

# The Queer of Color Sound Economy in Electronic Dance Music

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Within electronic dance music cultures (EDMCs), musicality and experimentation have been indebted to black and Latinx DJs of color since its inception in the 1980s. Even today, queer DJs of color continue to push the envelope of experimental EDM by showcasing dance music from the “global south,” centering remix styles that border between hip hop and EDM, and sampling cultural references popular in queer communities of color. This article explores music’s complex entanglements with identity and community for queer people of color in underground electronic dance music scenes. To be specific, the individuals within these communities self-identify as racial/ethnic minorities on the genderqueer spectrum of non-normative gender and sexual identities (gay/lesbian, trans, non-binary, etc.). Moreover, I argue that these socio-economic positions act as an impetus of a sound economy – the shared system of socio-cultural aesthetics – for queer communities of color in EDM. The first section discusses the identity politics that underlie this sound economy by tracing how intertextuality allows DJs to display these minoritarian<sup>1</sup> perspectives. I then highlight why (re)centering racialized queer identities is radical by tracing EDM’s political shifts. Specifically, I highlight how narratives surrounding EDM changed due to the demographic turn in Europe during the 1990s. The last section explores the re-emergence of pivotal queer DJs of color and the scenes they founded in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York by focusing on the flows of culture and people between cities to point to a more extensive global network of racialized queer communities in constant musical and political dialogue. This section also examines how the intercity networks of social media, identity-based collectives, independent records labels, and social activist organizations coalesced into an “underground” music culture and industry that focuses on the care and the pursuit of equity for queer people of color. Lastly, I argue that this industry disrupts the cultural and musical hegemony of unmarked whiteness in the power structures that gatekeeping in mainstream EDM.

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The sampling of music genres and the use of edit styles employed by queer

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communities of color is a generative space to examine how minoritarians articulate the intersections of music, identity, and community. Further, sampling, as a practice where producers take segments of “fixed musical text”<sup>2</sup> to create newly articulated compositions, is deeply rooted in Afrodiasporic musicianship.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the music heard within these scenes include, but is not limited to, Angolan kuduro, Brazilian funk carioca, American R&B, Hindi pop, and Dominican dembow. What is most interesting is the editing styles used by DJs to remix the genres, as mentioned above. Techniques, such as ballroom, Baltimore club, ghettotech, and house music, allow DJs to recontextualize meanings of the source material. Additionally, sampling as artistic expression reflects a sense of style and cultural knowledge<sup>4</sup> wherein semiotic indices are essential in the genre’s music making.<sup>5</sup> For example, “Ha crash,” a cymbal crash on the fourth beat that informs dancers to “dip,” is a staple in ballroom music. The “Ha crash,” which first appears in Masters at Work’s “The Ha Dance” (1991), is sampled from a scene where Eddie Murphy and Dan Ackroyd are disguised as racist caricatures in the movie *Trading Places* (1983). As such, remixing serves as a disidentificatory process that allows DJs to create new meanings to suit their needs. The concept of musical intertextuality highlights how DJs construct new “relationships, implicit and explicit, between different “texts,” including music, visual art, theatre, body movement, et cetera, in the process of creating, interpreting, performing and listening to music.”<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it is common to hear reality TV star Tiffany Pollard screaming “I don’t give a fuck” over a ghettotech track<sup>7</sup> and congresswoman Maxine Waters’s “reclaiming my time” over a vogue music beat<sup>8</sup> placed next to each other in an hour-long DJ set.

On the other hand, the practice of blurring lines between music and sound allows artists and DJs to (re)center the politics that affect them. For example, deconstructed club innovator, DJ Total Freedom, once sampled an audio clip of charges being laid against the officers involved in the extrajudicial killing of Freddie Gray.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, this practice of centering politics, whether overtly or implicitly, is a common aesthetic practice. This disruption of linear time is indicative of Kara Keeling’s conception of black polytemporality that seeks to use the past in service of present interest and desires.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, this play with time affirms the futurity often denied for minoritarian subjects. This is especially the case, given specters of various structural violence, such as police brutality, racialized homophobia, and transphobia. This sentiment is also shared by artist Mister Wallace whose Cool Mom persona is an “otherworldly being from roughly three thousand human years into the future who is ‘sent back here to right the wrongs of this time.’”<sup>11</sup> Therefore, music in this sound economy and club culture

functions as an intervention and reminder for those living on the margins of society to celebrate their survival communally. In the example of the Freddie Gray sample, DJ Total Freedom critiques the social condition of black life, while simultaneously imagining a future outside of oppressive structures. Furthermore, DJs and artists tap into an (afro)futuristic practice of using the past to reclaim narrative control of their communities and experiences.<sup>12</sup>

As such, remixing and re-editing points to how perception was influenced by personal history. That is, people's background ultimately affects how source material will refract and give new meaning to the source material. For example, singer-songwriter Kelela explains that any one song "could have three completely different lives for the same vocal and that's what we do. That's our culture. In the club you're gonna hear a halftime version, then you're gonna hear one with no drums, then you're gonna hear one that's 150 BPM."<sup>13</sup> Within this aesthetic practice, DJs that music is in a constant state of refraction because sound occupies "multiple systems and plays several roles."<sup>14</sup> This refraction is possible because artists' and DJs' dispositions affect how they reinterpret and create music. As such, this sound economy is socially mediated and dialogic. In the same interview, Kelela expounds on the role of collaboration:

"There's a way that we empower each other through that conversation. Not only is the song better for it, but when your ideas are constantly being challenged and constantly questioned, there's a way that you move through the world considering a lot of things. You can't navigate the way that a man would navigate studio sessions or even dictate the drums on a track. It was really important to me through this project that everyone was going to have to go through us. Not on some reverse-machismo shit, but really on a more profound level. There's insight and intuition and consideration."<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, collaboration as a practice forefronts the importance of diversity in musicianship, positionalities, and politics. In highlighting these differences, this sound economy and more extensive dance music community work to prevent centralizing power and authority within the scene. In doing so, this scene philosophically vanguards an incommiserate communism<sup>16</sup> as expressed by queer theorist Jose Esteban Muñoz where "living-in-difference"<sup>17</sup> is more representative of the messy negotiations of race, class, gender, and sexuality in diverse communities. This is especially important given how corporate structures have coalesced to flatten any representations of racial, sexual, and other socio-economic differences by universalizing EDM's function and meaning.

### Shifting Demographics, Shifting Priorities

Three historical events in the 1990s would ultimately change the politics and overall perception of EDM's function in mainstream audiences. Starting in the mid to late 1980s, the acid house movement – created by the Chicago-based African American group Phuture – made its way into Europe and influenced new generations of British, Dutch, German, and Belgian DJs who subsequently created new EDM genres. These DJs were affected by the African American DJs playing techno in Detroit and the dub and soundsystem cultures<sup>18</sup> of British Jamaicans. Consequently, trance, house music, and techno became fixtures within largely white heterosexual club scenes and the music subsequently departed from its queer and African American sensibilities.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the discursive shifts in European dance music scenes muted the liberatory politics central to the black queer underground scenes in the US. This was especially the case in the Dutch house music scene where they envisioned dance music scenes as escapist youth culture that “has no messages and gives no comfort.”<sup>20</sup> Ethnomusicologists and dance music enthusiast Hildegonda Rietveld speculates that because the Dutch were not economically and socially disenfranchised, like the racialized queer communities, they did not view EDM as a refuge.<sup>21</sup> Upon seeing its popularity in Europe, record executives repackaged the various dance musics created by European DJs under the umbrella genre, “rave music.” They then resold it to the unknowledgeable American youths. Therefore it becomes clear that EDM's apolitical narrative is vital to consider given the prevalence of Dutch EDM from the 1990s well into the 2010s. Additionally, the proliferation of British music magazines, such as *i-D*, *The Face*, and *Mixmag* on both sides of the pond further disseminated this perception of EDM.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, the AIDS epidemic effectively diminished EDM's founding generations of queer DJs of color whose presence could have pushed against EDM's lack of politics. Those who were lucky enough to survive either joined the straight and whiter scenes of EDM or joined pop-fueled circuit parties<sup>23</sup> that notoriously center white gay “masc”<sup>24</sup> (gender conforming) men.<sup>25</sup> As a result, the more radical countercultural principles were decentralized in EDM.

Communities marginalized by EDM's overrepresentation of white cis-gendered men, (e.g. women, people of color, and sexual minorities) began critiquing the status quo. In the last five years, journalists outside of EDM industries report the “canyons” between male and female DJs,<sup>26</sup> racist door policies,<sup>27</sup> and institutions distancing themselves from sexual minorities to avoid “confusing EDM event goers.”<sup>28</sup> These incidents are symptomatic of the overwhelmingly straight and white men in executive positions of music institutions, such as club management, record labels, journals, and festival

committees. In turn, straight, cis-gendered white DJs are disproportionately hired and praised compared to their queer and non-white counterparts.<sup>29</sup> Even critiques of the representational politics within EDM triggers “music purists” to react negatively. For example, DJ Mag posted a video<sup>30</sup> of racially diverse demonstrators dancing to house music in solidarity with the nationwide Black Lives Matter protests against the extrajudicial killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police. However, some fans focused their anger towards a sign that read “House Music is Black Music.” In the comments, people expressed that “music doesn’t have a race” and called for the DJ Mag page to stop “political sh\*\*\*\*t.” Despite others stepping in to explain how the sign serves as a reminder of house music’s history, those who were angered defaulted to the universalist rhetoric to justify their responses. In doing so, they perpetuated the narrative that EDM is a largely apolitical party music.

### “It’s where you come to dance out your politics”: (Re)Centering Community and Politics in Queer of Color EDM Scenes

“Underground” industries represent a functional necessity for queer DJs of color while simultaneously serving as one of the last bastions of politically ascribed countercultures in EDM. Indeed, this underground consisting of DJ collectives, parties, independent record labels, promoters, clubs, and social activist groups all formed within underground dance music scenes with similar calls to re-center alternative sexualities and ethnic minorities in EDM cultures. As a result, many of these scenes tend to collaborate by co-hosting events, sharing talent, and even operating as tour legs within an underground concert world. This section introduces some of the players that reignited underground queer and queer of color EDM scenes in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York starting in 2008. These collectives, DJs, and creatives have influenced models of current nightlife spaces and have also changed the trajectories of music-making in EDM and popular music.

#### *Los Angeles*

Though Los Angeles is no stranger to queer nightlife or EDM, there was (and still is) a shortage of club spaces that cater to queer people of color. Even with a healthy number of gay-friendly clubs in West Hollywood, many establishments have a documented history of discriminatory door policies that deny entry to Black, Latinx, and gender non-conforming communities. The situation was made worse by the influx of apartment developments and rising rent prices that resulted in the closing queer of color EDM institutions, such as Arena and Circus Disco.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, after

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the fatal overdose on ecstasy by 15-year-old Sasha Rodriguez at Electric Daisy Carnival (EDC) in 2010, the local government placed a moratorium on publicly held raves.<sup>32</sup> The ensuing moral panic stirred by the death of Rodriguez resulted in mainstream clubs, such as the Exchange, Avalon, and Vanguard, dominating the EDM scene (Rodriguez 2020). On the other hand, illegal raves still operated, but due to safety reasons many women and queer people of color were wary of attending.

However, a group of DJs and creatives would emerge to diversify Los Angeles's dance music scene. Club nights, such as A Club Called Rhonda, established in 2007 by Gregory Alexander and Loren Granic, harkens back to disco, house music, and techno's golden eras when racial and sexual diversity was celebrated. Indeed, the duo views nightlife as a cultural institution born from the politics of gay communities of color.<sup>33</sup> Around the same time in downtown Los Angeles, Josh Peace and Ignacio "Nacho" Nava started their party of queer of color misfits. Hailed as "LA's only straight-friendly queer dance party."<sup>34</sup> Mustache Monday was a menagerie of performance artists, drag queens, club kids, musicians and fashion designers that filled the void left by "great punk and art institutions" that disappeared in the 1990s.<sup>35</sup> From this group of creatives, Ashland Mines, DJ Total Freedom, emerged to give Mustache Monday their distinctive sound that would first entrench LA's underground scene and mainstream EDM.<sup>36</sup> In addition, Mines and collaborators Wu Tsang and Nguzunguzu had their party, Wildness, at the Silver Platter, a trans-inclusive bar for Latinx immigrants in Koreatown.<sup>37</sup> The collaboration between Wildness and Mustache Mondays led to the formation of the Fade to Mind label by the then New York City-based rapper-cum-DJ, Kingdom. This label is currently home to a roster of queer, queer of color, and women of color artists who would eventually influence the eerily dissonant electronic club music that made its way into mainstream music.<sup>38</sup> For example, former label darling Kelela's popularity illustrates the queer of color sound translatability for pop music.<sup>39</sup>

As a result of Fade to Mind's success in promoting the ethnically diverse sounds from queer dance music scenes, a new vanguard of queer activists, promoters, collectives, and DJs are emerging throughout the city. Ravers-cum-activist groups, such as Rave Reparations, seek to build relationships between local black queer-identifying DJs and EDM promoters. Additionally, they partner with underground EDM scenes to subsidize ticket costs for marginalized bodies.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, collectives such as Negress Mag, YOU, and Bodywork center queer femmes<sup>41</sup> in Black, Afro-Latinx, and Latinx communities. Negress Mag and Bodywork regularly feature international talent from cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and London. As

a result, these creative communities often pool resources for community members in need while sharing radical ideas that ultimately foster radically experimental spaces.<sup>42</sup>

### *Chicago*

Known as the birthplace of house music, Chicago is hailed for its diverse selection of EDM clubs. Smart Bar, an institution considered to be the longest-running EDM club, still regularly hosts dance music heavyweights as well as local talent. Smart Bar is located Chicago's Boystown, thus illustrating the entangled histories between dance music and queerness. However, Boystown and other well-known EDM clubs located in the de facto racially segregated Northside.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, Boystown, as an affluent and predominately white neighborhood, is guilty of discriminating against lesbian, gender non-conforming, and their racialized peers.<sup>44</sup> The neighborhood bars require multiple forms of ID from black and brown patrons and even blamed violent crimes on queer youths of color.<sup>45</sup> However, South and West side nightlife spaces – such as Jeffrey's Pub and Club Escape – have remained institutions for queer people of color.

Thus, a new generation of queer of color collectives continue to make space for their peers in Chicago's South and West sides. Due to the racial covenants starting as early as 1900, African American, and then Mexican, and Mexican Americans in the 1950s, were redlined into West and South Chicago neighborhoods while simultaneously restricting their access to neighborhoods of the North side. TRQPiTECA, led by DJs La Spacer and CQQCHiFRUIT, is a performance and production collective-cum-company that centers queer women of color in techno and house. Moreover, this company regularly hosts events in the historically Mexican American neighborhoods of Little Village and Pilsen in hopes of making EDM clubs more accessible to the communities that inform their AfroLatinx infused dance music. In 2018 the duo hosted their first music and visual arts symposium, ICUQTS,<sup>46</sup> to highlight work by queer, trans, gender non-conforming, people of color, femme, and non-binary artists internationally and around the country. Another Southside based collective, Party Noire, hosts dance events that are intentional spaces for Black femmes to enjoy themselves and reaffirm all parts of their personhood<sup>47</sup> in the Black and middle-class Hyde Park neighborhood. This collective regularly hires black femmes from other cities – such as NYC's Tygapaw, and Toronto's dance music vanguard, Bambii. Taylor and Alder have expanded their reach by establishing the Femme Noir Grant, which is awarded to Black femmes working in the creative industry. Lastly, the record label Futurehood, owned by "Cool Mom" Mister Wallace, represents the queer men of color

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from Chicago's Southside. He explains that the mission of his record label is to create revolution music that liberates young Black men who feel over-determined by society's perception of their gendered identities.<sup>48</sup>

*New York City*

GHE20G0TH1K is a well-known underground club event and subsequent scene created by native Manhattanite, Jazmin Soto (DJ Venus X). As a budding DJ and goth enthusiast, Venus X wanted to push against the Top 40 bottle service club model that was endemic to New York's club scene. The deconstructed club music that became iconic to the party and the larger underground scene sought to destabilize the Eurocentric conceptions of goth people of color by centering "darker" forms of popular Afrodiasporic music:

"Me and my friends were listening to a lot of juke music, Three 6 Mafia and Memphis rap, which is a very dark subgenre of hip-hop. I was like, 'This is so goth!' Or, at least, I thought it was just as goth as the type of music being played at the parties I was religiously going to, which only played Joy Division, The Cure and Alien Sex Fiend – bands that are considered to be pioneers of what we've come to know as gothic music. I also went to a lot of raves, but they really lacked diversity. We definitely wanted to fuck up the assumption of what goth was but also keep it pretty dark."<sup>49</sup>

Consequently, the party developed notoriety for its clashing genres and subcultures that catered to queer audiences of color<sup>50</sup>. Moreover, Venus X's penchant for crossing music cultures led to a lasting collaborative relationship with LA's underground scene. Indeed, throughout the decade, talent from GHE20G0TH1K, Mustache Mondays, and Fade to Mind would often circulate talent and music edits among each other. Adapting to a similar model in 2013, Papi Juice sought to diversify the Manhattan circuit party scene severely lacking people of color, gender non-conforming communities, and gay men of color.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, the party's rise in popularity coincided with Discwoman, a collective and booking agency for women and femmes along the sexual and gender spectrum. Throughout the years, Discwoman has worked to combat the rampant sexism within the EDM industry by throwing events with all-female lineups. As a result of their shared interest in creating femme and queer-centric nightlife spaces for people of color, the two parties would often share talent.

Throughout the 2010s, the queer of color EDM underground established itself as a contending cultural force both inside and outside its community. Indeed, Papi Juice and Discwoman regularly fundraise for local

community organizations, such as the Brooklyn Community Fund, and international non-profit organizations, such as the Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network. Moreover, Venus X's GHE20G0TH1K is considered important to the development of New York City's DIY club scene, while simultaneously influencing underground EDM communities in Berlin, Mexico and Stockholm.<sup>52</sup> Inspired by the success of queer of color parties in New York's EDM underground, newer iterations of parties arose to address the material realities of queer people of color. For example, For The Gwurls, a collective created by Asanni Armon, hosts a monthly party that fundraises for housing, gender-affirming surgeries, and general medical expenses for the Black transgender community. Similarly, DisCakes, the DIY rave collective created by DJ Pauli Cakes, established a common code of conduct for DIY and corporate venues and most recently pivoted their efforts to raising money for immigrant families "as well as queer, trans, and nonbinary undocumented immigrants" dealing with the economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>53</sup>

### Concluding Thoughts

This article has attempted to explore the ways queer people of color build communities in underground EDM scenes. Relatedly, this article also serves as an introduction to the intricate webs of meaning created by diverse queer communities. I have argued how these marginalized communities' liberatory politics render them largely illegible through mainstream EDM networks that center cis-gender white men. I also argued that their experiences as minoritarians influence their music-making. I also argued that their experience as racialized sexual minorities influences their music-making and presented how the music from these highly specified networks has appeal outside their community. However, there are still more questions about the relationship between these queer of color undergrounds and the white heteronormative mainstream. In his dissertation about disco's queer politics, Brock Webb (2013) argues that the emphasis on underground/mainstream binaries obscures the more meaningful relationships and embodied experiences felt by those within the scene.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the terms "underground" and "mainstream" are loaded<sup>55</sup> because of the overlap between the two scenes, whether philosophical or in practice. However, there is significant evidence to suggest that the liberatory identity politics and aesthetics centered in these networks philosophically work in opposition to white capitalist patriarchy that structures the music industry. As such, further research is required to present the means by which and the extent to which queer people of color act as a creative resource that moves the culture and musical innovation for the mainstream dance music industry.

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This is especially important given the well-documented history of the exploitative relationships endemic to the music industry. Consequently, it is vital to analyze if these queer of color networks are blueprints for creating a more symbiotic music industry.

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