased involvement of the music industry has also changed the nature of DJ performances. Additionally, multi-million dollar stage constructions, elaborate visual and light shows, and other techniques which create a multi-sensory experience, have become common features.

DJs have also begun to engage in competitive efforts that have undermined their previous standards of artistic creativity. The result, according to some members, has been a move away from authentically produced music to formulaic compositions. This shift, however, has made the role of DJs highly profitable, at least for the more successful ones. It has also brought in performers from the outside, attracted by the promise of fame and fortune. Competition among DJs is now measured in terms of which artist plays the most appealing music. Some EDM DJs themselves have pointed out a certain irony here since they now make more money than ever, but they do far less work, as they only have to push "play."

Public officials, who once criminalized EDM, are now actively involved in helping organized and promote the music, as organizers of EDM events now market their concerts to these officials on the basis of the profit potential for their struggling local economies. Also, EDM fans today experience greater surveillance with the presence of law enforcement agents who constantly monitor their behavior. A prime example of this is in how many fans today openly embrace the presence of local law enforcement agents by engaging them in subcultural practices, such as the exchange of kandi bracelets. Thus, EDM subculture has now been brought into line with societal standards its enthusiasts originally resisted.

While not all fans have embraced the changes in the present makeup of EDM events, an overwhelming majority seem to accept them without question. This has led not only to the erosion of original notions of PLUR, but to their replacement by sexist, racist, homophobic, and other biased views of newcomers. These newer members are often openly hostile towards older fans who have tried to preserve and protect the original values of the EDM subculture. In light of this, many long time enthusiasts have stopped attending EDM events out of frustration with the current situation.

Sociological Significance

Other studies of music-based subcultures (Bennett 1999; Epstein 2004; Anderson 2009) have focused almost exclusively on the role of increasing popularity in diminishing, or undermining altogether, the original countercultural values, and feelings of authenticity and community among fans. In this research I found, in the case of EDM at least, a more complicated process in which structural factors such as mass media, public officials (politicians and law enforcement), and the corporate music industry played a major role in this transformation. Negative, sensationalized media coverage provoked a repressive response by

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politicians and law enforcement. This, in turn, forced EDM event organizers into more legitimate venues, bringing EDM to the attention of major music corporations such as Sony and Warner Brothers, which transformed the way the music was produced, promoted, and consumed, while bringing in a mass audience mostly unaware and uninterested in the sub/countercultural values of the original EDM enthusiasts. Somewhat ironically, however, while these values, represented by the PLUR slogan, have largely disappeared, illegal drug use, which provoked the moral panic originally promoted by the media, remains as significant as ever.

Another major contribution of this study is the focus on the vital role played by industry professionals. Early event organizers, promoters, and DJs saw themselves as an integral part of the EDM subculture with little distance between themselves and fans. However, these individuals both transformed and were transformed by progressive integration into the culture industry. While some of them struggled to remain true to the group's core values, others fully embraced their role in the new corporate model. Similarly, some fans resisted the commodifying tendencies of the culture industry by trying to educate newer EDM enthusiasts. Many of these individuals, however, were not only unaware of the history of the music, but were openly hostile toward those trying to preserve the core values of the original subculture.

I also sought to understand the place of the media. The media, in fact, played an important catalytic role in each phase, shaping the public's views, as well as the reaction by public officials towards the EDM subculture. In the first phase, the media portrayed EDM followers as a deviant subculture characterized by rampant drug use and a general rejection of societal norms. In the second phase, intensified negative media coverage, both locally and nationally, began to depict law enforcement as inept and unable to control the group. While this had an unintended effect of making the music more popular, it also resulted in repressive

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legislation and enforcement that criminalized many of the activities of the subculture. The

culmination of public officials' reactions resulted in the creation of the RAVE Act, discussed in

chapter five. Today, the media promotes a respectable image of EDM exclusively as a profitable

segment of the culture industry, with no mention of its countercultural roots. This is illustrated

by images of local law enforcement and politicians embracing, figuratively and literally, EDM

industry professionals and fans.

Theoretically, I have tried to provide a more nuanced discussion of how the culture

industry works. In their original account, Horkheimer and Adorno pointed out the limits of the

analogy between culture and industry but they offered little by way of discussion of these. My

research indicates that there are other factors, such as the role of the media and public officials,

shaping how the culture industry operates. I have also tried to show that, in the case of the EDM

subculture, some spirit of resistance still exists but that it seems to be increasingly marginalized.

Limitations of the study

The first limitation of this study is one that characterizes all qualitative research. This

concerns the degree to which its findings can be generalized to other similar groups. As a

research strategy, however, qualitative approaches sacrifice the degree to which they can

generalize their findings in favor of in-depth understanding. Also, because this study employed a

snowball sample, allowing me to draw upon my previous contacts among EDM industry

professionals, I ran the potential risk of only getting the opinions of those within my own

personal networks. I tried to compensate for this by attending several professional EDM

conferences and festivals, and by joining online discussion groups formed by members of the

subculture. These helped me gain access to EDM groups outside of my own personal networks.

More importantly, it allowed me to interview and observe participants occupying different

positions within the status hierarchy of the subculture. While I cannot, strictly speaking, generalize these findings beyond the group that I studied, I can point out parallels that I believe might be relevant to other groups and subcultures (see future research below).

The other major limitation of qualitative research is that it contains the biases of the researcher, due to the fact that she plays an integral role in the research. As such, my biases, personal experiences, and knowledge have shaped this study. This is also made more problematic by my role as a former industry professional, which, in turn, may make replicating, and thus validating, this study even more difficult. As I have argued in my methods chapter, however, this is also one of the strengths of this research study. No other sociological study of EDM, to my knowledge, has had the kind of access that I was able to obtain. I argue that, rather than hindering my research, my insider status enabled me to quickly gain access to the group I was studying, to know the language of the group, and to ask questions that other sociologists may not have asked due to their lack of knowledge. I believe that this is especially true when it comes to the more technical aspects of how EDM events are produced, promoted, and scheduled. I have tried to remain faithful to my research subjects' perspectives which in some cases were harsher than my own initial view, hopefully limiting my biases and allowing their stories to be told.

Despite my best efforts, I was limited in the kinds of data I could access. One particular problem was the limited amount of data that exists pertaining to the earlier phases of the EDM subculture. Many of my participants noted that they did not think about documenting their own history at the time. As such, I would like to have been able to obtain more data about the subculture when it was first being developed. While I was able to interview several participants who recalled this time, having more data from these years would have been greatly beneficial.

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This is especially true of the transition period. I did, however, hear that some photographers and other EDM enthusiasts were starting to organize efforts to obtain items which would aid in future studies.

There were also several voices I could not obtain data from, and who are thus missing from my narrative. Specifically, ex-members of the subculture, those who once participated but have since abandoned their affiliation, were difficult to track down. Even many within my own personal networks with whom I once had intimate dealings seemed to have disappeared altogether. These individuals might have information vital to how the EDM subculture developed, and could have offered a different view, enriching the findings of this study. In a similar vein, there is a strong connection with the history of EDM and LGBT culture. Anderson (2009a) has similarly noted that this remains an undeveloped theme within EDM research. Indeed, most studies of EDM only briefly mention the connection. While this study also contains this limitation, I have tried to point out the parallels where I could. However, there remains an overall lack of data on the issue and future research should try to better uncover the relation between the two. Finally, in the latter stages of conducting my research, I heard about the existence of a group of EDM enthusiasts who reject the commodified festivals and celebrity DJs in favor of more avant-garde versions of EDM. I was unable to locate or contact these individuals, however, before running out of time.

In general, this study would have benefitted from more systematic demographic data on EDM enthusiasts, such as race, sexual orientation, gender, class, and age. I would have especially like to have been able to look at how these have changed over time. While there is some on the contemporary demographic makeup of EDM fans, without systematic comparative data, such information is of limited value. Some research on EDM, and several comments from

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my informants, suggest that the demographics have significantly shifted over the years: while the origins of EDM are to be found in largely Black and Latino gay clubs in Chicago and Detroit, it is said to be currently dominated by white, middle-class, heterosexual men. This is also a sentiment echoed in a few major news articles, blog posts, and other external sources. While I have tried to raise some of these issues throughout this research, without more concrete data, I am unable to draw any more general conclusions.

Future Research

In addition to trying to obtain further data on those specific EDM participants described above, I would like to examine other groups who seem to be undergoing changes similar to those I observed in this study, i.e., those that were originally treated as marginal or deviant subcultures but are now attaining some degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the broader society. In conducting this research, I was struck by the parallels that seem to exist between the development of the LGBT movement, the hacking subculture, and other music-based groups, such as goths and punks. As such, I would especially like to examine whether similarities exist between these groups in terms of the macro level structural forces shaping their development.

The broader question that should be addressed by this research is how marginalized groups in society negotiate the influence of outside forces that jeopardize their original goals. Answering this question might also inform a sociological understanding of how groups maintain some sense of autonomy and resistance in contemporary society. Specifically, a broader implication of this research study lies in how sub-groups in society mediate the commodifying tendencies seeking to co-opt them. By examining other groups, we might begin to identify potential strategies of resistance whereby the core identities of those groups can be preserved. In

looking at other groups that have developed in a similar way we might also begin to unravel the complexities of the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and sexual identity.

Each of the subgroups mentioned above have, to varying degrees, relied on market-based strategies to reduce the moral stigma placed on them by more powerful members of society. While these approaches have been seen by some as successful, others argue they have introduced inequalities the groups once so adamantly opposed. It is well documented, for example, that LGBT communities emerged out of a desire for the creation of parallel social arrangements that catered to their needs. The gay community, or gayborhood (see Ghaziani 2014), has played a central role in both the activist and community building efforts of the movement. As the issue of gay rights has progressed, and as gay identity has become more widely accepted, or at least tolerated within some section of society, new questions have arisen as to what is the role of the gay community, how it ought to continue to progress as a social movement (if it still is a social movement), and how this has come to impact identity and social interaction among gay men and women. Some persons feel as though efforts to maintain gayborhoods may cause the movement to regress, while others similarly argue that strides towards LGBT rights have resulted in the loss of identity for some members. These questions have been widely debated in the popular literature, but remain understudied conversations in contemporary sociological research.

Computer hacking subcultures also might be an interesting group to apply the general framework of this dissertation. Like members of the early EDM subculture, hackers have been unfairly stigmatized as deviant and malicious criminals by sensationalized media reports. The construction of hackers as public menaces or even cyber-terrorists has, however, been complicated by recent coverage of the work of "reformed" hackers as cyber-security experts. Despite extensive research on the role of technology in society, far less empirical work exists

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which focuses on the hacking subculture itself. The use of computer technologies for social change was originally one of the core values of the subculture, yet there is now considerable debate among participants about how much of a role they should play as activists. Thus, a schism has occurred whereby some hackers dedicate themselves exclusively to activist efforts, while others are interested in the more hedonistic aspects of computer technology, and still others work on security issues for the government or private security agencies. Members of the hacking subculture are thus particularly interesting for addressing questions relating to how groups maintain their sense of solidarity and resistance in the face of intra-group politics.

Though each of these groups is distinct, their development seems to in many ways parallel the evolution of the EDM subculture. There are assuredly differences among these groups, especially as some have experienced a greater degree of marginalization and discrimination than others, and I am not proposing any sort of reduction or discounting of those. My intent here lies in widening the theoretical framework developed herein in order to understand the broader notion of how originally marginalized groups are transformed over time, and the underlying social mechanisms that shape these changes.

APPENDIX A: RAVE ACT

Calendar No. 453

107th CONGRESS
  2d Session

S. 2633

To prohibit an individual from knowingly opening, maintaining,
managing, controlling, renting, leasing, making available for use, or
    profiting from any place for the purpose of manufacturing,
    distributing, or using any controlled substance, and for other
                        purposes.

_____

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 18, 2002

 Mr. Biden (for himself, Mr. Grassley, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Leahy, and Mr.
  Durbin) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and
            referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

June 27, 2002

Reported by Mr. Leahy, without amendment

_____

A BILL

To prohibit an individual from knowingly opening, maintaining,
managing, controlling, renting, leasing, making available for use, or
    profiting from any place for the purpose of manufacturing,
    distributing, or using any controlled substance, and for other
                        purposes.

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Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the ``Reducing Americans' Vulnerability to Ecstasy Act of 2002'' or the ``RAVE Act''.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:
> (1) Each year tens of thousands of young people are initiated into the drug culture at ``rave'' parties or events (all-night, alcohol-free dance parties typically featuring loud, pounding dance music).
> (2) Some raves are held in dance clubs with only a handful of people in attendance. Other raves are held at temporary venues such as warehouses, open fields, or empty buildings, with tens of thousands of people present.
> (3) The trafficking and use of ``club drugs'', including 3, 4-Methylenedioxymethamphetamine (Ecstasy or MDMA), Ketamine hydrochloride (Ketamine), Flunitrazepam (Rohypnol), and Gamma hydroxybutyrate (GHB), is deeply embedded in the rave culture.
> (4) Many rave promoters go to great lengths to try to portray their events as alcohol-free parties that are safe places for young adults to go to dance with friends, and some even go so far as to hire off-duty, uniformed police officers to patrol outside of the venue to give parents the impression that the event is safe.
> (5) Despite such efforts to convince parents that raves are safe, promotional flyers with slang terms for Ecstasy or pictures of Ecstasy pills send the opposite message to teenagers, and in effect promote Ecstasy along with the rave. According to the National Drug Intelligence Center, raves have become little more than a way to exploit American youth.
> (6) Because rave promoters know that Ecstasy causes the body temperature in a user to rise and as a result causes the user to become very thirsty, many rave promoters facilitate and profit from flagrant drug use at rave parties or events by selling over-priced bottles of water and charging entrance fees to ``chill-rooms'' where users can cool down.
> (7) To enhance the effects of the drugs that patrons have ingested, rave promoters sell--
>> (A) neon glow sticks;
>> (B) massage oils;
>> (C) menthol nasal inhalers; and
>> (D) pacifiers that are used to combat the involuntary teeth clenching associated with Ecstasy.
> (8) Ecstasy is the most popular of the club drugs associated with raves. Thousands of teenagers are treated for overdoses and Ecstasy-related health problems in emergency rooms each year. The Drug Abuse Warning Network reports that

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Ecstasy mentions in emergency visits grew 1,040 percent between 1994 and 1999.

(9) Ecstasy damages neurons in the brain which contain serotonin, the chemical responsible for mood, sleeping and eating habits, thinking processes, aggressive behavior, sexual function, and sensitivity to pain. According to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, this can lead to long-term brain damage that is still evident 6 to 7 years after Ecstasy use.

(10) An Ecstasy overdose is characterized by an increased heart rate, hypertension, renal failure, visual hallucinations, and overheating of the body (some Ecstasy deaths have occurred after the core body temperature of the user goes as high as 110 degrees, causing all major organ systems to shutdown and muscles to breakdown), and may cause heart attacks, strokes, and seizures.

SEC. 3. OFFENSES.

(a) In General.--Section 416(a) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856(a)) is amended--
        (1) in paragraph (1), by striking ``open or maintain any place'' and inserting ``open, lease, rent, use, or maintain any place, whether permanently or temporarily,''; and
        (2) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:
        ``(2) manage or control any place, whether permanently or temporarily, either as an owner, lessee, agent, employee, occupant, or mortgagee, and knowingly and intentionally rent, lease, profit from, or make available for use, with or without compensation, the place for the purpose of unlawfully manufacturing, storing, distributing, or using a controlled substance.''.
    (b) Technical Amendment.--The heading to section 416 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856) is amended to read as follows:

``SEC. 416. MAINTAINING DRUG-INVOLVED PREMISES.''.

    (c) Conforming Amendment.--The table of contents to title II of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse and Prevention Act of 1970 is amended by striking the item relating to section 416 and inserting the following:

``Sec. 416. Maintaining drug-involved premises.''.

SEC. 4. CIVIL PENALTY AND EQUITABLE RELIEF FOR MAINTAINING DRUG-
            INVOLVED PREMISES.

    Section 416 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856) is amended by adding at the end the following:
    ``(d)(1) Any person who violates subsection (a) shall be subject to a civil penalty of not more than the greater of--
            ``(A) $250,000; or
            ``(B) 2 times the gross receipts, either known or estimated, that were derived from each violation that is

attributable to the person.

    ``(2) If a civil penalty is calculated under paragraph (1)(B), and
there is more than 1 defendant, the court may apportion the penalty
between multiple violators, but each violator shall be jointly and
severally liable for the civil penalty under this subsection.

    ``(e) Any person who violates subsection (a) shall be subject to
declaratory and injunctive remedies as set forth in section 403(f).''.

SEC. 5. DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE REMEDIES.

    Section 403(f)(1) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C.
843(f)(1)) is amended by striking ``this section or section 402'' and
inserting ``this section, section 402, or 416''.

SEC. 6. SENTENCING COMMISSION GUIDELINES.

    The United States Sentencing Commission shall--
            (1) review the Federal sentencing guidelines with respect
        to offenses involving gamma hydroxybutyric acid (GHB);
            (2) consider amending the Federal sentencing guidelines to
        provide for increased penalties such that those penalties
        reflect the seriousness of offenses involving GHB and the need
        to deter them; and
            (3) take any other action the Commission considers
        necessary to carry out this section.

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR A DEMAND REDUCTION
            COORDINATOR.

    There is authorized to be appropriated $5,900,000 to the Drug
Enforcement Administration of the Department of Justice for the hiring
of a special agent in each State to serve as a Demand Reduction
Coordinator.

SEC. 8. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR DRUG EDUCATION.

    There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as necessary to
the Drug Enforcement Administration of the Department of Justice to
educate youth, parents, and other interested adults about the drugs
associated with raves.

                                                    Calendar No. 453

107th CONGRESS

  2d Session

                            S. 2633

_____

A BILL

To prohibit an individual from knowingly opening, maintaining,
managing, controlling, renting, leasing, making available for use, or
profiting from any place for the purpose of manufacturing,
distributing, or using any controlled substance, and for other
purposes.

_____

June 27, 2002

Reported without amendment

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APPENDIX B: SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How did EDM first emerge?
   a. When did it emerge?
   b. Where did it emerge?
2. What was EDM like back then?
   a. What larger things were going on?
   b. Politically?
   c. Technologically?
   d. Culturally?
3. What were the participants in the early days of EDM like?
   a. What did people do?
   b. What did people wear?
   c. How old were they?
   d. Where in the world were they?
   e. What were the demographics of members (race, class, gender, sexuality)?*
4. How have things changed since the early days?
   a. The people
      i. What they wear
      ii. What they look like
      iii. What they are concerned about
   b. The events
      i. Their size
      ii. The cost to get in
      iii. Who goes to them
      iv. The way one gets into them
   c. The music
   d. The culture, in terms of what gets emphasized.
5. Is there anything looked down upon within the EDM culture?
   a. Is there anything people are not allowed to do at EDM events?
   b. There are a number of things many EDM promoters do not allow at their events (stuffed animals, LED gloves, pacifiers, glow sticks, etc.). Why do promoters ban these items?
   c. What are the struggles in producing EDM events?
   d. How have those struggles shaped how you think about EDM and EDM events?
6. Why do people participate in the EDM culture?
   a. What messages are fans trying to send? (Are EDM events political?)
   b. What messages are other artists trying to send?
   c. What messages are you trying to send?
7. Who are the important people within EDM culture?

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a. Who influences you?
b. Who do you look up to and respect in the EDM culture?
8. What goes into the production of an EDM performance?
9. What is the relationship between the venues and the events?
    a. How much say so do they have in how events are produced?
    b. What problems do you face when dealing with venues?
10. How do you maintain connection to ….
    a. the fans
    b. the artists
    c. the other people involved in the production of EDM events and culture
11. What do you think is the most surprising, unique, or interesting thing about the EDM business that you think others should know about?
12. EDM promoters, artists, and fans have faced a number of controversial portrayals in the media over the years.
    a. How do you respond to criticisms of EDM promoters facilitating deviant acts?*
    b. How do you respond to criticisms of EDM promoters not living up to the movement's initial political stance?*
    c. How do you respond to criticisms of EDM promoters placing profits ahead of other interests?*
13. Do you have anything you want to add?
14. Can I contact you if I have further questions?
15. Do you know anyone else who would want to participate in this study?
16. Tell me about the first EDM event you attended?
    a. Why do you go?
    b. Who did you go with?
    c. What is your best memory?
17. What keeps you going back to EDM events?
18. How many EDM events do you attend?
    a. In a month?
    b. In a six month period?
    c. In a year?
    d. Ever?
19. What do you do at EDM events?
20. Tell me how you get ready for EDM events.
21. How would you describe EDM events?
22. Do you think an EDM subculture exists?
    a. What are the values of this group?
    b. How does one get involved?
    c. How does one become known?
    d. How does one meet other people?

23. What words would you use to describe EDM events?
    a. Would you use the word community?
    b. Do you think a community exists?
24. How important are EDM events to your identity?
25. What would you call EDM?
    a. A scene?
    b. A subculture?
    c. A social movement?
26. Are EDM events political? (Or do you get a sense that participation at EDM events are political?)
    a. If so, what message are EDM fans trying to send?

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIBED LINER NOTES

Shamanarchy in the U.K.

Evolution & Friends

If you think Britain gave House to the planet and then got "clubbed to death" by sharp managers, shallow DJs and uptight authorities

YOUR WRONG!!!

That only drove the Rave Spirit UNDERGROUND where it was radicalized, politicalized and

has been growing ever since in thousands of squats, festy/rave free parties and clubs. It's bigger

and more alive today and is hatching a peoplepower Movement that will Shake the World!

Across a reemerging pagan Britain, underground anarchist armies regularly deliver illegal dance

music to the people against all odds Unpaid guerilla-rave networks of mad jihad dance fanatics

and sound terrorist activate intuitively intricate strategies by fone fax'n foot to outwit the

lawbreaking efforts of government agencies spending millions of taxpayers money to stamp out

unlicensed dancing and get everybody back into the pubs before the anarchic spirit of dancing

with fellow beings under open skies in tangy pagan groves sends them barefoot mad and

unemployable - as well as unemployed and living in cardboard boxes as many of them already

are.

When we start asking why they do it, we come face to face with deeper questions like: Can

anyone 'own' land, especially 'common land'? What the Hell has become of the noble Albion

dream of a golden flowering of civilization which still lurks in each of our hearts? What went

wrong? Is it changing fast enough? And what more can I do?

As the depression in the dominator system deepens into final collapse the cooperative free festy/rave/squatter/new new age/techno tribal traveler crossover counterculture will become dominant. Since the '80s Hippies in the underground have been saying that the only hope for the dog-eat-dog Western culture before it destroyed itself and the planet was an invention that would enable every single individual in it, one by one, to escape the materialist made dream in their heads by getting back in touch with their hearts and bodies.

In the '90s every High Street in the land of Britain boasts exactly such a facility, a club retailing SHAMANIC TRIBAL DANCING SIX NIGHTS A WEEK too large groups of the youth of Western culture. A whole generation is getting out of its collective fucking head... and back into its body! That's Step One. But then you have to realize that "You can't have a perfect club in an imperfect society: You have to change society." And that's when the wild shamanic energy of Rave gets radicalized by meeting Hippy/Punk and comes of age just in time to transform the culture. No current cultural phenomenon but the scene has the mass eyes-open energy to spread this consciousness craze globally among the youth before the planet is destroyed!

And now such shamanic workshops are mushrooming across the planet! As the recession deepens throughout the decade, the cooperative free festy/rave/squatter/new new age/techno traveler tribal crossover counterculture scenes are the real green shoots in the Communal Economy which will grow unstoppably into the new dominant goddess-worshipping techno-tipi dwelling eco-culture that will inherit a cleansed planet.

The System is disintegrating everywhere you look.

Right On! Up the Evolution!

The Old Age Control System abandons more physical & psychic territory to the spirit of SHAMANARCHY every day. The Centre is a life threat to itself as much as to everything else and cannot hold.

Supply us with the technology and the facilities and sweep the streets - we can handle the rest!

The Music Biz corrupted Rock n' Roll into MILLIONAIREBELS in thousand dollar rags & perms _playing revolutionaries for teenage pubescents. Punk turned out to be mostly just the second childhood death throes of Rock 'n Roll after all. But the best stayed true and were still on the road when House came along.

House is different, we all feel that. This time we won't be fooled - we don't have time! If Rock'n Roll was the rebellious trumpet that blew down the walls and left the New City of Albion open to us, the people, House is the background music in our headphones, synthesizing the triumphantly shining shamanarchic new rave culture as peoplepower re-enters to inherit and assume command.

fraser. may 1992

KAISERLICHES PATENTAMT.

PATENTSCHRIFT

— № 274350 —

KLASSE **12** q. GRUPPE 32/10

FIRMA E. MERCK IN DARMSTADT.

Verfahren zur Darstellung von Alkyloxyaryl-, Dialkyloxyaryl- und Alkylendioxyarylaminopropanen bzw. deren am Stickstoff monoalkylierten Derivaten.

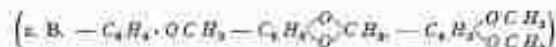Patentiert im Deutschen Reiche vom 24. Dezember 1912 ab.

In der Literatur ist die Anlagerung zweier Atome Brom an Arylpropylene der allgemeinen Formeln:

$$R \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH : CH_2$$

und

$$R \cdot CH : CH \cdot CH_3,$$

in welchen R einen äthenisierten Arylrest

$$\left(z.\ B.\ -C_6H_4 \cdot OCH_3 - C_6H_3 \overset{O}{\underset{O}{\diagdown}} CH_2 - C_6H_3 \overset{OCH_3}{\underset{OCH_3}{\diagdown}} \right)$$
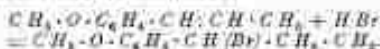
bedeutet, schon des öfteren beschrieben, dagegen ist die Anlagerung von Bromwasserstoffsäure an diese Doppelbindungen noch niemals durchgeführt worden. Es wurde nunmehr die unerwartete Beobachtung gemacht, daß Halogenwasserstoffsäuren unter geeigneten Bedingungen sich an die erwähnten ungesättigten Verbindungen unter Bildung der bisher unbekannten Alkyloxy-, Dialkyloxy- oder Alkylendioxyarylhalogenpropane anlagern, ohne daß die von vornherein zu befürchtende Aufspaltung der Alkyloxygruppe(n) erfolgt.

Die Anlagerung von Halogenwasserstoff erfolgt dabei so, daß das Halogen an das dem Benzolkern näher stehende Kohlenstoffatom tritt. Die Derivate des Allylbenzols, z. B. Methyleugenol, Safrol, Apiol, liefern dabei also in β-Stellung substituierte (arylierte) Isopropylhalogenide:

$$(CH_3O)_2 \cdot C_6H_3 \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH : CH_2 + HBr$$
$$= (CH_3O)_2 \cdot C_6H_3 \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH \cdot CH_3.$$
$$\underset{Br}{\mid}$$
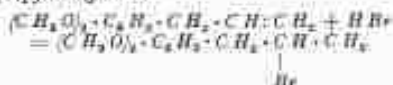
Die Abkömmlinge des Propenylbenzols, z. B. Anethol, Isosafrol, addieren Halogenwasserstoff unter Bildung von α-substituierten (arylierten) n-Propylhalogeniden:

$$CH_3 \cdot O \cdot C_6H_4 \cdot CH : CH \cdot CH_3 + HBr$$
$$= CH_3 \cdot O \cdot C_6H_4 \cdot CH (Br) \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH_3.$$

Die entstandenen Halogenwasserstoffadditionsprodukte sind schwere, schwach gefärbte Öle. Sie sind verhältnismäßig unbeständig und lassen sich, selbst im Vakuum, nicht unzersetzt destillieren. Trotzdem lassen sie sich wider Erwarten glatt mit Ammoniak und primären aliphatischen Aminen umsetzen, wobei die entsprechenden Alkyloxy-, Dialkyloxy- oder Alkylendioxyarylaminopropane bzw. deren N-Monoalkylderivate entstehen.

Diese Reaktion war um so weniger zu erwarten, als die Gefahr vorlag, daß durch Abspaltung von Halogenwasserstoffsäure ausschließlich die die ungesättigten Seitenkette enthaltenden Ausgangsstoffe zurückgebildet werden würden. Tatsächlich verläuft die

Reaktion auch teilweise in der letzten Richtung; das ist aber für das Endergebnis ohne Belang, da die zurückgewonnenen Ausgangsstoffe stets wieder in die Reaktion zurückgeführt werden können. Die durch die Umsetzung mit Ammoniak oder monoalkylierten Ammoniaken erhältlichen Alkyloxy-, Dialkyloxy- und Alkylendioxyarylaminopropane sind wichtige Zwischenprodukte zur Herstellung therapeutisch wirksamer Verbindungen.

Beispiele.

1. An geschmolzenes Anethol wird auf die im Beispiel 3 ausführlich dargelegte Weise Bromwasserstoffsäure angelagert und der rohe Bromkörper, wie dort angegeben, mit alkoholischem Ammoniak umgesetzt.
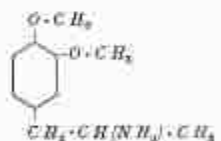
Das x-p-Methoxyphenyl-n-propylamin

O - CH₃
(Struktur)
CH(NH₂)·CH₂·CH₃
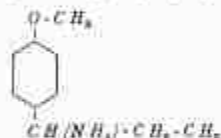
stellt ein farbloses, unter einem Druck von 7 mm bei 110 bis 117° siedendes Öl dar.

Das salzsaure Salz schmilzt bei 217°.

2. Das aus Methyleugenol auf dieselbe Weise erhaltene β-3.4-Dimethoxyphenyl-isopropylamin

O - CH₃
O - CH₃
(Struktur)
CH₂·CH(NH₂)·CH₃

ist ein farbloses Öl vom Sdp. 141 bis 142° unter 5.5 mm Druck. Das salzsaure Salz schmilzt bei 150 bis 155°.

3. 150 g Safrol werden langsam und unter Eiskühlung in 500 ccm einer bei 0° gesättigten Lösung von Bromwasserstoffsäure in Wasser eingetragen und mehrere Stunden bei derselben Temperatur geschüttelt. Das Reaktionsprodukt wird mit Chloroform aufgenommen, diese Lösung nacheinander mit verdünnter Sodalösung und Wasser geschüttelt und mit Chlorcalcium getrocknet. Nach dem Verdampfen des Chloroforms unter vermindertem Druck bleibt das Monobromdihydrosafrol zusammen mit etwas Safrol zurück.

Das Reaktionsprodukt wird mit der vier- bis fünffachen Menge starken wässerigen Am-

moniaks mehrere Stunden auf 120° erhitzt und die entstandene Base

O — CH₂
O
(Struktur)
CH₂·CH(NH₂)·CH₃
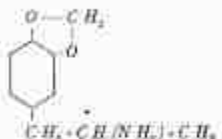
auf bekannte Weise gewonnen.

Die Verbindung stellt eine farblose Flüssigkeit dar, die unter 19 mm Druck bei 153° siedet; sie bildet ein gut und leicht kristallisierendes saures Sulfat.

Das salzsaure Salz bildet weiße Nadeln vom F. 183 bis 185°.

4. 50 g des nach der in Beispiel 3 beschriebenen Methode gewonnenen rohen Brondihydrosafrols werden mit der fünffachen Menge starker alkoholischer Methylaminlösung 2 Stunden auf 130° erhitzt. Nach dem Entfernen der Hauptmenge des Methylamins wird der Rückstand auf bekannte Weise aufgearbeitet. Die neue sekundäre Base von der Formel:

$$CH_2 \cdot O_2 : C_6H_3 \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH(CH_3) \cdot NH + CH_3$$

bildet ein farbloses Öl, das unter 20 mm Druck bei 155° siedet.

Das salzsaure Salz bildet derbe weiße Kristalle, die bei 148 bis 150° schmelzen.

5. 50 g Isosafrol werden in 100 ccm einer bei 0° gesättigten Lösung von Bromwasserstoffsäure in Eisessig langsam und unter Kühlung mit Eis eingetragen und mehrere Stunden geschüttelt. Die Aufarbeitung geschieht, wie im Beispiel 3 angegeben.

Der so erhaltene rohe Bromkörper wird mit der vier- bis fünffachen Menge gesättigten alkoholischen Ammoniaks 2 Stunden auf 160° erhitzt. Ammoniak und Alkohol werden im Vakuum entfernt und aus dem Rückstand die Base durch Zugabe von überschüssiger Lauge gewonnen.

Das x-3-4-Methylendioxyphenyl-n-propylamin

O — CH₂
O
(Struktur)
CH(NH₂)·CH₂·CH₃
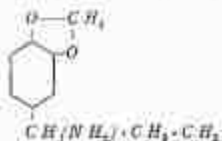
siedet unter einem Druck von 12 mm bei 141°.

Das salzsaure Salz schmilzt bei 200 bis 203°.

PATENT-ANSPRUCH:

Verfahren zur Darstellung von Alkyl-oxyaryl-, Dialkyloxyaryl- und Alkylen-dioxyarylaminopropanen bzw. deren am Stickstoff monoalkylierten Derivaten, darin bestehend, daß man die entsprechenden ungesättigten Propylenverbindungen der allgemeinen Formeln:

$$R \cdot CH_2 \cdot CH : CH_3$$

und

$$R \cdot CH : CH \cdot CH_3$$
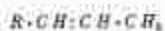
$(R = $ Alkoxyaryl, Dialkoxyaryl oder Alkylendioxyaryl$)$

mit Halogenwasserstoffsäuren behandelt und die so entstandenen halogenhaltigen Reaktionsprodukte mit Ammoniak oder primären aliphatischen Aminen umsetzt.

APPENDIX F: AMBER ALERT ATTACHMENT

SEC. 608. <<NOTE: Illicit Drug Anti-Proliferation Act of 2003. 21 USC
            801 note.>> ILLICIT DRUG ANTI-PROLIFERATION ACT.

    (a) Short Title.--This section may be cited as the ``Illicit Drug
Anti-Proliferation Act of 2003''.
    (b) Offenses.--
            (1) In general.--Section 416(a) of the Controlled Substances
        Act (21 U.S.C. 856(a)) is amended--
                    (A) in paragraph (1), by striking ``open or maintain
                any place'' and inserting ``open, lease, rent, use, or
                maintain any place, whether permanently or
                temporarily,''; and
                    (B) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the
                following:
        ``(2) manage or control any place, whether permanently or
        temporarily, either as an owner, lessee, agent, employee,
        occupant, or mortgagee, and knowingly and intentionally rent,
        lease, profit from, or make available for use, with or without
        compensation, the place for the purpose of unlawfully
        manufacturing, storing, distributing, or using a controlled
        substance.''.
            (2) Technical amendment.--The heading to section 416 of the
        Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856) is amended to read as
        follows:
``SEC. 416. MAINTAINING DRUG-INVOLVED PREMISES.''.
            (3) Conforming amendment.--The table of contents to title II
        of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse and Prevention Act of 1970 is
        amended by striking the item relating to section 416 and
        inserting the following:

``Sec. 416. Maintaining drug-involved premises.''.

    (c) Civil Penalty and Equitable Relief for Maintaining Drug-Involved
Premises.--Section 416 of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 856)
is amended by adding at the end the following:
    ``(d)(1) Any person who violates subsection (a) shall be subject to
a civil penalty of not more than the greater of--
            ``(A) $250,000; or
            ``(B) 2 times the gross receipts, either known or estimated,
        that were derived from each violation that is attributable to
        the person.

    ``(2) If a civil penalty is calculated under paragraph (1)(B), and
there is more than 1 defendant, the court may apportion the penalty
between multiple violators, but each violator shall be jointly and
severally liable for the civil penalty under this subsection.
    ``(e) Any person who violates subsection (a) shall be subject to

declaratory and injunctive remedies as set forth in section 403(f).''.
    (d) Declaratory and Injunctive Remedies.--Section 403(f)(1) of the
Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 843(f)(1)) is amended by striking
``this section or section 402'' and inserting ``this section, section
402, or 416''.
    (e) Sentencing <<NOTE: 28 USC 994 note.>> Commission Guidelines.--
The United States Sentencing Commission shall--
            (1) review the Federal sentencing guidelines with respect to
        offenses involving gamma hydroxybutyric acid (GHB);
            (2) consider amending the Federal sentencing guidelines to
        provide for increased penalties such that those penalties
        reflect the seriousness of offenses involving GHB and the need
        to deter them; and
            (3) take any other action the Commission considers necessary
        to carry out this section.

    (f) Authorization of Appropriations for a Demand Reduction
Coordinator.--There is authorized to be appropriated $5,900,000 to the
Drug Enforcement Administration of the Department of Justice for the
hiring of a special agent in each State to serve as a Demand Reduction
Coordinator.
    (g) Authorization of Appropriations for Drug Education.--There is
authorized to be appropriated such sums as necessary to the Drug
Enforcement Administration of the Department of Justice to educate
youth, parents, and other interested adults about club drugs.

    Approved April 30, 2003.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY--S. 151 (H.R. 1104):

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 108-47, Pt. 1 accompanying H.R. 1104 (Comm. on the
Judiciary) and 108-66 (Comm. of Conference).
SENATE REPORTS: No. 108-2 (Comm. on the Judiciary).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 149 (2003):
            Feb. 24, considered and passed Senate.
            Mar. 27, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of
                H.R. 1104.
            Apr. 10, House and Senate agreed to conference report.
WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 39 (2003):
            Apr. 30, Presidential remarks and statement.

APPENDIX G: TOUR RIDERS

Agreement made this, **X**, by and between **Redacted** (hereafter referred to as 'Artist') and **Redacted** (hereafer referred to as 'Purchaser').

It is mutually agreed between the parties as follows:

Purchaser hereby engages the Artist, and the Artist hereby agrees to perform the engagement (hereinafter referred to as 'the engagement') subject to all of the Terms and Conditions herein set forth, including those on the face of this Agreement and those entitled 'Riders' and 'Terms and Conditions'.

Date of Engagement: **Monday, November 16, X**.

Venue Name:

Venue Location:

Artist Guarantee: **$ 4,000.00 USD [United States Dollar]**

Split Amount:

PURCHASER TO PROVIDE:

Flights: **None. Included In The Artist Guarantee.**

Hotels: **4 Room(s). (4 King Rooms For 1 Night At 5 Star Hotel Of Artist's Choice**)

Ground: **All Local Ground By Professional Car Service**.

Per Diem: **See Additional Terms**

Additional Terms: **Additional Terms are expressed on following page.**

PAYMENT SCHEDULE:

Deposit: **$ 2,000.00 [USD] due on or before October 12, 2009.**

Balance: **$ 2,000.00 [USD] due on or before November 02,**
2009.

Due to AM Only Inc no later than 14 days prior to
performance

Purchaser additionally expresses that he/she has read and fully agrees to the **Artist Rider**
and **Agency Terms & Conditions**, which are deemed incorporated herein and made a part
hereof, and the provisions of any Artist performance rider annexed hereto. Please sign and
initial all pages.

PURCHASER: **ARTIST:**

_____   _____

Redacted   C/O: AM Only

ARTWORK

All Artwork to be approved by Matt Rodriguez prior to printing and distribution: -
matt@amonly.com

CATERING

2 Bottles of Greygoose or Belvedere Vodka + 12 Bottle/cans Coke + 12 bottles water + 6
Cartons of Cranberry Juice/Orange + 12 premuim lager + 6 bottles of sparkling water +
Champagne to be available on request.

Cups/ Glasses and Ice for the evening. Where there is a green room a fruit plate would be ideal
but not essential

DINNER: Promoter to pay a personal allwance of $100 for hot meals for artists + tour
manager + Anjuna warm up DJ if present, before the show

FLIGHTS

3 x flights to be booked for each show

If cumulative flight time exceeds 4 hours (i.e. a single 4 hour flight or 2 or more flights totaling 4 hours), then flights should be business class

All tickets must be flexible/changeable ones

British Airways flights: When booking BA flights these MUST be booked online directly from www.ba.com not through a travel agent.

TRANSPORT: Promoter to provide ground transport throughout duration of stay. Car must be latest model 4 door MPV/Sedan and should comfortably seat 5 people. The driver should be English speaking, licensed, insured and punctual. Driver must drive within speed limits and should not jeopardise the safety of the artists at any stage, regardless of time pressures. All road transfers from airports/hotels/to the event should be taken in one of the following vehicles or a vehicle of comparable standard, maximum 4 years old. Mini-buses/vans are not suitable.

Approved Saloon Cars:

Audi A8

BMW 7 Series

Lexus LS

Approved 4x4/SUVs:

Audi Q7
BMW X5
Lexus SUV Porsche Cayenne Range Rover
VW Toureg

HOTEL

The hotel provided must be 5* and confirmed by Management before booking

3 x executive double/deluxe king rooms to be booked

Hotel must have high speed internet access

LATE CHECK OUTS

These must be arranged for all rooms 14.00

SET DURATION

Minimum of 2 hours

Above & Beyond's set time will be a minimum of 2 hours in length and ideally 3 hours where possible. If Above & Beyond are not headlining the event, their set time should be at least the same length as any artists billed above them.

ABOVE & BEYOND TECHNICAL RIDER

CD Players: A minimum of two Pioneer CDJ-1000 mk2 (or mk3s, if their firmware has been updated to Version 2.0 or higher.)

- You can check the current firmware version by pressing the RELOOP/EXIT button for 10 seconds or more. You will see the firmware version on the display of the unit.

- If the version isn't 2.00 or higher, update the unit as instructed here:

http://www.pioneer.eu/eur/content/support/support/upgrade/CDJ1000MK3.html

NO Pioneer DVJ decks!

Mixer: Pioneer DJM-800. NB Failure to provide this mixer may result in a delay or cancellation of the performance.

Sound system to be tuned so that the DJ mixer master output peaks at one red. Above & Beyond are to be informed at which level they should peak on the mixer – the Master should be peaking at, or above, 0dB

Monitoring:

High-powered monitors, ideally head level and on both sides of the DJ booth, not further than 1 metre from the DJing position. The DJ must be able to change the level of the monitors from the DJ booth.

The signal path from the mixer (DJM-800) to the monitor speakers is NOT to go through any digital processors or delays (even if set to 0ms delay), as they introduce latency.

STAGE: A table behind the DJing position that has room for two open CD wallets. A source of light on or around the table behind the DJ. Enough room for two people to move around freely. If the stage is effectively a bare table, promoter is asked to provide black draping to wrap around the front of the table. There needs to be a smoke machine at every gig to be used during the set.

DJ BOOTH

No one is allowed on stage or in the DJ booth during A&B's performance and the promoter must provide one member of staff tasked with keeping the

DJ booth/stage clear for the duration of the performance

LIGHTING

7 x clay paky Alpha Beam 300 or similar per 500 people

2x Martin Atomic Strobe
3000 per 500 people
http://www.martin.com/p
roduct/product.asp?produ
ct=atomic

Blinders/Flood lights: 2x 500
http://www.terralec.co.uk/floods_an
d_blinders/stage_blinders/20164_p.h
tml

Color Washers above dancefloor: Robe Colorwash 575 or similar, 4 per 500 people

http://www.robe.cz/default.aspx?contentid=2006813C-C3C4-40E8-A17E-
98B7266E7B74=9D2D0548-2D4A-46FB-8AB2-3E356457EE73

Light Controller

MA Lighting GrandMa:

http://www.malighting.com/control.html?&tx_lightpowerpdb_pi1[parent_gruppe]=215&cHas
h=ab43086f12

Lasers

Big venues: Computer controlled lasers, with minimum power of 10W. Dedicated controller
person.

1 per 500 people
http://www.martin.com/pro
duct/product.asp?product=r
gblaser16

Our lighting person will control the lasers via DMX

DO: Light up the stage on entry from Above & Beyond, during peak moments and towards
the end of the performance. Please keep lighting as dark as possible. DON'T: Keep spot
lights on the DJs continuously throughout the set

DVD VISUALS

These will be sent to you prior to the show and are only to be played during Above &
Beyonds set. Promoter is asked to provide two large screens either side of DJ Booth or
plasma wall in front of DJ booth, on which visuals shall be played.

DRESSING ROOM: 1 Large lockable room to be provided for the sole use of the Artist
throughout the duration of the night. A blocked -off area in the club or VIP area will
suffice.

DJ ON PRIOR TO A&B is asked to play no faster than- and end their set at 128bpm max

MEDIA TARGETS: Promoter to email the DJ's agent their top 10 media targets (including TV) on signature of this contract

FILMING: Subject to prior written approval from management, A&B will allow filming of sections of the gig provided they are sent the footage for use on their website and management is given approval of any footage and subsequent usage. Address for footage is Andy Bonwick, Anjunabeats, Fortress Studios, 34-38 Provost St, London N1 7NG / andy@anjunabeats.com

INTERVIEWS: Promoter agrees to set up minimum 3 high profile press interviews prior to show, to help promote Above & Beyond and the event in the territory. Promoter agrees to collect and send any resulting press coverage. Agent agrees to make Above & Beyond available for these press interviews.

MERCHANDISE

Promoter to provide suitable location with the venue for the sale of branded Above and Beyond / Anjunabeats merchandise (table and independent light) or provide appropriate facilities within venues own location or point of sale.

GUESTLIST - free guest list for up to 20 people

EXTRAS - No MC's talking during the A&B's set, no pyrotechnics too close to artists

The parties hereto acknowledge that the following additional terms and conditions and rider(s) are incorporated in and make a part of this CONTRACT and the Agreement and between two parties hereto.

AM Only, Inc shall be herewith be referred to as "AGENT"

1. VENUE:

(a) Under no circumstances may the PURCHASER change the Venue for the Date of Engagement without AGENT's or ARTIST's prior written consent, which may be withheld in AGENT's or ARTIST's sole discretion, as applicable. A change of Venue by the PURCHASER in the absence of such consent shall constitute a breach of this Agreement and PURCHASER shall be liable for the full amount of Compensation due hereunder regardless of the date on which such change takes place;

(b) In addition to Venue, PURCHASER hereby agrees to provide all necessary permits and licenses required by Federal, State and Local law for purposes of lawfully conducting

an event. Unless otherwise agreed to by AGENT in writing prior to the Date of Engagement, it is hereby acknowledged and agreed that ARTIST shall perform in the primary (main) featured area of performance of Venue.

2. HOURS OF ENGAGEMENT:

ARTIST shall perform a set lasting between two (2) and three (3) hours, exact time to be mutually agreed upon by both AGENT and

PURCHASER prior to the Date of Engagement.

3. BILLING:

ARTIST shall receive equal or greater billing with respect to all headlining performers on all materials distributed by PURCHASER to press and public. PURCHASER agrees to confirm all advertisements and promotional material (including flyer design) using the ARTIST's name, likeness and/or logos with the ARTIST by fax before going to print. ARTIST shall be billed as follows, and in no other way without the prior written consent of ARTIST or AGENT:

ABOVE & BEYOND

ARTIST's artwork must be the predominant graphic element on all advertising.

(a) PURCHASER agrees that the ARTIST's name or likeness is not to be connected in any way with any form of sponsorship or endorsement of any kind including but not limited to commercial and political without the prior written agreement of the ARTIST's representation;

(b) In the event that AGENT does not receive the Deposit provided for in facing page hereof by the stipulated date, either AGENT or ARTIST, in their sole discretion, shall have the right to cancel the engagement, without prejudice to full payment and with no obligation to mitigate. In such instance, AGENT may contract with other parties with respect to ARTIST's performance on the Date of Engagement and no reimbursement shall be due for payments previously made by PURCHASER in connection herewith;

(c) PURCHASER shall allow ARTIST up to ten (10) guests (each with "+ 1") to enter the venue free of any charge on the Date of

Engagement.

4. CANCELLATION:

(a) In the event that AGENT does not receive the Deposit by the Deposit Deadline, AGENT and/or ARTIST, in their sole discretion, shall have the right to cancel this Agreement and PURCHASER shall remain liable for the full amount of the Deposit due hereunder. In the event of any such termination, ARTIST shall have no obligation to perform for PURCHASER hereunder and AGENT may contract with third parties for ARTIST to perform for such third party(ies) on the Date of Engagement. Without limiting the foregoing, unless otherwise expressly agreed in writing, neither AGENT nor ARTIST shall be obligated to refund any payments made by PURCHASER hereunder prior to the date of such cancellation, nor shall AGENT or ARTIST have an obligation to mitigate with respect to owed by PURCHASER hereunder;

(b) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained herein, in the event that PURCHASER cancels ten (10) or more weeks prior to the Date of Engagement, PURCHASER shall remain obligated to pay the Deposit but shall be relieved of the obligation to make any further payments hereunder. Notwithstanding the foregoing, neither AGENT nor ARTIST shall be obligated to refund any monies in excess of the Deposit previously paid by PURCHASER hereunder;

(c) If, for any reason (including but not limited to Act(s) of God, and/or closures of the Venue by any local, state or Federal Government agency), PURCHASER cancels the Event within less than ten (10) weeks of the Date of Engagement PURCHASER shall remain

Liable for the full amount of Compensation due hereunder;

(d) Notice of cancellation shall be deemed received only if delivered in writing to AGENT via certified or registered mail (return receipt requested) or by telefax (with confirmed transmission report), and the date of AGENT's receipt shall be deemed the date of delivery; requested) or by telefax (with confirmed transmission report), and the date of AGENT's receipt shall be deemed the date of delivery;

(e) In the event that any act of God prevents ARTIST from performing on the Date of Engagement, ARTIST will not be held liable and may, in turn, keep all deposits.

5. WORK PERMITS / TAXES:

PURCHASER, where applicable, shall be responsible for work permits (U.S. work permits excluded) and/or any further entertainment taxes in the country in which ARTIST's performance will take place. PURCHASER is also responsible for any airport arrival and departure taxes for ARTIST and guest. PURCHASER shall not offset any expenses or taxes of any type against Compensation.

6. EQUIPMENT:

PURCHASER agrees to setup an appropriate DJ booth that is free from interruption. PURCHASER hereby agrees to provide and pay for a first-class sound and lighting system, to include the listed equipment and technical specifications on the Technical Rider:

See TECHNICAL RIDER attached.

7. PURCHASER'S WARRANTIES AND REPRESENTATIONS:

(a) PURCHASER hereby acknowledges that AGENT is only responsible for procuring bookings and may not be held liable for any breach of contract by ARTIST;

(b) PURCHASER warrants that PURCHASER shall not, nor shall PURCHASER authorize others to photograph, video tape, or reproduce ARTIST's likeness or image in any manner, nor shall PURCHASER record (in any medium) or broadcast (via any means, including, without limitation, radio or internet), or authorize others to record or broadcast, any portion of ARTIST's performance without AGENT's or ARTIST's prior written consent, which may be withheld in AGENT's or ARTIST's sole discretion, as applicable. If it becomes evident to ARTIST that any of the foregoing prohibited activities is occurring during the Event, the ARTIST may discontinue his performance immediately and shall not be obligated to return any monies previously paid to AGENT and/or ARTIST under the Agreement;

(c) PURCHASER warrants that he shall not advertise ARTIST's appearance on the Date of Engagement prior to full execution of this agreement and payment of the deposit due hereunder;

(d) PURCHASER warrants that he is eighteen (18) years or older and is authorized to enter into this Agreement.

8. MISCELLANEOUS:

(a) This contract may be modified only by an instrument in writing signed by the parties hereto. Should any portion of this agreement be deemed null and void under the law, the remainder shall remain in full force and effect;

(b) PURCHASER agrees to indemnify ARTIST and AGENT for any loss, costs, damages or liabilities due to any claims resulting from breach of this Agreement or in connection with the subject matter hereof. The prevailing party of any suit brought in connection with the subject matter hereof shall be entitled to reimbursement of reasonable attorney's fees, court costs and other expenses incurred;

(c) (i) This contract shall be governed by and construed under the laws and judicial decisions of the State of New York. All claims and disputes arising out of the interpretation, performance or breach of this Agreement shall be submitted exclusively to the jurisdiction of the courts of the State of New York (state and federal) located in New York County; provided however if AGENT and/or ARTIST is sued or joined in any other court or forum in respect of any matter which may give rise to a claim by AGENT or ARTIST hereunder,

PURCHASER hereby consents to the jurisdiction of such court or forum over any such claim which may be asserted by AGENT and/or

ARTIST;

(ii) The prevailing party in any legal action (after all appeals have been taken or the time for taking such appeals has expired) brought by one party against the other and arising out of this Agreement shall be entitled, in addition to any other rights and remedies available to it at law or in equity, to reimbursement for its costs and expenses (including court costs and reasonable fees for outside attorneys and expert witnesses) incurred with respect to the bringing and maintaining of any such action. The term "prevailing party" for the purposes of this paragraph shall include a defendant who has by motion, judgment verdict or dismissal by the court, successfully defended against any claim that has been asserted against it;

(d) PURCHASER hereby acknowledges and agrees that ARTIST and/or anyone engaged, authorized, employed or supervised by ARTIST, may photograph, video tape, and/or otherwise record, reproduce and distribute such recordings of the Event ("Recordings"), in whole or in part, in any manner or media, and any such Recordings from the inception of recording thereof, and all copies manufactured therefrom, together with the images and/or performances embodied thereon, shall be the sole property of ARTIST or

ARTIST's designee, as applicable ("Copyright Holder"), throughout the world, free from any claims whatsoever by PURCHASER or any third party (including, without limitation, PURCHASER's affiliates, partners, investors and the Venue owner) ("Third

Party"), and Copyright Holder shall have the exclusive right to copyright such Recordings in its name as the sole and exclusive owner and author thereof and to secure any and all renewals and extensions of such copyright. Neither ARTIST nor ARTIST's designee shall have any obligation to obtain permission from or provide credit to PURCHASER or any Third Party, except as otherwise required by law;

(e) Purchaser shall procure and maintain with duly licensed insurance carriers rated AA or higher for the duration of this Agreement

The following types of insurance policies with minimum limits of at least One Million Dollars (US$1,000,000.00) for any claim arising out of a single occurrence and Two Million Dollars (US$2,000,000.00) for all claims in the aggregate: (i) Workers' Compensation, (ii) Commercial General Liability, (iii) Auto Liability, and (iv) Property Insurance. Such policies (excluding the Workers' Compensation Policy) shall name Artist, Agent, and any sponsors of Artist's performance hereunder as additional insureds and cover all claims for loss or damage due to personal injury or injury of any kind to property (including property belonging to Artist or Artist's agents, contractors and employees) that may arise out of or in connection with Artist's performance hereunder. Purchaser shall provide Agent and/or Artist with a copy of certificates evidencing such coverage promptly following receipt of Agent's or Artist's request therefore.

(f) All rights not expressly granted herein are reserved to ARTIST;

APPENDIX H: EM:DEF FUND ARCHIVED WEBPAGE

EM:DEF

electronic music defense & education fund

register to vote
home
about EMDEF
action center
contribute
education
incident report
laws & cases
library

contact us

Privacy Policy

About EM:DEF

Mission Statement

To raise and provide funds for legal assistance to innocent professionals in the electronic dance music business who are targeted by law enforcement in the expanding campaign against "club drugs". In addition to providing funds for legal efforts to protect the industry, EM:DEF will serve as a spokes-agency for the electronic dance music industry — providing an independent voice on behalf of industry professionals, while allowing professionals to avoid public association which could result in retaliation by law enforcement.

Priority of funding of cases will be based on the following (in order):

- Impact on the electronic dance music industry's ability to remain economically viable
- Impact on the broader music industry's ability to remain economically viable
- Impact on members of the electronic dance music community including fans and industry
- Impact on members of the broader music community including fans and industry.

Why EM:DEF?

The current approach to the War on Club Drugs places professional men and women's jobs at risk. By targeting promoters and venue owners, the DEA intimidates the people who make electronic music events possible.

Raves, parties, clubs, and other performance opportunities are central to the efforts of record labels and artist managers working to break an artist or to keep an established act in contact with their fans. They also provide an opportunity for people with similar taste in music to meet and talk about artists they've been listening to.

One can see how an attack on venue owners and promoters is in fact an attack on all professionals in the electronic dance music genre. With an application of the Crackhouse Law is upheld in a Federal Court, a nationwide precedent has been set that may reduce access to venues. With a decrease in venues, the jobs of booking agents, promoters, and all record label and artist management teams will become more challenging.

It isn't that professionals in electronic music aren't capable of accepting challenges in their work. In fact, the genre is one of the toughest to work in – constantly evolving, tastes changing, and a never ending stream of new talent. But, law enforcement pressures are making the work of industry professionals increasingly tough. EM:DEF was formed to protect professionals, and to encourage a more legitimate approach to fighting illegal drug use.

APPENDIX I: ANTI-RAVES ACT OF 2011

BILL NUMBER: AB 74   INTRODUCED
         BILL TEXT

INTRODUCED BY   Assembly Member Ma

                DECEMBER 21, 2010

   An act to add Section 421 to the Penal Code, relating to public
events.

         LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL'S DIGEST

   AB 74, as introduced, Ma. Public events: Raves: prohibitions.
   Existing law generally prohibits certain assemblages or events
that disturb the peace.
   This bill would provide, subject to exceptions, that any person
who conducts a public event at night that includes prerecorded music
and lasts more than 31/2 hours is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable
by a fine of $10,000 or twice the actual or estimated gross receipts
for the event, whichever is greater.
   By creating a new crime, this bill would impose a state-mandated
local program.
   The California Constitution requires the state to reimburse local
agencies and school districts for certain costs mandated by the
state. Statutory provisions establish procedures for making that
reimbursement.
   This bill would provide that no reimbursement is required by this
act for a specified reason.
   Vote: majority. Appropriation: no. Fiscal committee: yes.
State-mandated local program: yes.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

 SECTION 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as the
Anti-Raves Act of 2011.
 SEC. 2. Section 421 is added to the Penal Code, to read:

421. (a) Any person who conducts a public event at night that includes prerecorded music and lasts more than three and one-half hours is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of ten thousand dollars ($10,000) or twice the actual or estimated gross receipts for the event, whichever is greater.

(b) Subdivision (a) shall not apply to a public event on private property if the entity that conducts the public event has a business license to operate a bar, club, theater, entertainment venue, or other similar business, or to conduct sporting events, and conducting the public event is consistent with the business license.

(c) For purposes of this section, "night" means that period between sunset and sunrise.

SEC. 3. No reimbursement is required by this act pursuant to Section 6 of Article XIII B of the California Constitution because the only costs that may be incurred by a local agency or school district will be incurred because this act creates a new crime or infraction, eliminates a crime or infraction, or changes the penalty for a crime or infraction, within the meaning of Section 17556 of the Government Code, or changes the definition of a crime within the meaning of Section 6 of Article XIII B of the California Constitution.

APPENDIX J: RAVES SAFETY ACT

BILL NUMBER: AB 74   AMENDED
         BILL TEXT

             AMENDED IN ASSEMBLY APRIL 25, 2011
             AMENDED IN ASSEMBLY MARCH 24, 2011

INTRODUCED BY   Assembly Member Ma

             DECEMBER 21, 2010

  An act to add Section 11000.10 to the Government Code, relating to
public events.

             LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL'S DIGEST

  AB 74, as amended, Ma. Public events: event action plan.
  Existing law generally authorizes state agencies, including
district agricultural associations, to allow private individuals or
corporations to hold events on state property.
  This bill would require that any state agency that seeks to hold
an event with an expected attendance level over a specified amount on
property that is either owned or operated by a state agency to,
prior to the event, conduct a threat assessment that addresses
specified topics. This bill would also require that if the state
agency determines, based on the facts presented to it in the
assessment, that there is a strong probability that loss of life or
harm to the participants could occur, then the state agency must
require the promoter to prepare an event action plan that includes
specified information. This bill would also require the state agency
to approve the event action plan before the promoter may hold the
event.
  Vote: majority. Appropriation: no. Fiscal committee: yes.
State-mandated local program: no.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

  SECTION 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as the Raves
Safety Act.

SEC. 2. Section 11000.10 is added to the Government Code, to read:

11000.10. (a) (1) Any state agency, including, but not limited to, a district agricultural association, or a joint powers agency that includes a district agricultural association, that seeks to hold an event with an expected attendance level over 1,000 participants on property that is either owned or operated by a state agency shall, at a normally scheduled meeting, and at least 30 days prior to the event date, assess the threat of loss of life or harm to participants that the event poses. The assessment shall consider, among others, all of the following topics:

  (A) Prior events held by the promoter.
  (B) Prior events held at the facility.
  (C) Similar types of events in general.
  (D) The potential need for law enforcement.
  (E) The potential need for onsite medical care.
  (F) The potential for drug use and distribution.
  (2) If the state agency determines that, based on the facts presented to it in the assessment, there is a strong probability that loss of life or harm to the participants could occur, then the state agency shall require the promoter to prepare an event action plan. The promoter shall not hold the event until the state agency approves the event action plan. The event action plan shall address all of the following:

  (A) Health and safety concerns, including, but not limited to, whether the promoter should provide free water, whether the promoter should prohibit any person under 18 years of age from attending the event, adequacy of ventilation, attendance capacity, and exit signs.

  (B) Law enforcement concerns, including, but not limited to, the ratio of peace officers or security guards to event attendees, and mechanisms for the control of drug use and drug trafficking.

  (C) The potential need for supplying educational pamphlets, or other relevant emergency materials, including, but not limited to, first aid, to help alleviate any risk posed by the event.

  (D) Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) to (C), inclusive, if the event is a performance that by its nature places the performers at risk, including, but not limited to, rodeos and monster truck rally's, then the event action plan is not required to address that risk.

  (b) For purposes of this section, "promoter" means the individual, association, corporation, partnership, or other organization that arranges, holds, organizes, or otherwise conducts the event. *In no circumstance shall the state or a state agency be considered a promoter.*

REFERENCES

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2010   M.A. Sociology, Indiana University, Indianapolis
<u>Thesis</u>: Documenting The Use and Appearances Among The DJ and Nightclub Patrons
<u>Advisory Committee</u>: Dr. Lynn Blinn-Pike (Chair), Dr. Carrie Foote, Dr. Carol Brooks-Gardner
<u>Areas of Concentration</u>: Gender/Sexuality, Work/Organizations

2007   B.A. Sociology, Indiana University, Indianapolis
<u>Capstone Thesis</u>: Goth Subculture: An Analysis of Self-Identified Goths
<u>Supervisor</u>: Dr. Carrie Foote

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Deviance Subcultures
Social Theory
Research Methods
Popular Culture
Gay and Lesbian Studies

228

PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Courses Taught
Sociology of Deviance
Sociology of Subcultures
Social Problems
Sociology of Religion
Introduction to Sociology
Introduction to Sociology Online

Teaching Assistantships

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Classical Sociological Theory
Contemporary Sociological Theory
Race and Ethnicity
Globalization
Social Inequality

Indiana University, Indianapolis
Statistics
Research Methods
Introduction to Sociology

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Articles and Book Chapters

Carrie E. Foote and **Christopher T. Conner**. 2006. "AIDS Related Teaching Resources and
   Websites." Chapter in Foote-Ardah and Wright (Eds.). Teaching the Sociology of
   HIV/AIDS: Syllabi, Lectures and Other Resources for Instructors and Students,
   Third Edition. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.

Published Book Reviews

Christopher T. Conner. 2014. "Review of Making Sense of Social Problems."
   Symbolic Interaction. 37 (2).

Christopher T. Conner. 2014. "Reconciling Agency and Structure: A Review of
   Stigma Revisited." *Symbolic Interaction*. 36 (4): 497-499.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Review of: The Good Rich and What They Cost Us: The Curious History of Wealth, Inequality, and American Democracy." *Journal of American Culture*. 36 (3): 246.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Interactions in Fantasy Role-playing Games Online and Offline: A Review of The Evolution of Fantasy Role-playing Games." *Journal of Popular Culture* 46(1): 221-222.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Review of Between Stillness and Motion," *Visual Methodologies* 1(1) XI-XII.

Christopher T. Conner. 2012. "Review of The Handbook of Visual Culture." *Visual Studies* 26(4): 274-275.

Christopher T. Conner. 2012. "Chasing the Shadows of the Other: Review of The New Orleans Sniper." *Symbolic Interaction* 35(4): 517-518.

Christopher T. Conner. 2011. "Review of Behind The Eye: Reflexive Methods in Culture Studies, Ethnographic Film, and Visual Media." *Visual Studies* 26(3), 274-275.

Christopher T. Conner. 2009. "Review of Projective Techniques for Social Science and Business Research." *Visual Studies* 24(3): 271-272.

Public Sociology

Christopher T. Conner. 2014. "The Role of the Internet on The Gay Community." P. 1 in *The Word*. Indianapolis: Word Publications (March).

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "The Disneyfication of Dance Music." CO-Lab First Friday Art Project.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Selling ourselves Short: The High Cost of Consumerism For Gay Community." P. 1 in *The Word*. Indianapolis: Word Publications (October).

Christopher T. Conner. 2011. "Super Bowl or Super Greed?" P. 1 in *The Word*. Indianapolis: Word Publications (December).

Christopher T. Conner. 2010. "Town Still Afraid of Change." P. 1 in *Mooresville Decatur Times*: Hoosier Times. (March).

Christopher T. Conner. 2010. "Our Opinions." P. 1 in *The Word*. Indianapolis: Word Publications. (June)

Professional Reports

Christopher T. Conner. 2009. **"**Public Attitudes Towards Smoking and Smoke Free Ordinances–Elkhart County." Report for Indiana Tobacco Use Prevention and Cessation, Indianapolis, IN.

Christopher T. Conner. 2008. **"**Indy Pride Needs Assessment Survey." Report for the Indy Pride Inc. Foundation, Indianapolis, IN.

Christopher T. Conner and Carrie E. Foote. 2006. "Year Two Evaluation of The Family AIDS Network Program and Services." Mary Rigg Neighborhood Foundation, Indianapolis, IN.

Christopher T. Conner and Carrie E. Foote. 2005. "Year One Evaluation of The Family AIDS Network Program and Services." Mary Rigg Neighborhood Foundation, Indianapolis, IN.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Christopher T. Conner. 2015. "Theorizing Electronic Dance Music: From Resistance Movement to Commodity." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. Chicago, IL.

Christopher T. Conner. 2015. "The Rave as Spectacle." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association. Long Beach, CA.

Christopher T. Conner and David R. Dickens. 2015. "The Culture Industry Reconsidered, Again." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society. Kansas City, MO.

Christopher T. Conner and David R. Dickens. 2014. "Deconstructing the Astructural bias Critique." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. San Francisco, CA.

Nicholas Baxter, Jennifer Stevens, and **Christopher T. Conner**. 2014. "Drive-by-Ethnography: The Bureaucratization of Ethnographic Research Methods." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. San Francisco, CA.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Teaching Symbolic Interaction Through Games: Are You A Werewolf?" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. New York, New York.

Christopher T. Conner. 2013. "Music Promotion in the Culture Industry: An Empirical Critique." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society. Chicago, IL.

Christopher T. Conner. 2012. "Parties, Death, and Overdose: Concern about Post-Industrial Economies, Moral Panics, and The Production of Knowledge." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. Denver, CO.

Christopher T. Conner. 2012. "Transformation of Space (Place): Theorizing The Role of Cultural (Concert) Promoters." Presented at the Couch-Stone Symposium. Evanston, IL.

Christopher T. Conner. 2010. "Using Visual Methods for Studying Subcultures." Presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas, NV.

Christopher T. Conner. 2009. "Queer Eyes: A Study of Gay Men's Interactions." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. San Francisco, CA.

Robert Aponte, Carrie E. Foote, and **Christopher T. Conner**. 2007. "Poverty, Employment, and Social Networks: A Comparative Analysis of Whites, Blacks, and Latinos." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, New York City, NY.

HONORS, AWARDS AND GRANTS

2015	Alpha Kappa Delta Fellowship Award $450
2015	Midwest Sociological Student Travel Grant $100 (Kansas City, Kansas)
2015	Departmental Travel Award, UNLV $450
2014	Graduate College Summer Session Scholarship, UNLV $2,000
2014	GPSA Travel and Research Award $750, (San Francisco)
2014	Merit Award Graduate and Professional Student Association, UNLV
2013	Vice President of Student Affairs, UNLV $3,100
2013	AAUP Award $500
2013	SSSI Travel Grant $200.00 (New York, New York)
2013	GPSA Travel and Research Award $450.00 (New York, New York)
2013	Patricia Sastaunik Scholarship $2,500
2013	Midwest Sociological Student Travel Grant $100
2013	Office of Civic Engagement and Diversity Student Funding Board $300
2013	GPSA Travel and Research Award $535.00 (Chicago, Illinois)

2012   Office of Civic Engagement and Diversity Student Funding Board Grant $700
2012   Office of Civic Engagement and Diversity Student Funding Board Grant $700
2012   GPSA Travel and Research Grant $700.00 (Denver, Colorado)
2012   SSSI Travel Grant $200.00
2012   GPSA Travel and Research Award $678.32
2011   Student Funding Board Grant, $1,150
2011   UNLV Access Graduate Grant $1,000
2010   Indianapolis Mayoral Certificate of Service for Gregory Ballard Arts Council
2010   Gamma Mu Scholarship $1,000
2009   Indiana University Graduate School Travel Grant $1,500
2007   Indy Pride Educational Scholarship $2,000
2006   Indiana University Undergraduate Research Opportunities Program, $2,000
2006   Indiana University Outstanding Sociology Major
2006   Indiana University Sociology Department Service Award

SERVICE

University Level

2014   University of Nevada Chancellor's Part-Time Instructor Task Force (Student Rep)
2012—2013   University of Nevada GPSA Constitution and Bylaws Committee (Member)
2013   University of Nevada Movies That Matter (President)
2013   University of Nevada Office of Civic Engagement Funding Board (Member)
2012   University of Nevada GPSA Awards Committee (Chair)
2012   University of Nevada Technology Advisory Board   (College Representative)
2012   University of Nevada Graduate Student Council (Department Representative)
2007   Indiana University Indianapolis Liberal Arts Student Council (Member)
2005 – 2006 Indiana University Indianapolis Liberal Arts Student Council (Treasurer)

Department Level

2014   Department of Sociology Faculty Graduate Student Representative (Alternate)
2013   Technology Committee (Student Representative)
2012   Department Website Committee (Member)
2006   Indiana University Indianapolis Graduate Committee (Student Representative)

Professional Level

2014-2015	Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction Annual Meeting Volunteer
2013	Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction Committee on Graduate Affairs
2012-2013	Zizek Conference Reviewer
2012-2013	Society for the Study of Social Problems Registration Volunteer
2011	Stone Symposium Program Planning Committee
2011	Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction Annual Planning Committee

Community Service

2014	GLBT Pride Volunteer
2010	Mayoral Council on the Arts, Indianapolis, Indiana
2001—2008	Indy Pride, Inc.
2006—2007	Damien Center HIV Prevention & Outreach
2005—2006	Indiana University—Indianapolis Senate Representative

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Sociological Association
Midwestern Sociological Society
Society for the Study of Social Problems
Pacific Sociological Association
Alpha Kappa Delta – Sociological Honor Society
Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction