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### Genres, webs of fields, and institutional change

*The development of dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, 1985 – 2005*

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#### Publication date

2023

#### Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Wilderom, R. (2023). *Genres, webs of fields, and institutional change: The development of dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, 1985 – 2005*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

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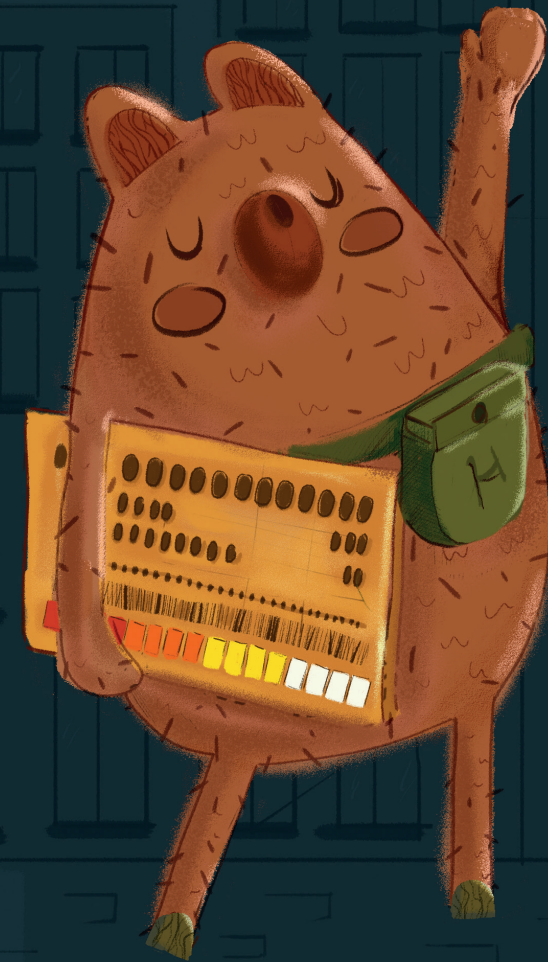
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This PhD dissertation addresses the question of how and why new genres become (un)successfully institutionalized. We know that genres—once institutionalized and “taken-for-granted”—help people to categorize works of art as well as those associated with works of art. In this dissertation, I investigate how novel genres come to be and start to fulfill such an “ordering” function in social life. The dissertation focuses on the history of the dance music genre in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, three countries that show marked variation in the way in which the dance developed. It works with data on dance label foundings, the commercial success of dance records, coverage by traditional newspapers and the specialized music press, among others, which are analyzed using both computational social science and qualitative/historical methods.

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and the Netherlands, 1985–2005



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Rens Wilderom



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The development of dance in the US, UK,  
and the Netherlands, 1985 – 2005

Thesis

to obtain the degree of  
Doctor from the University  
of Amsterdam by command of  
the rector magnificus

*Prof. dr. ir. P.P.C.C. Verbeek*

by

*Rens Wilderom*

born in Velsen



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# Acknowledgements

## *To the people of Ukraine*

PhD trajectories are known as solitary endeavors (and, to some extent, they are), but, as some readers can perhaps confirm or imagine, they also consist of a great deal of teamwork: from the generation of ideas, to overcoming technical hurdles, to finding time together to rest and enjoy, people, including PhDs, get things done together.

Here is some praise for all those people who were there during the adventure that led to the dissertation that you are currently reading.

To start, I would like to thank my supervisors Alex van Venrooij and Giseline Kuipers, both were critical in my development as an academic and as a person. I owe them a lot. Next, I am grateful to my mom and Lena, two people who were pivotal on another level by providing love, endless patience, and motivation during different stages of the PhD trajectory. We did this together. Koko, our Scottish Fold, also deserves an honorable mention here. This older gray lady adds so much coziness to our household and I cannot imagine how dull home working, for instance during the lockdown period, would have been without her.

Then, my paranymphs, a term used for ceremonial assistants since the ancient Greek times and, while it mostly disappeared, it is, interestingly, still actively used in the Netherlands in the context of PhD defenses. Myra and Sander are longstanding colleagues and friends who are not only there to help with completing the PhD, but they were also there from the beginning, and with whom, in different configurations, I had to the joy to travel the roads of Quebec, play hours of table tennis, and spend splendid times at Cafe Koosje.

I would also like to thank my PhD committee members, Stoyan Sgourev, Shyon Baumann, Jennifer Lena, Joris Ebbbers, Robert Kloosterman, and Olav Velthuis, for taking the time to engage with my work, and taking it seriously enough to share their critique and helping me to identify weaknesses, new perspectives and grow as an academic. I would like to express extra gratitude to Shyon for being also the kindest host during my research visit in Toronto, helping to turn this into one of the highlights in my PhD trajectory, and to Olav for his support in the past years and his guidance as a mentor.

An important contribution to this PhD dissertation is also made by Wout (my brother and the designer of this book), Pat (the editor) and Ulyana (the illustrator). It was a true pleasure to work together with you.

I also would like to thank my colleagues at the Sociology Department of the University of Amsterdam, the School of Management at the American University Kyiv, and the Computational Social Science Bachelor Program at the University of Amsterdam. I want to especially thank my colleagues in the latter team for their flexibility at times when my schedule was overflowing with responsibilities. I will not mention everyone with whom I am working on a daily basis, but I consider it a true pleasure to be part of such great work environments, filled with talented and kind people. People who I do not see (anymore) on a daily basis, and who are therefore extra worth mentioning, are Tymofii Brik (for the nicest sociology “walks and talks”), Giovanni Esposito and Matthew McKinlay (my EGOS conference friends and collaborators), Nanne van Noord (who sees some sense in the ideas I am developing in this thesis, and likes to explore them further in the context of the film art world), Thijs van Dooremalen (probably the only person who understands how hilarious the question “How are things in Nijmegen?” is), as well as my former colleagues Davide Beraldo, Anna Keuchenius, Tim ten Ham, Jos Bartman, and Lus Prauthois who brightened up PhD life.

At this point, it is important to name my Ukrainian family (Valentina, Olga, Inga, Lesha, and Valentina Ivanivna), who partly cannot be here due to the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, which still has a profound effect on their daily lives. I’m grateful for all the support that you gave while I was finishing my PhD, the nice family dinners we had, the enriching cooking workshops you taught, and I am looking forward to our reunion. I am also grateful to the Wilderom family, Marijke, Rob, and Jorit, as well as our neighbors, Bauke and Nancy, for showing their support and proudness.

Finally, I would like to thank all my friends in the Netherlands, Ukraine and elsewhere in the world for adding color to my life. This includes long standing friends, Robbin, Lenny, Martin, Ankit, Cees, Tim, Sven, Olaf, Thomas and Marijtje, my dear friends in Ukraine, Alexander, Lesha, and Sasha, Serge, Lusia, Tarras, Lera, Vova, Max and Ksusia, my Scottish mates, Will, Sam, and Russell, as well as Taylor, Marie-Lise, Patrick, and so many other nice people that I met during my five month research visit in Toronto. Last but not least, also a shout out to my bouldering/swimming friends, Thorsten and Oleksii, who kept me active and fit.

# Publication overview

Chapter 2—Intersecting fields: The influence of proximate field dynamics on the development of electronic/dance music in the US and UK.

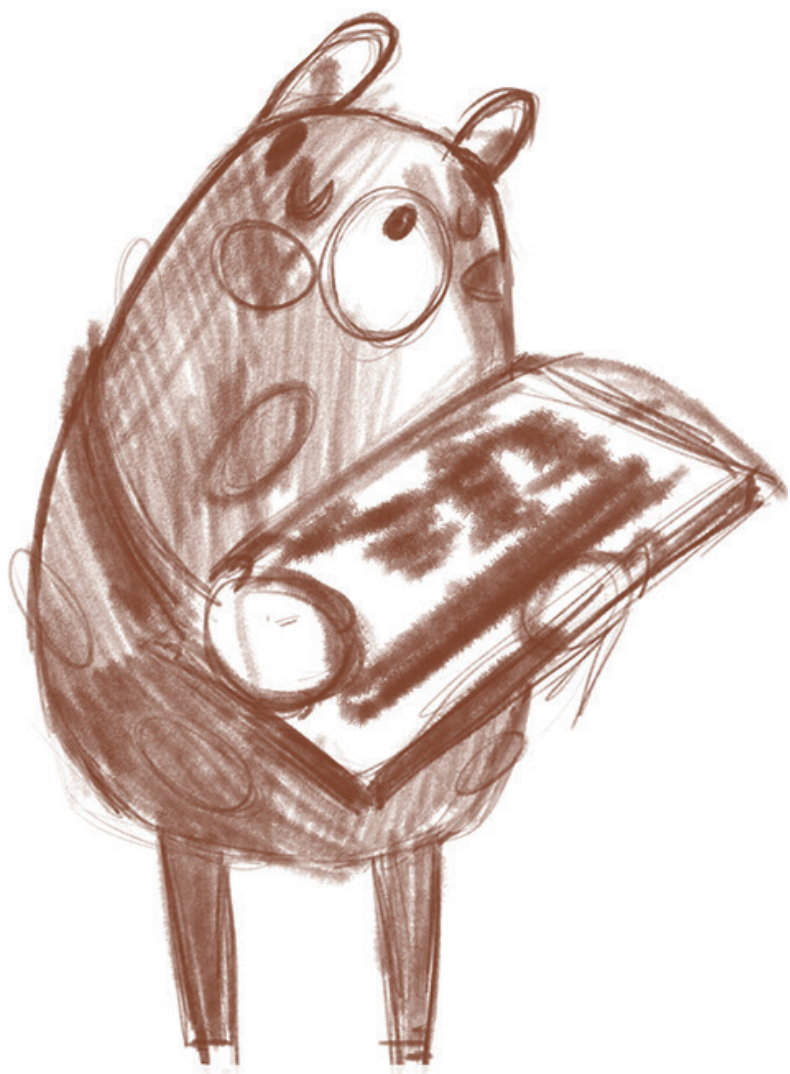
*Status:* published in *Poetics*.

Chapter 3—The dance of markets and movements: The emergence and development of dance genres in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, 1985–2005. *Status:* under review at *Poetics*.

Chapter 4—When existing genre communities adopt new genres: analyzing networks and market information to explain the rise of trance music.

*Status:* revise and resubmit at *Cultural Sociology*.

Chapter 5—How moral panics lead to legitimation: the British dance field as a societal threat and legitimate leisure activity, 1985–2005. *Status:* under review at *Sociology*.



# Chapter 1 — Introduction: understanding the uneven institutionalization of dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands

## *The innovative dance genre*

As an artistic invention from the mid-1980s, house music emerged in a predominantly African American, Latino, and gay community in Chicago (Lena, 2012). DJ/producers such as Frankie Knuckles, Jesse Saunders, and others broke with the musical conventions of that time by remixing disco records with, for example, Philadelphia soul, sound effects of running trains, and, most importantly, electronically fabricated drum beats. In Detroit an associated genre emerged called techno, and also in New York communities formed around these musical innovations, which took advantage of technological developments in music production, such as the relatively affordable Roland drum machine, which entered the US market in the beginning of the 1980s. House and techno are two germinal genres, that is, genres that are seen—at least by some of the people involved—as breaking with the existing ways in which music was made (Lena, 2012). House and techno further evolved into a so-called electronic/dance music genre stream, consisting also of acid house, hardcore, and trance, among others (see also, Van Venrooij, 2015). Throughout this PhD dissertation, I refer to this genre stream as “dance.”<sup>1</sup>

1 Chapter two is an exception, and speaks of “electronic/dance music,” without shortening it to dance. The term “dance” is often used by actors in the mainstream music market, such as industry federations, who use it as a sales category in their (annual) reports. For some, the term “dance” can therefore have a commercial connotation, which is not necessarily intended here. Instead, it is used to refer to a broad scope of dance genres, which emerged out of, and after, house and techno (Lena, 2012; Van Venrooij, 2015). Included are commercially successful dance genres, such as Eurohouse, and less commercially successful dance genres, such as drum ‘n’ bass.

While in some local US scenes dance was embraced with enthusiasm, it had a limited presence in the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart, a key indicator of the popularity of music genres in the US. In Europe, however, the genre widely resonated with a vast community of producers, fans, and intermediaries, as early as 1986, not long after its emergence in Chicago. This is, for instance, indicated by the chart performance of the genre in the UK and the Netherlands, the two other countries with which this PhD project is concerned.

Table 1 provides several indicators of the development of dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, which draws partly on my own data and partly on the work of others.<sup>2</sup> The figures show that dance flourished more extensively in Europe than in the US during the period under consideration, at the level of music production (e.g., the number and growth of dance-oriented labels), consumption (e.g., chart performance), and acknowledgement by intermediaries (e.g., attention from the general music press). For example, the market share of house and techno during the period 1985–2005 was 8.4% in the UK, and 8.5% in the Netherlands, whereas it was only around 1% in the US. Even though dance enjoyed some mainstream success in the US, especially when taken together, the various indicators show notable variations between the US, UK, and the Netherlands in the development of dance in its domestic context compared to its two new hosting countries, where it became one of the most successful genres during the period under consideration, and disrupted the hegemony of the traditionally dominant pop/rock genre.

<sup>2</sup> The first three indicators are based on the analysis of primary data, which were collected for this dissertation, and in most, but not all, cases have been used in one of the empirical chapters. The fourth indicator on the general music press was compiled using Beijer's (2016) analysis of the Dutch context, and my own analysis of the UK and US context. The fifth and sixth indicators were estimated using various secondary sources.



**Table 1.** Cross-national differences in the institutionalization of dance

Indicator	US	UK	The Netherlands
1. Foundings of dance-oriented labels per 1M inhabitants, yearly average, 1985-2005	1.1 labels	9.3 labels	5.7 labels
2. Share house and techno (and dance genre stream) in mainstream music market, quarterly average, 1985–2005	1% (6.8%)	8.4% (20.2%)	8.5% (18.9%)
3. Extent of coverage by newspapers with national outreach	Very low	High	High (Beijer, 2016)
4. Extent of coverage by general music press with national outreach	Very low (e.g., <i>Billboard</i> )	High (e.g., <i>NME</i> and <i>Melody Maker</i> )	High (e.g., OOR)
5. Specialized dance media with national outreach	No	Yes (magazines, e.g., <i>DJ Mag</i> , and radio shows, e.g., Pete Tong's Essential Selection on BBC Radio 1)	Yes (magazines, e.g., <i>Extrema</i> and <i>Thunder Magazine</i> , radio shows, e.g., Robin Albers' For Those Who Like To Groove on Radio 3, and radio stations, e.g., New Dance Radio and Slam!FM)
6. Specialized dance media with local outreach	Yes (fanzines, e.g., <i>Under The Sky</i> , and pirate radio, e.g., Steal This Radio)	Yes (fanzines, e.g., <i>Boys Own</i> , and pirate radio stations, e.g., KISS)	Yes (fanzines, e.g., the early editions of Bassic Groove, and pirate radio, e.g., Acid Explosion on Radio 100)

It was not only the innovative aspects of the music itself that was appreciated in these two European countries, but, at least as importantly, its supporters also emphasized the revolutionary character of dance as a *social activity*. Reynolds (1999: 59) describes the change in the way that partygoers engaged with music as follows:

*London clubs had always been about people drinking, trying to chat up girls, looking good but not dancing. All of a sudden we completely changed that - you'd come down and you'd dance for six hours. The idea was 'if you're not into dancing, then don't come down.'*

Books about dance written by music journalists, who were often also dance aficionados themselves, contain similar stories and frequently also emphasize the powerful, bodily experience that one can have at dance parties, as can be read in the following two quotes:

*Suddenly the club filled up - not just with people, but with peasoupey, strawberry-flavored smoke, lit only by strobes. If you went onto the dance floor, you could only see a few inches ahead. It was just exciting, there was a real contact high. (Reynolds, 1999: 60)*

*The concrete floor became soaking wet and slippery due to the dripping sweat. The stroboscope, the only source of light in the room, flickers nonstop and the insanely dancing crowd hollows constantly: acieeeeeed! The party continues until nine in the morning, when the sun already shines in the deserted harbor of Amsterdam East. (De Wit, 2013)*

These statements, while probably reflecting some changes in how people partied before and since the dance revolution, can also be read as significance claims, part of a “cultural project,” in which people emphasize the extraordinary character of a genre, distinguish it from other genres, and promote its adoption by others (Roy, 2010). In this cultural project of dance, the associated genre communities (Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019) from the US and Europe played different roles. Simply put, while the Americans invented it, the Europeans did a great job in cultivating it. How and why this happened, and what we can learn from it, is one of the main concerns of this PhD project.

It is worth noting that these early differences in trajectory are still relevant today. The UK and the Netherlands are still prominent “dance countries,” as witnessed, for instance, by the annual best DJ of the year lists in DJ Mag, which traditionally are dominated by artists from both

countries. However, dance also became successful in Germany and Italy, among other countries (Verboord and Brandellero, 2018), and according to a 2018 estimate from the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, the dance genre now caters to the astounding number of about 1.5 billion listeners worldwide.<sup>3</sup> Its latest and fastest growing markets are located in Asia and Latin America. So, whilst the US, UK, and the Netherlands are important to the history of dance, it should be noted that the cultural project of this genre involved several other countries and is still ongoing in the present day.

### *The empirical and theoretical puzzle*

The trajectory of dance therefore raises an interesting empirical puzzle. How can we understand differences in the development of dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands? The differences in the development of dance in these three countries also prompt us to think about a broader theoretical question that is concerned with the institutionalization of new genres.

Based on the work of Becker (1982), genres have been understood as providing artistic collaborators with shared artistic conventions that structure their cooperation and help them to make choices about, for instance, the size of a sculpture, the level of abstraction in a painting, or which chords to play on a guitar. Genres also bring order to social life by allowing people to categorize those associated with certain artworks into, for example, impressionist and expressionist “schools” of congenial artists (Becker, 1982; DiMaggio, 1987; DiMaggio, 1992; Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019; Roy and Dowd, 2010).

At times, however, people create new artworks that do not fit into established genres (Childress, 2021), such as when Frankie Knuckles and colleagues, referred to above, entered uncharted musical territory and stood at the cradle of dance. The innovative, category-defying character of dance therefore also brings us to the question of how new genres emerge and start to fulfill this “ordering” function in social life. Put differently, the case of dance—as well as other artistic innovations—raises the theoretical problem of *how and why new genres institutionalize*. In this study, I refer to institutionalization as the process by which new innovations and associated

3 “Music consumer insight report 2018,” International Federation of the Phonographic Industry. [https://www.ifpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/091018\\_Music-Consumer-Insight-Report-2018.pdf](https://www.ifpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/091018_Music-Consumer-Insight-Report-2018.pdf)

practices diffuse and become a durable part of social life (DiMaggio, 1987; 1988; Hallet and Ventresca, 2006; Scott, 2014).<sup>4</sup> It is both the successful and failed institutionalization of dance on which this dissertation focuses, with cases of failed institutionalization being a consistent blindspot in the literature on genre development and institutional change in general (Battalina et al. 2009; Boone et al., 2012; Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017).

To explain such processes, I draw on Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) general theory of fields (in particular, their concept of a "web of fields"), which continues, and also furthers, the efforts of others to integrate the research streams on institutions and social movements (e.g., King and Pearce, 2010; Rao, 2009; Rao, Morril, and Zald, 2000; Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2017; McAdam and Scott, 2005). This body of work is, on the one hand, concerned with reproduction, order, and stability in social life, and, on the other hand, with the disruptive processes by which social movement-like collectives drive the emergence of new fields and change within existing fields. A more extensive discussion of these three key concepts and how they relate to each other will follow in the literature review below. Investigating the institutionalization of dance brings us to at least three more specific theoretical terrains—relating to genre trajectories, incumbent-challenger dynamics, and transnational fields—which I will discuss in more detail in the literature review below.

### *Existing perspectives on the institutionalization of genres*

Genre forms and trajectories

The cross-national differences in the institutionalization of dance are related, in the first place, to questions about how new genres expand beyond their initial communities, which brings us to the terrain of genre forms and genre trajectories. Genres (of music) are defined: "as systems of orienta-

4 As Scott (2014: 97) notes, diffusion relates to "spreading," whereas institutionalization, in addition, also concerns "stickiness:" how things become a more durable part of cultural systems (the ideas and meanings that people share) and social systems (both formal and informal instances of social organization and the activities they harbor). So, when I speak about the institutionalization of dance, I refer to a dual process where the genre becomes part of existing cultural and social systems. This topic will be further unpacked in the section below on how this dissertation will use field theory to study the institutionalization of genres.

tions, expectations, and conventions that bind together industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music” (Lena, 2012: 6). This definition is used in several chapters of this dissertation to help us think about the interrelation between genres and the people adhering to them, the “genre communities” (Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019).

Genres are supported by different forms of social organization: an avant garde, scene-based, industry-based, or traditionalist form (Lena, 2012; Lena and Peterson, 2008). *Avant garde* genres involve small numbers of people who locally experiment with new ways of making music. They are not yet guided by crystallized conventions on how the music should be made, and receive little or no media attention. *Scene-based* genres are supported by (inter)local communities, who are potentially linked through media (such as the internet), guided by relatively clear conventions on what the music and scene is about, and covered by specialized scene media. *Industry-based* genres are supported by commercial firms, with a nationwide (or transnational) scope, even more clearly defined style conventions, and are covered by mainstream/industry media with (trans)national outreach. Eventually, genres can also develop into a *traditionalist* form, where its supporters are focused on preservation and the protection of genre conventions and ideals from the scene-based period.<sup>5</sup>

In their study of 20th century music genres in the US, Lena and Peterson’s (2008) study found that most genres in their sample started as avant garde genres, which evolved into scene-based genres, later into industry-based genres, and sometimes into the traditionalist genre form (e.g., bluegrass, rock ‘n’ roll, and disco). These are the so-called AgSIT trajectories. Other genres followed an IST trajectory: they started as industry-based genres, then developed into scene-based genres, and eventually reached a traditionalist form (e.g., cool jazz, funk, and soul). Again other genres started as avant garde genres, then developed into scene-based genres, but were confined to this form and did not transition into an industry-based or traditionalist form. This is what happened to both house and techno in their birthplace, the US (Lena, 2012). Yet, as indicated by the considerable levels

5 While this study does not focus on dance as a traditionalist genre, the recent upsurge in books, (museum) exhibitions, and television programmes focused on the history and heritage of dance suggests that the genre may currently transition into such a form.

of commercial success and attention from newspapers and general music press with national outreach (see Table 1), house, techno, and several others dance genres did develop into an industry-based form in the UK and the Netherlands.

The concepts of genre forms and trajectories make useful contributions to the genre literature, but there are still some key unsolved questions. Most notably, Lena and Peterson (2008: 697), who paraphrase DiMaggio (1987), assert that “there is no theory of the dynamic change in classificatory schemes.” The studies presented in this dissertation will not complete this ambitious challenge set by Lena and Peterson, but they aim to make another step towards that goal. They do so by investigating the factors that can drive or impede genre trajectories, a matter that Lena and Peterson (2008: 698) do not address: “[w]e ... identify the developmental sequences of these genres, rather than focus on the mechanisms that cause genres to transition from one form to the next.” Addressing this issue, is the first key contribution this PhD dissertation aims to make, based on its four empirical studies. It is one of the concrete ways to approach the main theoretical problem on the (un)successful institutionalization of genres, which in this respect is operationalized by the adoption of dance by various actors outside its initial community, especially those operating in the mainstream music market.

Baumann’s social movement approach

This study can build on past research on potential explanatory factors that help us to understand how new genres (un)successfully institutionalize. An important contribution in this regard is Baumann’s (2007) social movement perspective on artistic legitimation, which is inspired by the explanatory model for traditional social movements’ success (see McAdam et al., 1996). Below I will use Baumann’s (2007) theoretical framework as a starting point to discuss other genre studies, not only because it provides a structure to order the main approaches to artistic legitimation (of which the institutionalization of genres is an example), but also because it encourages us to connect these approaches instead of considering them individually.

Baumann suggests that artistic legitimation—the “process whereby the new and unaccepted is rendered valid and accepted” (2007: 48)—can be explained using the same factors used to explain the success of traditional social movements, i.e., (i) opportunity structures, (ii) resource mobilization, and (iii) discourse, ideology, and frames. Two premises underpin this proposition. First, both social movements and (especially upcoming,

unestablished) art worlds—here addressed as “genre communities” (Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019)—strive for a comparable objective: the wider acceptance of a counter-hegemonic idea. Second, both social entities also have in common that they reach their goals through processes of collective action. In a similar vein to how protest campaigns involve the orchestrated labor of many individuals (from people strategizing to those doing the legwork), the various stages in which art is brought to life are also achieved through collective action, which involves the activities of numerous collaborating individuals (Baumann, 2007; Becker, 1982). In the following section, I will discuss how the three explanatory factors of social movement’s success have (either explicitly or implicitly) been used in genre research.

Opportunity structure approaches

Probably best exemplified by the production of culture (POC) approach (Peterson, 1990; Peterson and Anand, 2004), the opportunity structure perspective emphasizes how the development of new genre communities is shaped by the environments in which they operate. “The environment” is analyzed both at the level of the organizational field, as particularly examined in early-POC studies, and wider the society, as also considered by later-POC studies due to the critique that the focus of POC research was too narrow (e.g., see Dowd and Blyler, 2002; Philips and Owens, 2004, on the issue of music production and race). In what way can research on opportunity structures help us to better understand the institutionalization of genres? In a seminal article, Peterson (1990) reviews several possible explanations for the breakthrough of rock ‘n’ roll in the year 1955 (and not, for instance, earlier, when proto-rock ‘n’ roll songs already existed). Peterson (1990) first of all dismisses the idea that the songs by Elvis and others could thrive due to demographic developments on the demand-side, that is, the growing number of young adults from the “baby-boom,” which, as Peterson noted, mostly came later. Instead he elucidates how various developments in the creative industries—namely, ruptures in the interlinked music, radio, and film industries of that time—created an opportunity for new independent rock labels to cater to unsatiated consumer preferences, an opportunity that the conservative major labels failed to recognize.

Peterson (1990) provides a rich historical account of these developments, while reducing the complexity of these processes to six relevant “facets” pertaining to law, technology, industry structure, organization structure, occupational career, and market. The six-faceted model, and the broader POC research stream, have been very productive in demonstrating

the workings of innovation in cultural fields. However, restricting an analysis a priori to this fixed set of six-facets would leave out other, potentially relevant factors such as transnational influences or media attention, which also matter as the case of dance has shown. Moreover, scholars focused on genre development demonstrated how new genre communities can surface and grow *outside* mainstream markets, a social sphere that industry-focused research tends to ignore (Bennett, 1999; 2004; Crossley, 2015). The following section discusses such research in which the genre communities themselves are more central.

#### Resource mobilization approaches

To better understand the rise of new genre communities, studies have taken advantage of the analogy between social movement and genre communities by investigating the latter as being constituted by a social network in which resource mobilization takes place. For instance, Crossley (2015) shows how so-called micro-mobilization, rather than environmental influences such as market ruptures, can account for the advent of punk in the UK. In Crossley's (2015: 80) words, "music worlds emerge as an effect of collective effervescence within a networked critical mass of actors who are defined by shared interests of some sort." These are the "sources of innovations," according to Crossley (2015), and he critiques POC research for paying little attention to them.

By relying on chart data and focusing on factors such as market concentration, classic POC research, such as that of Peterson and Berger (1975) and Peterson (1990), can at best demonstrate when markets are more or less receptive to new genres, but not how and why they develop in the first place. Moreover, Crossley (2015) found that in the case of punk such market structures could not provide a sufficient explanation for the timing of the emergence of punk. Instead, Crossley (2015) focuses on several network generative mechanisms, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5. These can help us to understand how the institutionalization of new genres is driven by interactions in networks, which often already exist prior to a new genre's emergence (see also Crossley, 2008; McAdam, 1982).

#### Discourse, ideology and framing approaches

The credibility of new genres needs to be constructed in discourses that "convince" potential followers of their legitimacy (Baumann, 2007). This emphasis on the ideational aspects of artistic legitimation resonates with the earlier discussed "cultural projects" underpinning the institutionalization of



new genres. For example, Roy (2010) studied how discourse played a role in the cultural project that drove the rise of the folk genre. Its supporters celebrated folk music “as a music of the people” and placed it in opposition to modern, “cosmopolitan” music, produced for commercial purposes. Folk, in contrast, was said to capture the spirit of common folk that was not yet contaminated by civilization, and gave its listeners an experience of pre-modern times. There is indeed a strong overlap between this concept of folk music and 19th century romanticism (see Roy, 2010: Chapter 3). Roy (2010) documents how such meanings were important for the genre’s rise and later adaptation by different social groups over the course of its existence. Discourse, ideology, and frames, of course, also play a key role in the acceptance of innovations outside the realm of music. Baumann (2001) shows how the changing status of film—from entertainment to art—was shaped by a new discourse of critics, who appropriated a typical “high-art” vocabulary for the evaluation of film.

Studies on “traditional” social movements remind us that framing is an activity by which movements aim to produce new meanings, yet movements are also framed by others, including journalists, politicians, and business leaders, which affects their chances of having a social impact (Andrews and Caren, 2010; Benford and Snow, 2000). In other words, by considering framing, we can study both “bottom-up” and “top-down” meaning making in processes of institutional change (Purdy, Ansari, and Grey, 2019; Werner and Cornelissen, 2014). Such attention for new and existing meanings renders the framing literature more useful than the literature on “institutional logics,” which says little about the origin of these logics.

### *A field theoretic approach to the institutionalization of genres*

A summary of the existing approaches and the theory needed  
At this point it is useful to summarize what has been discussed so far, consider the balance between the advantages and shortcomings of existing perspectives, and outline how I plan to use a field theoretic approach to address these. I began this chapter by introducing the case of dance and the main theoretical question, that is, how and why new genres (un)successfully institutionalize. Then, the main strands of existing research in this area were discussed. I explained in which ways these approaches to genre institutionalization are useful to build on, but I also pointed out some of their limitations.

First, Lena and Peterson (2008; Lena, 2012) provide very useful

concepts to distinguish between different types of organizational support for genres, yet their study does not explain which factors underpin genre trajectories across such forms. Second, while Baumann's (2007) integrative social movement-lens on artistic legitimation *is* concerned with explanatory factors, the opportunity structure concept can be problematic because of its ambiguous nature and because there is a tendency—especially in most POC research—to focus on a limited set of elements in an opportunity structure. This leaves the question of what constitutes the environment of genre communities partially unanswered.

In the social movement literature, the opportunity structure concept also sparked a substantial debate. Many studies in this area focused on the relative importance of different dimensions of the opportunity structure on a movement's success (e.g., the role of media versus the role of political leaders; see Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). Such efforts, as Goldstone notes, tend to reduce opportunity structures to particular dimensions, while it is especially crucial to study the relationships between various environmental dimensions—the “external relational fields” (2004: 356)—and of them to the movement. Moreover, while Baumann (2007) advocates for an integrative approach in which studies consider how two or three of the explanatory factors work together, many studies of the institutionalization of genres tend to be either market-focused (i.e., in the camp of POC studies) or genre community-focused (i.e., in the camp of research mobilization and network studies).

To better our understanding of how new genres institutionalize, we need a theoretical model that allows us to zoom out to, among others, the level of the market, and zoom in, for instance, to the level of a single genre community. Such a model should also be attentive to established and emerging (disruptive) forms of social organization. In my view, such a framework is provided by Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields, which not only is broadly applicable to any case concerned with social stability and/or change, but also offers a limited set of basic principles to study these.

The combination of flexibility and parsimony that this general field theory provides allows scholars to further engage in conversations beyond the boundaries of their subfields in sociology, or even disciplines in the social sciences, thereby helping them to overcome the “Balkanization” (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012) or “hyper fragmentation” (Parker and Corte, 2017) that currently characterizes sociology. This can be achieved by exploring and emphasizing the similarities, rather than differences, between

the empirical phenomena, methods, and concepts used in different sociological subfields.

That is, in short, to work on a *more collaborative sociological project*.<sup>6</sup>

In the following section, I will review the basic premises of Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory, along with other field theoretic concepts that are relevant for the present study.

Fields come in different shapes and sizes

Throughout this dissertation, I draw upon Fligstein and McAdam's (2012: 9) concept of (strategic action) fields, defined as, "a constructed meso-level social order in which actors (who can be individual or collective) are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared (which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field (including who has power and why), and the rules governing legitimate action in the field." Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) broad field concept is intended to classify different types of social orders as "fields," and it is not restricted to, for instance, organizational fields, sectors, or markets.

So, the dance genre community in a mainstream music market can be treated as a *field within a field*, as I will discuss in more detail below in the section on relationships between fields. Using an inclusive field concept does not imply that all fields are the same. Whilst emerging genre communities are probably best understood as social movement-like new fields, especially when they challenge existing genre hierarchies and power relationships within and between fields (Baumann, 2007; Fligstein and

<sup>6</sup> This practice of subfield formation is considered by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) as an obstacle to knowledge accumulation, something with which I agree. So, one of my rationales to opt for a general theory of fields is that it stimulates sociologists not to develop more subfield jargon, but rather to become more attentive to the commonalities between different objects of research, and to work on a more collaborative project. Committing to this project, I follow the efforts of many other cultural sociologists with a more integrative agenda and who sourced ideas from different areas of sociology and even outside it. Peterson and Berger (1975) were, in this regard, pioneers, as they crafted their POC approach to study cultural fields. As Dowd (2007: 2) puts it, "they called for a programmatic approach in cultural sociology that accumulates knowledge in a variety of ways – including building on insights from beyond cultural sociology (e.g., sociology of science) and comparing processes at work across settings (e.g., music and film industries)."

McAdam, 2012), the mainstream music market constitutes an established organizational field, with more entrenched understandings about the purpose of the field, rules, role structures, and so on. In this study, I consider several other fields that interact with local dance genre communities. These are, for instance, state fields, media fields, and the transnational dance field, formed by participants in dance genre communities in different national contexts who take one another into account and are engaged in exchange relationships (e.g., see Chapter 2, or Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019) on the field-defining interdependence of the US and UK dance genre communities).

Some of these field types are also considered by Bourdieu (1996), who, in a similar vein, emphasizes that fields of cultural production are nested in a field of power, which, in turn, is part of a national field. Yet, as others have previously argued (Buchholz, 2016), Bourdieu's original model of how cultural fields are nested cannot encompass the complexity of being simultaneously nested in a set of national, transnational, and possibly other types of fields.<sup>7</sup> For this we need a more flexible concept to specify how fields interrelate, and below I will explain why I think that the concept of "web of fields" is particularly useful for this task.

#### Relationships between fields

The central message of Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) book is that we can understand the stability of, or changes within, any field as largely being a product of its relationships to other fields. Field environments are thus understood as being formed by a number of other fields, some of which are *proximate fields* (fields with which a focal field has an interdependent or one-sidedly dependent relationship), while others are *distal fields* (fields that are [mostly] unconnected to a field under consideration). When considering the ties between a focal field and several proximate fields, which, in turn, are often also linked to each other, we can then imagine a "web of

7 Another way in which Bourdieu's field concept differs from Fligstein and McAdam's is that the former tends to emphasize how individual actors may intend to climb in the field hierarchy, as they compete with one another (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984), whereas Fligstein and McAdam place a greater emphasis on how people collectively aim to advance their position. (Fligstein and McAdam do appreciate that, in the *Rules of Art*, Bourdieu (1996) does provide an account of how people—i.e., the "avant-garders" and different schools within the avant-garde—collectively act in fields and may drive the emergence of new fields.)

fields.” In this study, such webs are treated as an “opportunity structure” (Baumann, 2007; McAdam et al. 1996), which can shape the institutionalization process of new genres. For example, Chapter 5 considers how the British dance genre community’s institutionalization was shaped by its relationship with the mainstream music market and the media (both of which are also discussed in Chapter 2, or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019), and, importantly, also through its relationships with state fields. It also addresses the question of how the British dance genre community’s relationship with one proximate field exerted an influence on its relationship with other proximate fields. In this way it exploits the web of fields concept to conduct a relational field analysis that goes beyond the analysis of several individual field dyads. An important step in field analyses is thus to define to which proximate fields a focal field is connected, and how these relationships affect stability and change in a focal field. Whilst this is not an easy task, it is critical to understand what happens inside fields and, as Fligstein and McAdam (2012) emphasize, it is where most existing field research falls short, due to its field-centric focus.

#### Incumbent–challenger dynamics

Fields are composed of incumbents, those who are relatively influential within a field, and challengers, those who are generally less influential (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). These are the parties that dynamically interact within fields and can shape how processes of institutionalization unfold. An interesting facet of Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) work is that it does not posit the view that challengers and incumbents are usually in conflict, nor that they usually cooperate. Instead, it sees conflict and cooperation between the incumbents and challengers in a field as two sides of a

continuum between which fields are moving through time.<sup>8</sup> Several chapters in this PhD dissertation focus on the interactions, and power balance, between incumbents and challengers, and how this shaped the institutionalization of dance in the countries under consideration.

The case of dance exemplifies, at least partially, institutional change in the form of accommodation, i.e., a type of change that was initially “challenger-driven” but then welcomed and facilitated by incumbents (Micelotta, Lounsbury and Greenwood, 2017). Our understanding of why accommodation occurs, however, is limited. As Micelotta, Lounsbury and Greenwood (2017: 1902) put it, “the accommodation pathway is relatively understudied. Very few studies have given equal prominence to both the ‘challengers’ and the ‘incumbents’ and, thus, have failed to consider that institutional change could be driven by relational dynamics, rather than the actions of reflexive change agents.” Fligstein and McAdam (2012) note that incumbents usually resist change, given that the status quo is serving their interest more than it serves those of challengers, yet at times they can move with the tides of change and accommodate challengers’ innovations. Bettering our understanding of the roles of both types of actors, and the ways in which they interact (e.g., in a more conflictual or a more cooperative fashion), is the second key contribution that this PhD dissertation aims to make. Moreover, some studies in this dissertation also problematize the idea that challengers “drive” the initial change, while incumbents at a later point “follow.” These studies show that, in particular settings and at particular levels of analysis, we can also observe influences in the opposite direction, where incumbents are leading and challengers following.

<sup>8</sup> This is a distinctive element in Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) work, through which they distinguish themselves from institutional analysts, who often assume too much consensus and stability in a field, but also from social movement scholars, who often present perspectives of societies as being in a constant state of crisis. Undoubtedly, societies are usually characterized by some degree of change, but the pace of change varies through time. Being sensitive to conflicts between groups, and how, under certain conditions, these dynamics can be transformed into cooperation, represents another way in which Fligstein and McAdam’ (2012) field theoretical approach differs from Bourdieu’s (1984; 1996).

## Transnational fields

The institutionalization of dance stretched from the US to Europe and later even further. This means that the present study is not only concerned with a cross-national comparison focusing on failed and successful institutionalization as disparate processes, but also with how processes in the countries under consideration are *interlinked*. In other words, the advent of dance is also a story of cultural globalization that took shape in the context of a new transnational (cultural) field (Buchholz, 2016; Salles-Djelic and Quack, 2008; Kuipers, 2011; 2015). Fields are nested in several higher-level social orders, and this may entail social orders that exceed the national level. Especially in the post-war era, many fields have “opened up” for international influences and exchanges, which also increases the need for research to use a transnational-lens. For example, Kuipers (2011) documents how television programming—following the rise of commercial broadcasters in the 1980s as an alternative for public broadcasters—became more reliant on foreign shows and show formats. This led to the emergence of a new transnational field for television production, and also the need to study local television practices in such a context. One of the transorganizational structures on which this field rests is a community of cultural intermediaries who draw on shared professional practices and aesthetic standards for television production. US television production has importantly, but not exclusively, shaped these modes of production.

Djelic and Quack (2008: 318) call for studies on transitional institutions that attend to “cross-border interactions and . . . mutual interdependence.” Such work could complement traditional approaches that focus on cross-national comparisons. One opportunity to learn more about cross-border interactions is by asking how the success or failure of dance (or specific dance genres) in one country can shape its adaptation in other countries. This question is picked up in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Related to this, is the development of so-called satellite genre communities (Lena, 2012). Chapters 3 and 4 both help us to learn more about the development of genre communities that began forming around imported satellite genres, an area of research that, according to Lena (2012), is hitherto not well understood. Learning more about such cross-border interactions in transnational fields is the third key contribution that this PhD project intends to make.

## The proximate genre environment

In addition to opportunity structures, resource mobilization, and framing, existing studies have also focused explicitly on dynamics between catego-

ries (e.g., genres) within cultural systems, addressed here as the “proximate genre environment” (Aspers and Godart, 2013; DiMaggio, 1987; 1992; Godart and Galunic, 2019; Kaufman, 2004; Lieberson, 2000; Van Venrooij, 2015).<sup>9</sup> In the following section, I will consider how we can account for such dynamics in a field theoretic framework.

Research that focuses on the proximate genre environment is usually concerned with the recurring character of change in cultural fields, such as the ebb and flow of styles in the fashion market (Aspers and Godart, 2013), or genres in the music market (Van Venrooij, 2015). This dynamic is brought about by processes of *imitation and differentiation*: initially people may copy an innovative category (e.g., new genre) from each other, a process through which the popularity of the category grows. However, when many people embrace it, some will want to distinguish themselves, and at this point we can expect the emergence of new categories.

How can existing research in this area help us to better our understanding of how new genres institutionalize? Building on DiMaggio’s (1987; 1992) idea that genres need to be analyzed vis-à-vis other genres in a cultural system, Van Venrooij (2015) developed a formal “community ecology” model to predict how the success of one genre can spur the emergence of similar genres. While the success of a category can open up opportunities for the institutionalization of similar (genre) categories (like when the attention for house enabled the emergence of acid house), the declining popularity of a category can also open up opportunities for dissimilar (genre) categories. The “proximate” environment of closely related genres therefore also influences the chances of the emergence and development of individual genres. A field approach can incorporate these inter-genre dynamics, similarly to how Fligstein and McAdam argue that the field concept can move away from movement-centric analyses and take into account inter-movement dynamics.

Such a focus on inter-genre dynamics is closely associated with endogenous studies in cultural sociology (Kaufman, 2004). However, since the opposition between the “endogenous” and the “exogenous” may be interpreted as referring to “inside” and “outside” a field, the terms may be prone to confusion when working in a field theoretic framework. Instead,

9 I use the more general term “category” here, since research in this area is not necessarily focusing on genres, but, for example, also on styles (for a discussion of the differences between the concepts of genres and styles, see Godart, 2018).



I draw on the ideas and terminology used in DiMaggio's (1987: 441) work on artistic classification systems (ACS), defined as a "system of relations among genres and among their producers in a given collectivity."<sup>10</sup> In more simple terms, these two sides of an ACS are also referred to as a "cultural system" and a "social system."

Emphasizing the need to study inter-genre dynamics does not mean that they should be studied as detached from social dynamics. While Lieberson (2000) rightfully argued that trends in baby names are affected by imitation and differentiation and not by organizational actors who intend to promote certain trends in their commercial interest, such an approach falls short in market contexts, among other social domains, where trends are partly driven by inter-genre dynamics *and* partly by (purposeful) social action, such as the efforts by fashion houses to direct fashion trends (Godart

10 In other words, while it can be useful to construct an analytical opposition between genres and people (DiMaggio, 1987), I refer to this opposition using a set of terms that fit with the web of fields approach taken in this dissertation.

and Galunic, 2019).<sup>11</sup> The studies in this dissertation will therefore attend to the interplay between dynamics in cultural and social systems. This topic will return in Chapter 2, 3, 4, and in the conclusion, where I will further unpack how inter-genre dynamics can be studied in a web of fields framework.

11 For an insightful example of how cultural and social systems interact, we can also refer to DiMaggio (1992) who brings the new status of theater as high art in connection with the success of commercial film, which absorbed the working class audiences who previously visited theater stages. Traditionally, theater in the US was a form of entertainment offered, for instance, in Burlesque and Vaudeville performances. These were commercially-oriented productions, not high art, as catered, for example, by the museums and symphony orchestras of that time (DiMaggio, 1982).

While a “little theater movement,” focusing on not-for-profit, artistic productions, already emerged in the early-20th century, it relied mostly on amateur artists (in contrast to commercial theater) and it had problems with constructing a canon to define what serious dramatic works entailed. The success of this art theater movement was therefore limited, yet this changed with the rising popularity of film. As DiMaggio (1992: 28) puts it, “[it] was the evolving ecology of public entertainment between 1880 and 1920, which opened niches for noncommercial dramatic institutions that had previously been closed.” The success of film caused a flight of working class audiences from theater, which also led to the erosion of the commercial theater circuit. At this point, the movement for art theater, now also strengthened by academics to develop a canon, managed to attract subsidies from elites and elevate the status of theater as high art.

An interesting facet of DiMaggio's (1992) study is that, akin to cultural ecologists (Kaufman, 2004), it attributes causal power to culture (the rising popularity commercial film which competes with other genres of entertainment), which leads to changes in the social world (the changing composition of theater audiences and breakdown of commercial theater), which, in turn, leads to new changes in the realm of culture (the status of theater as high art). However, DiMaggio says little about the causes of the rising popularity of film itself, apart from linking it to “technological change” (1992: 44). If these causes would have been considered in greater detail, this may have provided an opportunity to illuminate an even more complex interplay between cultural and social systems. For instance, focusing on the period after WWII, Baumann (2001) does accounts for factors in the broader US society, such as growth of post-secondary education, which can explain the changing status of film from entertainment to art.

## *A brief overview of the four studies*

*Chapter two*, “Intersecting fields: The influence of proximate field dynamics on the development of electronic/dance music in the US and UK” (published in *Poetics*, and co-authored with Alex van Venrooij), addresses the question of how dance emerged and why it was adopted more successfully in the UK than in the US. Inspired by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) and Mahoney (2000), among others, it emphasizes the role of conjunctures, i.e. “developments in several fields that were historically prior and/or external to the dance music field,” which can explain why the transition of dance to the mainstream was hindered in the US, while it was relatively successful in the UK.

Moreover, the study shows that these two trajectories were connected, too. The peripheral position of dance in the US formed a precondition for the legitimation and adoption by actors in the UK. Our analysis shows that British music journalists were more likely to write about not-yet-commercialized US dance acts, suggesting they were after “authentic” new music from abroad. The British music field has a longer standing tradition of incorporating such authentic and obscure US music styles, including Chicago blues by British acts such as the Rolling Stones, or Northern Soul—an uncommercial form of soul made by African American artists in the mid-1960s—which spawned a vibrant British youth movement. The paper argues that this process of *status reversal* may be much more common in the emergence of—especially cultural—fields, pointing to cases, such as jazz, where some initial marginal jazz styles eventually defined the jazz field (Philips, 2013).

*Chapter 3*, “The dance of movements and markets: The emergence and development of dance genres in the US, UK and the Netherlands, 1985-2005” (submitted to *Poetics* and co-authored with Alex van Venrooij) is concerned with the emergence and growth of new dance genres, and how this process is affected by interactions between “genre movements” and a multifaceted field environment. It uses data on populations of mostly independent dance record labels to understand how the emergence and growth of these “genre movements” are affected by the visibility of dance genres in their domestic mainstream market (using data on chart success) as well as the structure of these mainstream markets (i.e. market concentration). It also looks at how these genre movements influence each other -- both nationally and internationally.

This chapter shows that movement-market/field interactions differ between countries: firstly, the development of the dance stream as a whole

appears to be loosely coupled with the market in the US, while closely coupled in the UK and the Netherlands, which can be explained by the relative openness for, and the success of, dance music in the latter two markets. Analysis of the development of *specific* dance genres also shows that in both European countries genre developments are coupled with the mainstream market. Most notably in the UK, the emergence of *new* genres is stimulated by the market success of other dance genres as well as changes in the market structure, suggesting that genre movements develop in a process of *differentiation* from genres that have reached the mainstream market. This finding can be explained by a strong presence within the British field of an “anti-mass market” logic, as also noted in Chapter 2 (or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019).

*Chapter 4*, “When existing genre communities adopt new genres: combining network and market information perspectives to explain the rise of trance music” (under review at *Cultural Sociology*) continues on the theme of market-movement interaction and the development of new genres. Using a historical case study design, the chapter focuses on the process whereby the trance genre displaced hardcore as one of the most commercially successful dance genres in the Dutch mainstream market. The study analyzes changes in the social network relations among artists and entrepreneurs in the dance music field and shows how a decline in the popularity of hardcore music led to a re-constellation of the social networks of hardcore and trance scenes at the micro-level, which, in turn, enabled the commercial rise of trance music. This analysis adds to our understanding of how people respond to popularity dynamics in sense-making/market devices, such as the charts (as argued within the “production-of-culture” tradition), and at the same time suggests that shifting network constellations can lay the foundations for the increased popularity of new genres (as argued by micro-mobilization perspectives such as Crossley, 2015). The study also furthers our understanding of how new genres, after they diffused to new national contexts, can initially start as “satellite” genres, which are then further developed by local communities/networks.

*Chapter five*, “How moral panics lead to legitimation: the British dance field as a societal threat and legitimate leisure activity, 1985-2005” (submitted to *Sociology*, and co-authored with Giseline Kuipers and Alex van Venrooij), asks how the legitimation of new and as deviant-perceived fields can benefit from publicity outbursts that especially emphasize their illegitimacy. Inspired by moral panic research, the chapter argues that the initial disqualification of the dance field was indeed beneficial for its even-

tual acceptance as it forged the mutual attention and involvement of actors from multiple fields—the state, the media field, the established organizational field, and the focal dance field—thereby generating a new “issue field” (Hoffman, 1999; Zietsma et al., 2017). While actors from state fields restrained some of the illegitimate forerunners in the field who organized “raves,” they also better regulated and facilitated the growing population of alternative, “substitute” organizations, who offered the new dance genre through clubs and festivals. Simultaneously, we also observed that the moral panic led to informal institutional changes: new frames emerged that underlined the need for better regulation and less criminalization, and portrayed the dance parties hosted by these alternative organizations as more legitimate.

We theorize that the impact of the moral panic on the legitimacy of the dance field is being constituted through a positive feedback loop (Kuijpers, 2015; Walby, 2007) between several, moral panic-induced processes: in response to the delegitimizing frames, new frames emerged that advocated for better regulation and less criminalization. This led to more accommodating regulatory frameworks, which further benefited the growing population of alternative “substitute” organizations. We also suggest that an understanding of the dynamics and effects of moral panics can benefit from analyzing the configuration of fields that make up an issue field and by considering counterfactuals. Looking at future research, it is expected that the pattern of strong delegitimation followed by legitimation can also help us to better understand the institutionalization of other “deviant” fields, such as those forming around Uber taxis, medical marijuana, webcam sex, or crypto currencies.

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# Chapter 2 — Intersecting fields: The influence of proximate field dynamics on the development of electronic/dance music in the US and UK<sup>12</sup>

## *Abstract*

This paper seeks to explain the empirical puzzle why between 1985 and 2005 electronic/dance music remained a “scene-based” genre in the US, whereas it developed as a successful “industry-based” genre in the UK. We use Fligstein and McAdam’s general theory of fields to show how opportunities for growth were influenced by developments in several “proximate fields”. More concretely, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data analysis shows that (1) the US electronic/dance music field was built out of the crumbling of the disco music field, which, in combination with an incumbent-controlled settlement in the mainstream music field, and the reluctance of some key actors in the electronic/dance music field to form alliances with these incumbents, restrained its transition as an industry-based genre in the US; (2) peripheral US-bred electronic/dance music genres were adopted in the UK and developed as an industry-based genre due to destabilizations in several proximate fields, such as the field of mainstream music, and music journalism; and (3) these two genre trajectories—one failed and one successful—were interdependent, as electronic/dance music’s peripheral position in the US formed a precondition for the legitimation and adoption by actors in the UK. With this comparative case study, we hope to demonstrate how Fligstein and McAdam’s field theory can be helpful for sociological studies of culture aiming to comprehend genre dynamics and changes in cultural classification systems.

12 This chapter has been published in *Poetics*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.101389>

## Introduction

“So they’ve done it again. House music hits the British top 40 this week with ‘Love Can’t Turn Around,’ the Jackmaster Funk/Jessie Saunders single sung by Daryll Pandy. Why does it constantly happen that American music gets a better welcome overseas than at home?” (Brian Chin, *Billboard*, September 6, 1986, p.33).

Writing in 1986, music journalist Brian Chin could not have known how relevant his question would be in the decades to come. As a US-bred music genre, house music remained a relatively unknown and commercially unsuccessful musical form in the US compared to the UK. For example, between 1985 and 2005, the US-origin genres “house” and “techno” had an average market share of 8% in the UK charts, while it remained below 1% in the US (see Figure 1). In this period, 489 house and techno acts debuted in the UK charts while only 23 debuted in the US, most of which were European and not US acts. The successful adoption of these US genres in the UK would also spur the emergence of several new subgenres. These “electronic/dance music” genres<sup>13</sup> would occupy a large segment of the mainstream market in the UK.

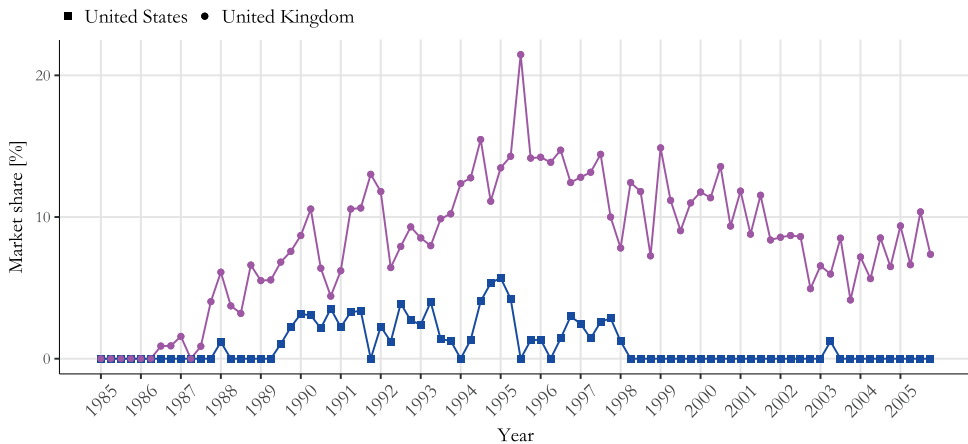


Figure 1. Market share house and techno music, period 1985–2005.

Source: analysis of own data.

13 We selected 44 styles that could be considered as the “core” of an electronic/dance “stream” (Lena, 2012: 8), which emerged out of, and historically after, the advent of the “germinal genres” of house and techno music. See Appendix I for more information.

Between 1985 and 2005, on average 20% of the quarterly hit records in the British music charts could be classified as “electronic/dance,” while only 7% in the US. The field of cultural production for electronic/dance music also grew extensively in the UK. Founding rates of new dance-oriented record labels were much higher in the UK than in the US—at their highest point, approximately 13 times higher in the UK. In addition, dance acts were also more strongly legitimated and embraced by the UK music press. Between 1985 and 2003, 71 dance albums appeared on the “end of year critics’ list” in the UK whereas the US end-of-year lists included only 25 dance albums. Moreover, UK DJs would take the leading position on the influential DJ Mag “Best DJ of the year” rankings, with 71 appearances in the top 10 between 1997 and 2016, while DJs from the US appeared only 21 times, indicating how strongly the UK became recognized as the center of production within the transnational field of electronic/dance music.

Why was dance music more widely and successfully adopted in the UK than in the US? Why did house music remain a local “scene-based” genre in the US, while it transitioned quite rapidly into an “industry-based” genre in the UK (cf. Lena, 2012). In this paper we take a historical approach and aim to understand the process whereby the “germinal” genres of electronic/dance music emerged in the US and how they connected to the UK music industry while remaining disconnected from the larger mainstream music field in the US. We argue that we can gain an understanding of this problem by taking a wider field perspective and analyze how several dynamic changes in “proximate fields” in the US and UK influenced chances of field emergence in both countries. We thereby follow the suggestion by Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) general theory of fields which argues that opportunities for the emergence and development of any particular field are shaped by proximate fields in its environment. This perspective offers a broader theoretical alternative to studying field emergence which has predominantly relied on invoking institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988) or social movement theory (Weber & King, 2014). Instead, Fligstein and McAdam’s theory of fields shifts our attention from a movement- or field-centric perspective—that, for example, in our case would focus on the endogenous forces that might or might not propel a local music field towards connecting with the mainstream music field (cf. Crossley, 2015)—to how the embeddedness in various fields can explain the emergence, diffusion and institutionalization of the electronic/dance music field.

Our explanation of the difference in genre trajectories of dance

in the UK and US thus focuses on “conjunctures” (cf. Mahoney, 2000) of developments in several fields that were historically prior and/or external to the dance music field. Analyzing such conjunctures, described by Mahoney as “a coming together—or temporal intersection—of separately determined sequences” (2000: 527), is vital to comprehend (a) the dance music field’s emergence and (b) its integration with existing fields.

It is these conjunctures of developments in proximate fields that are the focus of this article. We attend to the following developments in particular.

Firstly, we discuss the rise and decline of the US disco field and show how the local dance music scenes in the US, which formed the basis for the electronic/dance music field, emerged as a result of a field crisis, i.e. the crumbling of the nationwide field of disco. Although most narrative accounts of the emergence of the electronic/dance music field start with these local US “scenes,” we highlight how these local scenes did not emerge in a vacuum, but were built on the leftovers of earlier, nationwide field structures. This larger historical field context is important because it can explain, first, why the local fields emerged in relatively peripheral locations of the US popular music field such as Chicago and Detroit. Second, it can explain why certain key players came to dominate their local music field and, thirdly, why these key players pursued strategies that worked against raising their local music field out of the periphery into the center of their “own” national popular music field, but did pursue these opportunities for commercialization when these arose across the Atlantic Ocean.

Secondly, moving to the adoption-side, we argue that dynamics within two proximate fields in the UK—the mainstream music market and the field of music journalism—provided incentives and opportunities for the successful adoption of these peripheral genres from the US. Using insights from comparative field analysis of the media (Benson, 2005), the production-of-culture approach (Peterson & Anand, 2004), as well as the category emergence literature in organizational ecology (Hannan, Pólos, & Carroll, 2007), we argue that the material and symbolic structures that were developed in the UK contributed to the successful commercialization of electronic/dance music genres. These include the institutional structures and transformations to the mainstream music market developed by the punk movement and the competitive media field and its field-induced strategies for the symbolic demarcation and legitimation of these genres.

Thirdly, we argue that the diffusion of this music from the US to the UK was premised on a form of “status reversal,” in which the peripheral position in the US mainstream music field became one of the main reasons

for adoption in the UK field. We thus suggest that the uneven trajectories of dance in the US and UK were actually interdependent phenomena, and that the lack of success in the US was the basis of success in the UK. These status reversals across intersecting fields have been previously noted as an important source of field dynamics. Bourdieu's (1993) analysis of the field of cultural production as an "economic world reversed" shows, for example, how "the last" in one subfield can become "the first" in another subfield. Cattani, Ferriani, and Allison (2014) describe how peripheral actors within the film industry can become legitimated through their homologous position with peripheral audiences, such as critics, who are more likely to value these "outsiders." Taking this to a cross-national level, Cheyne and Binder (2010) argue that high-positioned tastemakers, such as critics of elite newspapers, value music from peripheral foreign places in an attempt to discover music scenes untainted by commercial influence and thereby to validate their own avant-garde position. We suggest that this mechanism was also operative in our case, whereby the peripheral position of dance music scenes from the US provided an opportunity for UK entrepreneurs and journalists to (re)establish their positions in their own domestic fields (cf. Regev, 2007).

Below we will start with a description of the relevant key principles of Fligstein and McAdam's field theory and briefly describe our data and methods. For more detail on coding for our quantitative analysis we refer the reader to the appendices. Next, we will present a historical narrative of how destabilizations in several proximate fields led to the emergence of electronic/dance music fields. We also perform both explanatory and descriptive quantitative analyses of the adoption of dance in the mainstream market and media field in order to validate key ideas from our historical narrative. Finally, we present our conclusions and discussion.

### *The emergence and institutionalization of markets and fields*

One of the key questions within organizational sociology, economic sociology and cultural sociology is where do new markets or fields come from? To explain the emergence of new markets and fields, institutional theorists in organizational sociology have frequently used the concept of institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988; see also Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007). The concept, however, has also been criticized for its overly individual or "heroic" accounts of innovation processes (cf. Suddaby, 2010). Institutional analysis has therefore in recent years drawn upon social movement theory to "explain bottom-up, purposeful change without having to resort to indi-

vidualistic models of behavior” (Weber & King, 2014: 494). Movements can mobilize people—including producers, consumers, and intermediaries—and through collective action processes create, popularize or obstruct the development of new market categories (Rao, 2009; King & Pearce, 2010; Weber, Heinze, & DeSoucey, 2008).

Within the sociology of art, this institutional entrepreneurship or social movement perspective on the emergence of new fields has most-ly been associated with Becker’s (1982) “art world” approach. Baumann (2007), for example, points at parallels between art worlds and conventional social movements. Art worlds’ development is understood as affected by a) their ability to mobilize resources (or how art worlds are “built from within”) b) an opportunity structure (the art world’s wider environment), and c) framing processes (the discursive-ideological work that goes into constructing value for new art categories). Crossley (2015) also applies social movement analysis by treating emerging art worlds as concrete networks, set in specific geographical regions (e.g. cities), and expanding through endogenous network growth. Emerging art worlds are also—as in resource mobilization theory—described as benefiting from linkages to pre-existing forms of social organization. Crossley (2015) finds, for example, that ties to existing networks, or “proto-communities,” facilitated the relative quick rise of the London punk scene, whereas this network needed to be built from the ground up in Manchester. Crossley also points to the importance of entrepreneurs who during the emergence of punk networks already possessed valuable resources, giving them strategic network positions, and the ability to “mobilize the network to their advantage” (2015: 19).<sup>14</sup> In Lena’s (2012) study of genre trajectories, most “industry-based” genres were indeed also found to emerge from either avant-garde circles or local music scenes. While both endogenous and exogenous explanations can be given for the transition from “avant-garde”, “scene” to “industry” genre forms, this frequently occurring sequential pattern at least suggests that nationwide fields of commercially successful genres are often based on successful mobilization

14 We take note of these principles by focusing on central entrepreneurs in the American and British dance music fields and analyze how their resources and understanding of the field affected the genre’s evolution. Translating this back to field theory, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) expect that “initial resource endowments” among actors within an emerging field shape its underlying (role) structure, affecting relations among participants that can become more hierarchical or cooperative, hereby setting a course for the field’s development trajectory.



of people and resources at earlier, smaller stages.

Within institutional theory, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have, however, criticized institutional entrepreneurship and/or social movement explanations for field emergence as either too “agentive” or “movement-centric”. One of the main aims of their general theory of fields has been to provide field-level explanations for field emergence. Their theory has three main components (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 3).

First, according to Fligstein and McAdam, the social world consists of a myriad of meso-level social orders, or strategic action fields, “in which actors ... are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared (which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field ... and the rules governing legitimate action in the field” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 9). Such fields can exist in different states, i.e. emergence, settlement or in crisis. In emergent fields, actors start taking each other into account, and shared understandings begin to take shape, a process that can be quite conflictual. Settled fields can be characterized along a continuum “with those exhibiting high levels of consensus, coalition, and cooperation at one end and those based on stark hierarchy and stark differences in power at the other” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 90). More intensive contestation of hierarchical role structures—often induced by an exogenous shock—can move the field in a state of crisis. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) explain that in most cases incumbents tend to resist change, thus protecting the status quo that serves their interest, aiming to keep field hierarchies intact. However, incumbents may also move with the tides of change by coopting challengers and becoming part of the institutional change project.

Second, Fligstein and McAdam emphasize the embeddedness of any given field in a broader field environment. Their main criticism of other studies of fields, including social movement studies, is that these have mostly been field- or movement-centric, and inattentive to how the wider field environment influences the dynamics of any given field. This wider “web of fields” can consist of proximate fields that routinely impact the field in question through recurring ties, or distant fields which lack this influence. The direction of influence between fields can either be more one-way—as in dependent fields—or more equal as in interdependent fields. These relationships with other fields are crucial for understanding the dynamics of fields as “the stability of any given field is largely a function of its relation to other fields” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 19). Destabilizing dynamics in other fields are generally the “exogenous shocks” that transform existing fields or

provide the opportunity for the emergence of new fields. A fruitful starting point for understanding where new fields come from is therefore inquiring into dynamics within and between several existing fields.

Third, Fligstein and McAdam argue that destabilizing processes in proximate fields can provide an impetus to people to organize a “previously unorganized social space.” Actors thereby rely on their social skill, i.e. “the capacity for intersubjective thought and action that shapes the provision of meaning, interests, and identity in the service of collective ends” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 4). Actors have a capacity to oversee and interpret the field, develop (innovative) lines of action, and, through skillful communication and framing, mobilize others for a common goal. Such framing processes can also be key to move people in existing groups for a new cause that is presented as congruent with the group’s existing ideals. As Fligstein and McAdam put it, “most movements develop within established communities ... by effectively ‘appropriating’ the shared meanings and identities that bind the community together in the service of the movement” (2012: 138).

Following Fligstein and McAdam, our analysis of the emergence of the field of electronic/dance music in the UK analyzes several destabilizing processes in both historically prior and contemporaneous proximate fields. We will inquire how conditions for the formation of new dance music fields were created due to dynamic processes within proximate fields such as the mainstream music market, radio industry, magazine industry, et cetera. In analyzing these proximate fields, we will also follow Fligstein and McAdam in examining incumbent-challenger relations, and how these affected dance music’s commercialization process. More specifically, we analyze how market structures—indicative of underlying incumbent-challenger role structures—affected the genre’s commercialization process. Finally, our analysis will also focus on the sensemaking and actions of key entrepreneurs in the case of the failed trajectory of dance in the US and compare this to how key actors in the UK were able to appropriate and transform resources from disintegrating proximate fields into the construction of a new field.

In taking this field approach, our perspective thus moves more closely to the production of culture approach within the sociology of art—which is more sensitive to environmental factors enabling and constraining the spread of cultural innovations. The six facets approach of Peterson (1990) describes how cultural production is shaped by six, interrelated factors, i.e. law, technology, industry structure, organization structure, occupational career and market (Peterson, 1990; Peterson & Anand, 2004). The

more general (and therefore also more flexible) field theoretical approach, however, allows for the inclusion of other types of fields such as, for example, the field of journalism. It does not restrict the analysis to six and only these six factors, and can treat these factors at multiple (national and transnational) levels (Kuipers, 2015). The production of culture approach also has been critiqued for ignoring wider societal influences (DiMaggio, 2000; Santoro, 2008). The embedded field perspective of Fligstein and McAdam (2012), however, would conceptualize these “macro” level influences also as the influence of proximate fields.

Fligstein and McAdam’s field theoretical approach also shows overlap with Bourdieu’s field theory, who, although less explicitly, also allows for the possibility that new fields emerge from the interactions between fields. In his studies on the emergence of the field of literature (Bourdieu, 1993) and modern art (Bourdieu, 2017), Bourdieu suggests that new fields emerge when internal struggles among competing schools within fields co-occur with external struggles in other fields: “A successful revolution in literature or painting ... is the product of the meeting between two processes, relatively independent, which occur in the field and outside of it” (Bourdieu, 1993: 252-253). Moreover, Bourdieu (2017) suggests that new fields can emerge through status reversals between fields whereby actors at the periphery of one dominant field can become “transformed” as the starting point of a new emerging field. We follow Bourdieu’s lead by analyzing how the new field of electronic/dance music in the UK emerged out of the peripheral residue of the crumbling field of disco in the US.

### *Data and methods*

Our analysis draws upon both qualitative and quantitative data sources. Our overall historical, processual approach consists of several subparts, using different sources and combining different methodological and analytical techniques.

Historical narrative of proximate fields in the US and UK  
To comprehend the history of the proximate fields that influenced the emergence of the dance music field, we predominantly draw on secondary sources such as music history books and academic papers. These secondary sources also helped us to understand how framing processes affected field dynamics. Here we focused particularly on the perceived relationships between early house and techno music and the “progenitor” genres disco and punk music. Using Atlas.ti, software for qualitative data analysis, this

question was further examined by coding articles from the main outlets discussing early electronic/dance music between 1985 and 1989—i.e. *Billboard Magazine* in the US, and the *New Musical Express* (NME) and *Melody Maker* (MM) in the UK. Finally, statistics from primary data sources (discussed in more detail below) are used to illustrate the narrative.

#### Quantitative content analysis of UK journalistic discourse

To analyze how the field of UK music journalism contributed to the emergence of the UK dance music field, and to investigate a mechanism of status reversal between the US and UK field, we performed a semi-automatic content analysis of articles on electronic/ dance music published between 1985 and 1989 in two British music magazines: *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker*. A Named Entity Recognizer was trained to extract names of acts and artists from these articles. Below we will argue that between 1985 and 1989, the field of UK music journalism opened up a space for the coverage of especially new, peripheral and not-yet-commercialized acts from the US. To test whether this was indeed the case, we constructed a population of 3065 “electronic” US acts, derived from the online discography Discogs.com, which had a release in the “electronic” category between 1979 and 1989, and had been classified into one of 20 “electronic” styles.<sup>15</sup> We additionally coded the location of the releasing label of their debut release, and we limited the population to acts originating from Chicago, Detroit, Miami, Los Angeles and New York. We also traced whether acts in our population had charted on the UK and/or US singles charts. We then use logistic regression to analyze whether UK journalists focused media attention on “first movers” in genres and cities, i.e. “emerging scenes,” and acts that had not yet been commercialized in the US. This enables us to examine whether dance music’s relatively failed transition to the mainstream music field in the US, provided grounds for a successful transition in the UK.

<sup>15</sup> These were: techno, house, acidhouse, garagehouse, deephouse, synthpop, disco, industrial, experimental, abstract, ambient, downtempo, freestyle, minimal, newage, electro, hnrng, hiphouse, italoDisco, newwave. These genres were selected based on having a minimum number of 10 debut acts classified within these genres, and only these genres, as to remove genres that only occurred in combination with other genres.

Quantitative analysis of mainstream music market structures in US and UK

Chart data on singles<sup>16</sup> that reached the top 40 between 1985 and 2005 from the *Billboard* Hot 100 Chart (3755 entries) and The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart (11,019 entries) were used for the analysis of dance music's commercialization process and market structures in the mainstream music field. Using additional sources, all chart entries were coded for the genre of the act (and in the case of dance music records the genre of the release), whether the performing act was new to the market, the releasing label, firm ownership of the releasing label, and licensing and distribution by firms other than the releasing label. Appendix II, Chapter 2, provides detailed information on the procedure for collecting and coding the label and firm data. Genre coding was done using two independent sources: 1) the genre classifications of artists' profiles in the Allmusic database, and 2) the (more fine-grained) style classification of the specific releases in the Discogs database. Hits were defined as "electronic/dance music" if one of the main genre classifications of the artist was coded as 'electronic' in the Allmusic database and if the hit in Discogs is classified as belonging to one of the 44 "core" electronic dance music styles (see appendix I, Chapter 2). We also used a restricted definition of only "house" and "techno" releases (limiting chart entries to those with electronic as their first main genre in Allmusic and house- and techno-specific genres as Discogs styles). These data allowed us to construct the following variables: (a) index of market concentration; (b) share of independent hits in general; (c) ratio of decentralized production; (d) number of debuting artists; (e) dance music's market share; (f) share of independent dance music hits (see Appendix III).

### *Proximate fields in the US*

The crisis of disco

The failed trajectory of electronic/dance music genres in the US and the successful adoption in the UK, can be understood within the larger context of the "field crisis" of disco. We will therefore first turn to a discussion of the emergence and crisis of the disco field and argue that the fragmentation of the disco field initially led to the emergence of local dance music scenes in

16 We use singles charts because (a) singles – rather than albums – are the preferred release format in the dance music industry, and (b) singles can identify a greater number of new acts than albums do (cf. Dowd, 2004).

the US, such as the Chicago house music scene, which in the US remained relatively peripheral due to the disintegration of the infrastructure of disco, but at the same time provided incentives for exporting the music to the UK and allowed UK actors to import these post-disco genres into their own field.

The emergence of the US disco music field was the result of movement-led changes to market arrangements, most importantly, the collective efforts to develop distribution channels through “record pools” and to shift the power balance in the role structure of the field from radio to club DJs. One of the institutional pillars of the emerging disco music field—the practice of record pools—was developed by New York disco DJs David Mancuso and Steve D’Acquisto, who sought to organize the distribution of promotional records from record companies to club DJs in a way that made the process more centralized, less hierarchical, and more clearly professionally bounded (Thompson, 2017). Previously, DJs approached record companies for promotional records on an individual basis. Record companies quickly became overburdened with requests, unsure of who were and weren’t legitimate DJs, and therefore selectively giving promotional records to some DJs while others were excluded. The New York DJs developed “The Record Pool” as a professional organization with membership lists of DJs to solve these coordination problems by providing one central access point for record companies, and a distribution system in which records would be shared among the members of the record pool, thus enabling the relative quick diffusion of successful records. The initiators explicitly saw themselves as creating a movement for enhancing the position of club DJs and called themselves “a liberation movement” (Lawrence, 2003: 159). The practice proved successful: at the first meeting of the record pool in 1975, 25 companies showed up, and within a year 183 New York DJs had joined. Although the first NY record pool collapsed under the organizational pressures of leading the record pool, the practice quickly diffused throughout the United States: it was estimated that in 1979 125 record pools serviced almost 10,000 DJs in every major US city (Thompson, 2017).

The involvement of record companies in record pools also implicitly acknowledged the power of club DJs as an important and successful promotional channel, alongside, and even more significant, than radio DJs. Together with the rapidly expanding number of discotheques across the country—by the end of 1978 approximately 15–20,000 discos were in existence (Lawrence, 2004: 315)—the early access to promotional material enabled club DJs to collectively make hits without or before the support

of radio (Stibal, 1977: 82). Institutional recognition for the role of club DJs as tastemakers also came with the development of the “Disco Action” chart in 1974 by the field configuring *Billboard* magazine (cf. Anand, 2005) which first presented local charts for most popular club hits, and became consolidated into a national chart in 1976. Indicative of the influence of the clubs on the mainstream music market in this period was that, according to our own calculations, 14 out of 17 number 1 club hits also appeared on the *Billboard* Hot 100 sales chart, and 11 of these 14 hits were first club hits (79%) and spent on average 7.5 weeks on the club hits before they entered the *Billboard* sales chart. Moreover, 10 of these hits never reached the Radio top 15 as reported by Radio & Records.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that club DJs were discovering and breaking disco hits before they entered the mainstream music market and thus had established themselves as an important pathway to commercialization.

This market structure of the disco era quickly eroded at the end of the 1970s due to, among other things, the overproduction of records, the overall shrinking music market, the extravagant spending habits of certain disco record companies (cf. Lawrence, 2004). Moreover, the adoption of disco by radio also played an important, but paradoxical role. Since FM radio in the US was strongly formatted, radio came relatively late to the disco genre, but the successful flipping of WKTU in New York to an all-disco format in August 1978 triggered a bandwagon effect and a large number of radio stations also switched formats to disco. By the end of 1978, approximately 200 FM stations had an all-disco format.

This had two major consequences. First, this shifted the power balance from club DJs to radio DJs, as the renewed importance of radio as a promotion channel was taken by record companies as a reason to stop providing records to record pools, which also proved difficult to maintain, and to disband disco departments (Lawrence, 2004: 389). Second, as radio DJs had more stable positions (Peterson, 1978), the flip in format did not always result in the hiring of new DJs with affinity with disco, and many radio DJs grew dissatisfied with the disco music that they now had to play. Among them was Steve Dahl, who was hired at Chicago’s WDAI when it was a soft-rock station but shortly after Dahl’s arrival decided to flip to disco, which made Dahl’s position untenable and led him to develop an industry-internal movement against disco (cf. King & Pearce, 2010: 253). This culminated in the Disco Demolition event at Chicago’s Comiskey Park in which disco records were ritually burned. Dahl’s crusade against disco was “mimicked all over the country” (Lawrence, 2004: 376) and was considered

a signal for many record companies to stop producing disco.

Chicago house and the residue of disco

This field crisis of disco was the context in which house music developed. The Chicago house music scene initially developed around the resources that were brought to Chicago through the successful nationwide spread of disco. Several of the central actors in the house music scene had a history in disco. Frankie Knuckles was one of the first members of the original Record Pool in New York city, and moved to Chicago in the mid 70s, to become a DJ at the newly founded disco club, the Warehouse—one of the foci around which the Chicago house music scene later developed. Rocky Jones, owner of one of the two largest house music labels, DJ International, was previously involved in the organization of the local Audio-Talent Record Pool in Chicago. The distinctive musical characteristics of house music can also be traced to disco. With a shortage of US disco records, more cheaply produced, imported disco records from Italy (where the disco industry remained more viable) popularized a sparser sound in Chicago. DJs also experimented with reel-to-reel tapes and drum computers to make the most of the remaining disco records. The shortage of disco records, however, also incentivized local DJs to play material produced by local acts, most of them first time producers and new to the industry. Chicago clubs such as The Warehouse and the Music Box, became access points for an increasing number of local producers that started to produce a form of disco music which came to be known as house music.

The Chicago house scene, however, developed at the time when the field of disco had disintegrated internally and had grown disconnected from the mainstream music market. First, as the power balance between club DJs and radio DJs shifted in favor of the latter, the hit making capabilities of clubs had decreased. This is indicated by a less tight coupling of the club charts and the *Billboard* charts. In 1986, the time at which house music would have been at its high point, 11 out of 28 number one club hits did not make it to the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart (in 1976 this was only 3 out of 17). Out of the 17 number one hits that did appear on the *Billboard* sales chart, only 7 were established club hits before entering the *Billboard* charts, and spent on average 6 weeks on the club charts before making it into the sales charts. 10 out of 17 hits had their first appearance on the *Billboard* chart before the club charts, which suggests that compared to 1976, clubs played less of a leading role in creating hits. Only 6 of these 17 hits were not among the top 15 of the radio charts and could reach significant sales



without the support of radio.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, one of those number one hits on the club charts that failed to enter the *Billboard* charts was “I Can’t Turn Around” from Chicago house act J.M. Silk, whose member Steve Silk Hurley later had the first number one house hit in the UK Top 40 Singles Chart. Although a number one on the national club chart, it was only added to the playlists of 7 urban radio stations and did not appear on any radio charts. This was also the fate of several other Chicago producers who made successful club hits, but were not added to radio, and did not break the *Billboard* sales charts.

Second, besides a growing disconnect between club music and the mainstream music market, the commercialization of the house music scene in the US was also blocked by resource depletion in the Chicago area specifically. Economic geographers have long argued that the resources of cultural industries tend to cluster in geographic areas. The US music industry is strongly geographically concentrated in New York, Los Angeles and Nashville (Florida, Mellander, & Stolarick, 2010; Scott, 1999). This geographic concentration also affects chances of commercialization. Using data from 1997 on location patterns of independent record companies, Scott (1999) shows, for example, that the ratio of independent labels located in New York that produce at least one hit record is 2.56 while for other locations this is only 0.34. New York’s clustering of resources thus offers independent record companies an almost 8 times higher chance of producing a hit record than in other areas. Although comparable data from the 1980s on Chicago is not available, Florida et al. (2010: 794) show that, although Chicago is the third largest city in the US, its clustering of music industry resources—the number of musicians and recording industry establishments—is much lower than expected based on its population size. Using data from 1970 until 2000, Florida et al. (2010) also report that Chicago’s position as a music cluster decreased within this period, suggesting that the 1980s saw an even further depletion of available resources (cf. Chicago Tribune, 19 March 1992). This makes it unlikely that local music fields developed in Chicago in this period could mobilize the resources necessary for mainstream success.

This lack of available resources in Chicago, such as major label representation, gave certain key local entrepreneurs a structural power position, and, by drawing on their social skill, this allowed them to act as brokers to the wider industry (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012: 52). Larry Sherman, for example, owned the only remaining record pressing plant in Chicago, and local producers depended on Sherman for the pressing of their records, which enabled him to spot an emerging market, and develop one of the two

largest labels in the city for dance music: Trax Records. Sherman's control over the initially scarce resources thus propelled him towards a central position in the emerging scene of Chicago (cf. Crossley, 2015). This resource dependence also enabled Sherman to further control the careers of artists—new to the music industry—yet he acted as a “failed” cultural entrepreneur and was not interested in building a sustainable art world by nurturing careers, developing talent or promoting cooperation. In that regard, he resembled the early activities of Polk Brockman in country music (Peterson, 1997: 30), who also favored short-term commercial gain and discrete opportunities over the possibility of building a durable field. Sherman was not driven by values or “grand social ambitions” (such as the entrepreneurs described by DiMaggio, 1982), but by more lowly ambitions or—in the words of Anand (2000)—by “simple appetites” such as earning some “fast” money.

The owner of Trax Records also avoided signing distribution deals with US major labels (which in the US were crucial for nationwide success), either because of dubious business practices or out of fear of “talent flight” (Lee, 1995: 15). These deals might also have jeopardized his position of power and lead to the loss of control over the resources which he had acquired almost by accident. Another key entrepreneur in the Chicago scene, Rocky Jones, who owned the other prominent label, DJ International, also avoided making deals with US major labels, for similar reasons, but likely also because of a “hysteresis” effect whereby Jones, who had acquired his resources during the disco era, as he had previously organized the local Chicago record pool, continued to believe in the independent hit making capabilities of the disco infrastructure (cf. *Billboard*, 7 April 1990). In both cases, the strategies of Sherman and Jones to not cooperate with outside parties to enable the wider US distribution of the local music scene, therefore were a residue of the crumbling of the disco field. However, these Chicago label owners were quite eager to sign licensing deals with UK record labels, as these were relatively low risk and commercially profitable—especially for the labels, but less so for the artists. The same field-induced motives that constrained wider diffusion in the US, enabled its spread to the UK.

### *Proximate fields in the UK*

In the same period that the disco field's crisis in the US led to the emergence of local, peripheral dance music fields in places like Chicago, field dynamics in the UK provided opportunities and incentives for entrepreneurs to legitimate and commercialize these US music scenes. We focus, firstly, on how dynamics in the media field enabled the legitimation of house music

as a new music genre and, secondly, how transformations in the UK music market lead to a pathway for further commercialization into the mainstream market.

The British field of music journalism

Although journalistic media attention is an important factor in the development of cultural fields in general (Baumann, 2007), studying the music press is particularly important for understanding how new music genres emerge and develop in the UK.

UK magazines have traditionally played a more important role in promoting new musical genres than their counterparts in the US. They have aligned themselves more closely with emerging music scenes and the UK magazine field is thus also more segregated along genre lines than in the US, where magazines—with the exception of hip-hop magazines—have been more conservatively focused on similar, established genres (Lindberg, Gudmundsson, Michelsen, & Weisethaunet, 2005). The UK field of music journalism is also characterized by a stronger emphasis on newness: comparing the median career age of artists on the cover of the leading US magazine (Rolling Stone) versus one of the leading UK magazines (NME) shows that between 1980 and 1989 Rolling Stone covered mostly older acts (median age 17 years) whereas the NME featured younger acts (median age 5 years). This creates a more hospitable discursive opportunity space for emerging genres, as journalists more strongly emphasize the contrast between emerging and established music (Hannan et al., 2007). British music journalists, in other words, often take a “leading” rather than “following” role, and sometimes opportunistically created and helped to construct emerging genres. In the words of journalist Paolo Hewitt, “The British have always been good at scams. We delight in finding links between certain groups or records, christening them as one, and building a movement or scene out of it”.<sup>17</sup>

This “hype strategy” has its source in several aspects of the field’s structure (Benson, 2005). Partly due to the monopoly and conservatism of BBC radio, magazines have taken on the role of championing new music genres (McLeod, 2001: 48; Toynbee, 1993). Also, the ecology of the magazine field shows a high number of magazines competing over a relatively limited resource space. Overall, the UK magazine market has roughly

<sup>17</sup> New Musical Express, November 26, 1988, p. 19.

the same number of titles (2800 versus 3200) as the US, but for a much smaller population. Similarly, while in the US the music magazine market is dominated by one player (Rolling Stone, which is by far the largest magazine in terms of circulation), in the UK, especially in the 1980s, there are more equal contenders for market share, and at the end of the 1990s some 20 titles had to compete over market share (Forde, 2001: 25). This market competition is exacerbated by the reliance of UK music magazines on single-copy sales rather than subscriptions (Noam, 2016; cf. Benson, 2005). The Rolling Stone, for example, only relies for about 5% on single copy sales, while the largest music magazines in the UK rely for approximately 50–70% on single copy sales. UK magazines therefore have to compete per issue rather than having a stable customer base. These competitive pressures in the British magazine market are also amplified by their geographic concentration in London (cf. Benson, 2005), and the existence of “the weeklies,” such as NME and MM, which need to provide new content on a weekly basis. Moreover, Forde (2001): 28) argues that UK music journalists see the music press as a short-term bridging career into the mainstream press. These short-term careers can also incentivize music journalists to quickly “make their name” by discovering a new style or movement, and by consecrating new cultural products that in the end consecrate themselves as influential journalists within the field (Bourdieu, 1993; Cattani et al., 2014: 7; Van Rees, 1987). Finally, the presence of the tabloid press in the UK (and their absence in the US), is also an important field-level factor, as the music magazines regularly take the tabloids depictions of youth cultures into account as a negative foil for revaluing their own position as defenders of “authentic” subcultures (Thornton, 1995).

Due to these field structures, UK music magazines, as well as national newspapers and the tabloid press were quick to pay attention to house music and frame it as a distinct and new form of youth culture (Thornton, 1995; Van Venrooij, 2015).<sup>18</sup> Music journalists in the US were initially more hesitant about the claim of house music as a new genre, and considered it

18 Content analysis of two music magazines, NME and MM, shows that UK magazines quickly embraced US dance music genres, as indicated by an increased coverage of these genres in the same year as their introduction on the market (van Venrooij, 2015).

mostly as a residue of disco, rather than a new musical form.<sup>19</sup> UK journalists, in a concerted effort with record labels, emphasized the contrast of house and techno music as distinct genres in early frontpage articles in magazines such as the NME (on Chicago house) and The Face (on techno) and the liner notes for compilation albums introducing and defining these genres for the UK market (Van Venrooij, 2015). The fact that these genres were covered in the UK within (post)punk-oriented magazines might also have sharpened the contrast with existing genres, compared to the US, where the (relatively minimal) coverage of house was mostly in “disco” and “black music” oriented rubrics of industry magazines such as *Billboard’s* Dance Trax section.

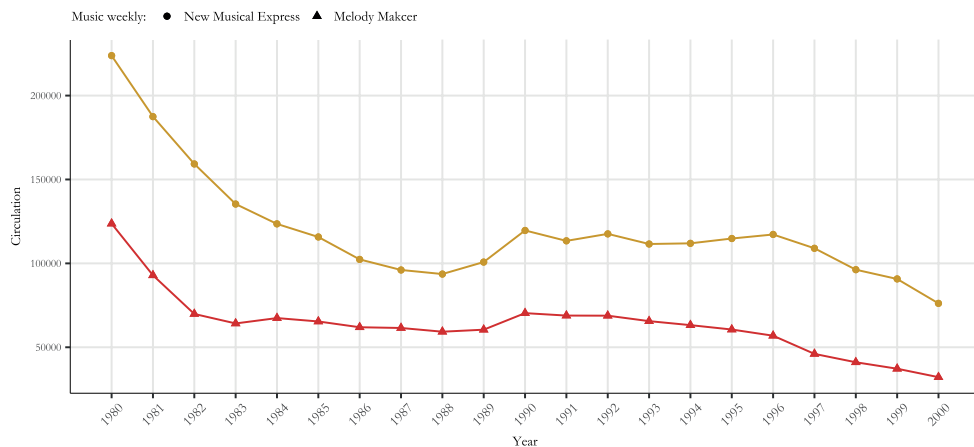
Why did the UK music press embrace these US genres in particular? First, a local field crisis seemed to have opened up the opportunities for the adoption of house and techno. The 1980s saw an increased competition in the music magazine field which led to a reorientation of the editorial strategies among major UK magazines. Figure 2 shows how the “weeklies” NME and MM, which had previously been uncontested market leaders, experienced a sharp drop in circulation since 1980. The decline in popularity of (post) punk,<sup>20</sup> to which especially the NME had aligned itself, and the emergence of new competitors such as Smash Hits and The Face, which were respectively more pop and club-oriented, contributed to this decline and caused a reorientation of the editorial strategy of the NME (Long, 2012), which included the hiring of new journalists, such as Stuart Cosgrove and Paolo Hewitt.

Second, these new journalists were guided by what Cheyne and Binder (2010) call “cosmopolitan preferences,” a strong orientation towards foreign, not-yet-commercialized local music scenes. As Cheyne and Binder argue, critics generally tend to value local music from abroad as aesthetically important since foreign music scenes “represent an opportunity for these writers to maintain their position as arbiters of avant-garde taste” (2010:

19 Nelson George, for example, called house music a form of “retro-disco” (Village Voice, 19 January 1988, pp.32-33) and Brian Chin of *Billboard* considered house derivative of disco (Lawrence, 2013).

20 Note on terminology: we write punk when we refer to the original punk movement, post-punk for later subgenres of punk, and (post)punk for all these genres.

354). Both Cosgrove and Hewitt had a strong orientation towards the US. Especially Cosgrove, who acted as de facto editor in chief, defined the agenda of NME in the mid 1980s, pushed strongly for the inclusion of US urban music scenes such as Go-Go from Washington, electro and hip-hop from New York and, most importantly, house and techno from Chicago and Detroit.



**Figure 2.** Circulation figures of New Musical Express and Melody Maker, 1980–2000. By 2000, MM and NME merged and continued under the latter’s name. *Source:* data compiled from the British Phonographic Industry yearbooks, 1980–2000.

Third, this coverage of not-yet-commercialized US music scenes could be legitimated in terms of an existing field narrative that defined US urban music scenes as “authentic” sources of new possible music genres (Kahl, Kim, & Philips, 2010). The UK music field has a long history of importing music which had remained relatively peripheral in the US. Examples include the “discovery” of the Chicago blues by British groups such as the Rolling Stones and the Northern Soul movement that revolved around the import of obscure soul records from the US. Not coincidentally, several key players who were responsible for the import of US dance genres, such as Stuart Cosgrove and Neil Rushton (who released the first techno compilation introducing Detroit artists to the UK) had a history in this Northern Soul movement.

Quantitative content analysis of UK journalistic discourse  
 To validate this narrative description of the “openness” of the journalistic

music field, we present results of a regression analysis of the inclusion of US electronic acts in the early reporting on electronic/dance music between 1985 and 1989 in two leading British music magazines—the NME and MM. By analyzing which US acts were covered in these articles, we assess the hypothesis that this reporting was focused especially on new, not-yet-commercialized and peripheral US music scenes.

To do so, we constructed a population of 3065 US “electronic” acts that debuted between 1979 and 1989. For these acts, we first measured the size of their local scene in their debut year by counting the cumulative number of “peers” in five cities—Chicago, Detroit, Miami, New York and Los Angeles (which constitutes 79% of our population)—up until (and including) their debut year. For ease of interpretation, we multiplied this count by negative one and created a “first mover city” variable that increases when the number of peers decreases. Second, for all acts, we measured the size of the genre at the time of debut, irrespective of location, for 20 selected genres by taking the cumulative number of previous genre “peers” up until (and including) their debut year. Again, we multiplied by negative one to construct a “first mover genre” variable. Third, we counted the number of hits of each act in the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart and the UK singles charts up until 1989. Finally, for our dependent variable, we measured whether acts had been covered in the NME or MM between 1985 and 1989 in articles on electronic/dance music.

Table 1 shows the results of a logistic regression analysis that assesses the impact of these variables on the coverage of acts. Model 1 shows that US acts that debuted after 1985 were about 4 times more likely to be mentioned in the NME and MM. This suggests that the articles in the NME and MM discussed relatively recent acts and indeed focused on new developments from the US field. Model 1 also shows that UK journalists favored writing about “first movers” in genres and cities. Measured in steps of 100, a one unit decrease in number of peers increases the odds of coverage for genres by 1.2 and for cities by 1.05. Model 2 also shows a significant interaction effect for both first mover variables. As Figure 3 illustrates, the positive effect for being a first mover in a genre increases as an act has fewer peers in their city. This thus suggests that UK journalists were especially likely to valorize new genres from new places, i.e. new innovative music styles from small and “emerging” music fields. Furthermore, the results of the logistic regression also show that while commercial success in the UK increases the odds of getting coverage, commercial success in the US decreases odds of coverage. The positive effect for UK hits is not surprising

since journalists take “proximity” and “newsworthiness” into account. The negative effect for commercial success in the US, however, suggests that UK journalists avoided the established stars from the US and focused on those acts that were more exclusively UK “discoveries.” To investigate this possibility further, we include an interaction effect in model 3 between the two forms of commercial success and we find a significant negative interaction effect. The positive effect for UK success thus becomes smaller when an act also has US success and the negative effect for US success becomes more strongly negative in case of more UK hits. This thus suggests that UK journalists more likely discussed the acts whose status reversed from being unsuccessful in the US to becoming successful in the UK.

**Table 1.** Logistic regression of UK media coverage of US acts.

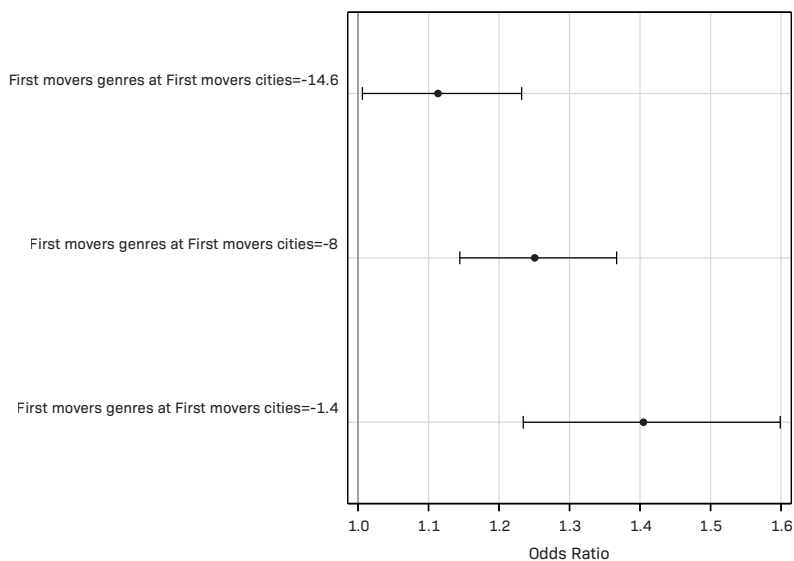
*Source:* analysis of own data.

	<b>Model 1</b>		<b>Model 2</b>		<b>Model 3</b>	
	Odds Ratios	Wald Chi-Square	Odds Ratios	Wald Chi-Square	Odds Ratios	Wald Chi-Square
Intercept	0.037***	185.3846	0.056***	109.5595	0.054***	110.3885
Debut after 1985	4.168***	32.9529	4.221***	33.4739	4.546***	35.5904
First mover genres	1.226***	22.6084	1.440***	25.4544	1.468***	27.2399
First mover cities	1.046**	7.8736	1.108***	15.7444	1.111***	16.5662
First mover genres* first mover cities			1.018**	9.2487	1.019**	10.1119
Uknrhits_1989	1.846***	67.5441	1.849***	66.8680	1.909***	77.7290
Usnrhits_1989	0.837*	5.7096	0.834*	5.6426	0.992	0.0114
Uknrhits_1989* usnrhits_1989					0.982***	15.1220
-2 Log	959.894		951.256		943.076	
Max-rescaled R-Square	0.1971		0.2055		0.2134	

\*\*\*p<.001, \*\*p<.01,  
\*p<.05



We can conclude from this section that the UK media field provided an opportunity space for the early legitimization of electronic/dance music acts that came from the relatively new, peripheral and not-yet-commercialized music scenes in the US, which, as we argued in the previous section, had emerged as a residue of the crumbling of the nation-wide disco field. Yet, while the media field provided opportunities for legitimization, conditions within the mainstream music market opened up possibilities for (further) commercialization in the UK.



**Figure 3.** Odds ratios first movers cities and first movers genres. *Source:* analysis of own data.

The (post)punk independent sector as a direct pathway to the mainstream market

To understand how electronic/dance music entered the mainstream market in the UK, we need, again, to take a longer-term perspective and discuss how the settlement of the British mainstream market at the time of the emergence of dance had been previously ruptured by a movement for independent music during the mid-1970s (Crossley, 2015), which had created market structures that enabled the relatively rapid commercialization of dance in the UK.

One of the enduring effects of punk music on the UK mainstream music market was the rise of a large independent music sector (Crossley,

2015; Laing, 1985). Although before punk the dominance of the “big-four” British major labels had been declining (Gourvish & Tennent, 2010), the independent sector still largely consisted of rather large or medium-sized labels (e.g. Virgin and Island records) whose “independent” identity could be called into question (Crossley, 2015). While the first wave of punk was predominantly a major label affair, profits for majors were disappointing, due to a media uproar and subsequent ban on punk on national radio, television, and in theaters, as well as strong competition from the disco genre (Laing, 1985).<sup>21</sup> Subsequently, punk—driven by a “do-it-yourself” (DIY) ideology—was produced by a large number of new small independent punk labels that distributed records through a growing number of specialty record stores (Crossley, 2015; Hesmondhalgh, 1997; Laing, 1985). Particularly the Rough Trade record store in London became a central hub within this distribution network and initiated an alliance called The Cartel, which institutionalized an alternative distribution structure within the UK music industry, in which other distributors such as Pinnacle and Spartan also participated. The success of this independent distribution network was signaled by the emergence of a distinct market information regime—The Indie Chart—initially published by music trade paper Record Business and later adopted by the established music press (Lazell, 1997). It is generally acknowledged that this distribution network was crucial for the nationwide diffusion and mainstream success of records from (post)punk acts and independent labels, such as Factory, Mute, and 4AD well into the 1980s (Crossley, 2015; Hesmondhalgh, 1997).

During the mid-1980s, however, (post)punk was in decline. Our quantitative analysis of the UK mainstream market shows that the appeal of (post)punk was in decline in the mid to late-1980s when electronic/dance music emerged (see Figure 4). Similarly, as we discussed above, the (post) punk-oriented music press in the UK was also in steep decline which resulted in a reorientation of their strategy and concerted efforts to embrace new music styles. The resources acquired by (post)punk thereby opened up and “organizational inertia” created the incentives to adopt the emerging genre of electronic/dance music. Hesmondhalgh (1998), for example, argues that many specialty record stores “flipped” to dance music in order to survive in

21 In 1978, disco was favored by dominant British media, and reached historically high sales. In that year disco artists released four of the eight best-selling singles ever on the British market (Laing, 1985).

a shrinking market. The Hacienda club in Manchester, which was owned by (post)punk label Factory records, initially had difficulty attracting audiences as a live music venue but flourished at the moment that it switched to dance music. Several acts, such as The Shamen and Primal Scream, also revived their careers by switching to dance music styles. Other acts that were responsible for introducing dance music into the mainstream charts also had ties to earlier (post)punk bands. M/A/R/R/S, who scored one of the earliest mainstream dance music hits, consisted of a onetime collaboration between members of (post)punk bands Colourbox and A.R. Kane. 808 State's Graham Massey was previously a member of Biting Tongue, a post-punk band signed to Factory. Mike Pickering, British house music evangelist and DJ at the Hacienda (one of the central "foci" for British house music) had previously made post-punk, new wave music with his Quando Quango project, which was signed to Factory and later also founded commercially successful dance music acts such as T-Coy and M-People. Many other examples can be given of connections between house and (post)punk acts (Reynolds, 1999: 102-105).

What is also clear is that a large number of dance acts entered the mainstream market using the independent distribution network set up by (post)punk. M/A/R/R/S' "Pump Up the Volume," for example, was released by indie label 4AD and the first number one hit distributed through the independent network of Rough Trade Distribution. Rough Trade also distributed several other, commercially successful, acts of dance imprints such as Yazoo and Coldcut (on Big Life), S'Express and Bomb the Bass (on Rhythm King, an important dance music label and offshoot of Mute). The distribution channel developed by (post)punk thus had created a pathway to commercialization for dance.

The transferability of these resources was also enabled by a perceived cultural similarity between dance and (post)punk. Many participants mentioned the music likeness in the "raw" qualities of both house and punk and the similarity in ideology as both the dance and punk movement embraced the DIY ideology. As one well-known participant in the dance world, the writer Irvin Welsh mentioned, "all the things that punk was supposed to be about, acid house delivered" (Bainbridge, 2013). Our qualitative analysis of NME and MM articles on early house and techno music confirms that field participants perceived a continuance of the DIY ethic that, together with the low cost and accessible ways to produce records, resembled the "spirit" of punk and created the highly valued position of "independence." As Neil Rushton, founder of Kool Kat Music, a label that

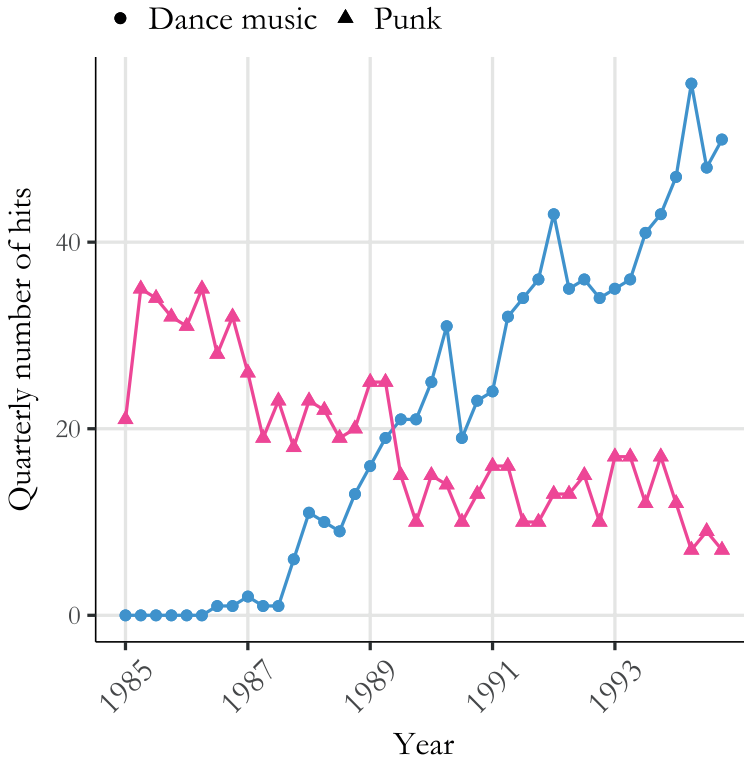
specialized in US house imports, puts it, “(t)he great thing about House ... is that it has a similar spirit to the punk movement of ten years ago. ... People say House is Disco reborn, but a lot of Disco has incredibly excessive productions ... If you’ve got a sampler and a drum machine you can make a record, and of course you need the ideas and vitality to be good, but you don’t need money”.<sup>22</sup> Paul Rutherford—who played in punk bands during the 1970s, after which he became part of the act Frankie Goes To Hollywood, and later undertook some solo dance music projects—recalls: “I just realised it was all possible again, that you can do anything to make a record. You don’t have to be this, that and the other, you don’t have to be like Trevor Horn. It was like the punk thing for me again. It felt really fresh. I just felt I had to be involved in it”.<sup>23</sup> The perceived, and indeed also constructed, punk-house similarity was also related to its relative quick adoption by the (post)punk-oriented music press, as discussed above.

This perceived similarity could have had various beneficial effects for the development of dance in the UK. First, it enabled the recruitment of people from the (post)punk era into dance. The association with punk infused dance music with legitimacy and associated it with an oppositional identity (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 1997). Organization scholars have argued that oppositional identities are indeed important for mobilization in markets (Greve, Pozner, & Rao, 2006; Rao, 2009). Second, the DIY ethic of (post) punk functioned as a template for entrepreneurship and many indeed saw the founding of independent dance labels as reminiscent of the punk label explosion. According to Reynolds (2005: 397), “the hard-core rave underground was the ultimate expression of the do-it-yourself principle” (Reynolds, 2005). Third, the oppositional identity, as it was borrowed from (post)punk, created a cooperative space in which labels and acts developed a common identity, which enabled cooperation and protection from the more disruptive aspects of competition (King & Pearce, 2010). Fourth, and related, the punk ideology could have secured a subcultural space for dance that kept it distinct from “pop music” and allowed the development of a distinct identity and protected it against too quick absorption into pop music, which is a common reason why genres disappear (Lena, 2012). In other words, the oppositional spirit of (post)punk, as it infused dance, could have protected the identity of the genre. Finally, the UK dance movement could make use

22 *New Musical Express*, December 12, 1987, p.12.

23 *Melody Maker*, October 1, 1988, p.51.

of the same resources (network connections, personnel, and distribution structures) as it was framed as a “spin-off” movement of (post) punk.



**Figure 4.** Electronic/dance music versus punk music hits in the UK charts.  
*Source:* analysis of own data.

### *Quantitative analysis of mainstream music market structures in US and UK*

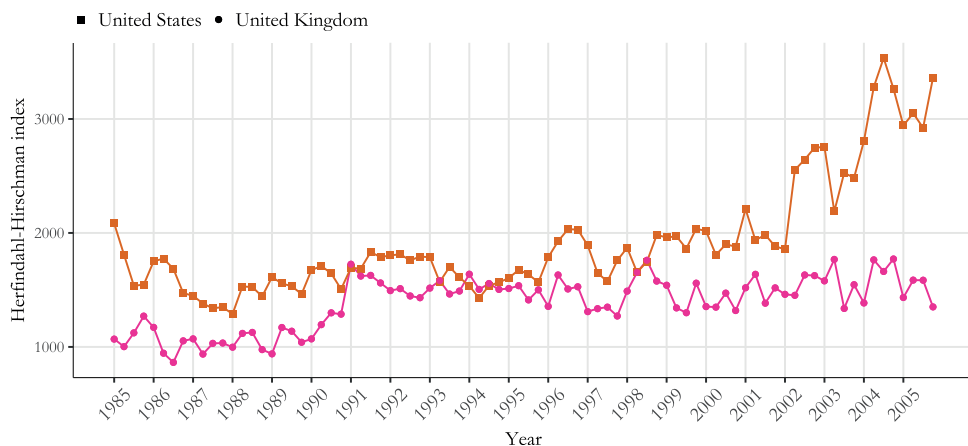
The above narrative suggests that market structures in the US and UK influenced the possibilities for commercialization in both countries. Whereas in the US the potential commercialization depended on major label distribution, in the UK, the independent sector offered a pathway to commercialization that was not (or no longer) available in the US.

Our quantitative analysis of the mainstream music market in the US and UK confirms that in the period of emergence and development of dance music, the British market was, overall, relatively more “open”—as indicated by lower levels of market concentration—in comparison to its US counterpart (see Figure 5). Especially over the period 1985–1990, there was

relatively more competition in the British market. The UK market also had a much higher independents' average market share: 21% versus 12% in the US. And, it was characterized by a lower ratio of labels to firms—3.2 versus 4.3 in the US—indicating fewer semi-independent labels and alliances between labels and firms. Looking at levels of new artists that entered the field, we also see an important difference between both countries, as the average quarterly number of debuting artists was substantially higher in the UK: 37 versus 14 in the US, and in the UK, singles spent on average far less weeks on the charts—4 weeks versus 12 weeks in the US.

We find suggestive evidence that this openness of the UK market enabled the (rapid) commercialization of dance. There is, for example, a strong correlation (0.82) between the number of debuting artists in general and the number of debuting dance acts. Similarly, there are strong correlations between the total number of labels in the market and the number of dance hits (0.85) as well as new dance acts (0.75). The openness of the market therefore coincided with the commercialization of dance. Moreover, we also find evidence that the independent sector facilitated dance music's entrance to the British mainstream music market. While the percentage of independent releases for all music genres was 31% between 1985 and 1989, 58% of the dance hits were released by an independent label during the genre's "take-off" phase. The genre's transition to the mainstream was therefore not reliant on major label support, but, to a large extent, enabled by independent labels and distribution networks formed during the days of (post)punk. These distribution networks functioned as insurgent "organizational vehicles" (cf. Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) that provided a "direct pathway" for challengers to enter the mainstream field, as opposed to a "mediated pathway," when incumbents are involved (cf. Van Wijk, Stam, Eelfring, Zietsma, & Den Hond, 2013). Incumbents in the mainstream music field, however, responded especially from the early-1990s by initiating specialized dance subsidiary labels or licensing and distribution deals with independents. Whereas some "underground-minded" actors in the independent camp strongly condemned this practice (Hesmondhalgh, 1998), incumbents' reactive strategy to reestablish a settlement in their favor paid off: in the period 1990-94 the percentage of independent dance music hits declines sharply compared to the previous five years, from 58% to 27%, while the independent shares in general also shrunk considerably (from 31% to 15%). Concurrently, the ratio of decentralization grew from 2.75 in 1985-89 to 3.44 in 1990-94. British incumbents thus reestablished their earlier loss of control over the music market by shifting to a decentralized

system of production aimed at absorbing independents—as US major labels did since the 1960s (Dowd, 2004; Lopes, 1992).



**Figure 5.** Market concentration. Averages between 1985 and 2005: 1920 in the US and 1388 in the UK. *Source:* analysis of own data.

Our findings thus suggest that the rupture of the British mainstream music field’s settlement, which continued during dance music’s formative years in the late-1980s, provided an important condition for the joint efforts of challengers—including actors in the field of music journalism and (post)punk music—to propel dance music into the mainstream. In contrast, in the US, incumbents occupied a more hegemonic position which allowed them to select who entered the mainstream field. Dance music’s relatively “direct pathway” into the British mainstream music field, as observed in the 1985-89 take-off phase, would not have been possible in the US, since the decentralized production system was already institutionalized and effectively capitalizing on those scene-based genres that were entering the mainstream (Dowd, 2004; Lena, 2012; Lopes, 1992; see also Appendix IV, Chapter 2, for a comparison to hip hop in the US).

### *Conclusion and discussion*

The argument of this paper can be summarized as follows. The early diffusion of US-based dance music genres such as house and techno in the 1980s from the US to the UK hinged on the conjuncture of several field developments both in the US and the UK. In the US, the crumbling of the national disco field led to the development of several local dance music scenes, which had remained relatively peripheral and not-yet-commercialized as a result

of the disintegration of the national disco field. For key actors within those local fields, the strategy to try to keep those local fields local, and not make connections with the larger US music industry, made sense but did not preclude setting up licensing deals with foreign record labels. Using their social skill, they strengthened their own structural position of power by acting as brokers to an overseas market. In the same period, both the mainstream music market and the field of music magazines in the UK were hospitable for not-yet-commercialized music scenes. Due to the decline in popularity of postpunk music, several resources opened up, such as clubs, labels, record stores, audiences, and magazine pages. The UK media were especially receptive towards non-commercialized, not-yet-discovered peripheral music genres from the US, which they could legitimate as viable, authentic, independent music scenes for a UK audience. These “push” and “pull” factors created an intersection between the local US dance music fields and the UK media and mainstream music field, and from this overlap, the possibility of the emergence of a new, transnational field of electronic/dance music.

In making this argument, we drew inspiration from Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) general theory of fields and, most importantly, its basic premise that fields are embedded in “webs of fields,” and that opportunities for new fields are often influenced by destabilizing processes in proximate fields. This has led us to trace the constraints and opportunities for the development of dance music to instabilities within several fields—the precursor disco and punk music fields, the music journalism field, and mainstream music field—whose trajectories, too, were influenced through their interconnectedness. Field-level instabilities explain why British music magazines reoriented their editorial strategies to open up space for dance music and thereby provided legitimacy for the emerging field. In a similar vein, destabilizations (and the lack hereof) in the mainstream music field explain why the novel dance music field transitioned into an industry-based genre in the UK, but not so much in the US. Whereas incumbents’ hegemony in the UK mainstream music field was challenged by an independent, (post)punk music movement, which since the mid-1970s created possibilities for nationwide distribution, retail, and chart success outside the realm of major labels, in the US, incumbent-challenger role structures had stabilized since the 1960s due to the formation of coalitions in a so-called decentralized system of production. The US market, of course, still allowed the commercialization of new genres (cf. the case of hip hop), but only through gates that incumbents controlled. We therefore do not wish to suggest that a rupture of incumbents’ hegemony by challenger groups is, in general, a



necessary pre-condition for genres' transitions into the mainstream. Rather, we stress that different incumbent-challenger role structures translate into divergent pathways, and that a different pathway to commercialization had opened up in the UK, which was not accessible in the US.

The argument about the influence of proximate fields, however, has certain scope conditions. First, we focused on destabilizations in fields that had a high degree of resource dependence. Destabilizations in more resource dependent fields are more likely to exert influence on one another (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). In our case, for example, we focused on destabilizations in the field of music journalism in the UK, since—as we argued—within the UK context, the development of new genres is highly dependent on this field. Our argument should therefore not be taken as a general argument about the role of music journalism, yet as a context-specific analysis of how destabilizations within a field with strong resource dependencies affects the chances of genre emergence. Second, although cultural fields are known for their uncertainty and instability, we have focused on destabilizations that affected not only the symbolic dimensions of fields—such as changes in genres and aesthetic codes—but, more importantly, also field participants' material interests (cf. Jones, Lorenzen, & Sapsed, 2015). We think that changes that jeopardize the continuity and survival of particular groups of field participants—which can be captured by market shares, circulation figures, et cetera—are more likely to have repercussions for other (emerging) fields. Third, our analysis points at the importance of conjunctures or intersections of field developments. Hence, it is expected that multiple, rather than single, destabilizations are more likely to lead to provide opportunities for field emergence, and that the timing of these destabilizations plays an important role. Moreover, actors also need to recognize such developments as an opportunity or threat to accomplish group goals and use framing processes to render destabilizations meaningful and engage others in a common project (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

We have also emphasized the importance of status reversals. The peripheral position of the local US dance music fields, we argued, was an important reason for their (successful) adoption and legitimation in the UK. We think that our case is not unique in that regard. The emergence of new fields often involves status reversals, for example, when new fields develop out of the innovations from peripheral, low-status actors (Cattani et al., 2014). Phillips (2013), for example, shows how jazz music produced in disconnected, peripheral cities influenced the definition of the jazz canon, and thereby the emerging field of jazz. Especially in cultural fields that

value novelty, cultural products from relatively peripheral places can come to be perceived as the source of innovative and authentic material. Their social disadvantage, in other words, can become the basis for their advantageous reception as exotic, authentic and innovative. Studies on legitimation processes have often demonstrated how entrepreneurs or social movements can transform the status of actors or objects from illegitimate to legitimate given certain opportunity structures, resource mobilization processes and framing tactics (Baumann, 2007; Rao, 2009). Yet these studies describe status reversal as a more gradual, movement-driven, and more endogenous process within (national) fields. We, however, have argued that these status reversal processes can occur relatively quickly across (national) fields, and despite lack of success in initial movement mobilization or entrepreneurship. The failure of the legitimation process in one context, we argued, can become the basis of success in another context. We therefore hope to have shown how dynamics across intersecting fields can provide an alternative to entrepreneurship or movement approaches to status reversal processes. Of course, not all low status genres in one field will become successful in another field. In our case, we have pointed to the field dynamics in both the producing and receiving country that contributed to this status reversal. Further research could investigate multiple cases of (failed and successful) cases of cross-national status reversals to systematically identify necessary and sufficient factors.

Our study, of course, left certain questions unanswered. The analysis of the media field has focused on the early legitimation of dance during the take-off phase of 1985-1989. Although there are several reasons to assume that the early attention by these specific magazines had long-term consequences for the development of the dance music field,<sup>24</sup> these long-term effects on field development could be studied more extensively. Then, there are at least four other, contextual factors that may have played a role in electronic/ dance music's uneven genre trajectories in the US and UK. First, further research may need to analyze how factors in the wider

24 The adoption of dance by the "weeklies" was followed by the founding of more specialized dance music magazines, some of which, emerged as "spin-offs" from these magazines. The inclusion of dance in MM, for example, eventually led to the founding of the specialized electronic/dance music magazine Muzik, launched in 1994 as a spin-off of MM's dance rubric Orbit. The dance-oriented fanzine Boys Own, which later developed into one of the leading dance labels, also was said to be inspired by the early activities of Cosgrove at NME (Long, 2012).

sociocultural environment—such as race and racism—may have influenced the development of dance music, as these have been found to influence the development of genres (Roy, 2004). Considering the effect of race on the structure of the music market in the US, the potential for “cross-over” into the mainstream market seemed to be inhibited in the US by its classification as belonging to the “black music” stream, while this might have initially helped adoption in the UK as “black music” from the US could be legitimated in terms of an existing field narrative (Kahl et al., 2010). It is however unclear to what extent electronic/dance music genres became increasingly typified as white in the UK, and whether the changing racial composition of producers, intermediaries and audiences influenced the genre’s further spread. Second, the size and geography of both countries are considerably different, leading to different requirements for the physical distribution of records, and thus also divergent constraints/opportunities for independent labels to accomplish this task. Third, we have focused on the “recording industry-side” of the field, by tracing the legitimation and commercial success of recording acts, yet the growth of the British electronic/dance music field also consisted of the development of a field of clubs, raves, live events, DJs, booking agencies, et cetera. This “live-side” of the field undoubtedly interacted with the popularity of charting recording artists. Fourth, the UK electronic/dance music field is near to other centers of cultural production in which the genre enjoyed mainstream success, such as the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy (Verboord & Brandellero, 2018). Local electronic/dance music fields in these neighboring countries may have given monetary and cultural/musical impulses to the British electronic/dance music field through the import and export of records. Using data on the Dutch charts, we for example found that the first upsurge of dance music hits in 1988 consisted of many British acts, thus creating extra revenue for those UK-based acts and/or the labels representing them, whereas from the 1990s the direction of the exports changed and many Dutch acts charted in the UK. Considering how other proximate fields may have interacted with the fields in question would further extend and refine the field systemic approach that we presented above. Despite these limitations, we believe that our approach—focusing on conjunctures of developments in certain key proximate fields—can help to better our understanding of genre development.

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# Chapter 3 — The dance of markets and movements: The emergence and development of dance genres in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, 1985–2005

## *Abstract*

This paper examines the interaction between fields, markets, and movements in the context of the emergence and development of new cultural categories. While some researchers have argued that endogenous processes of resource mobilization drive the emergence of new genres, others have suggested that exogenous market and field structures can constrain and enable the possible emergence and growth of new genres. In this cross-national comparative study of the emergence of dance music and its various genres between 1985 and 2005, we find that genre emergence and development is strongly affected by its embeddedness in various field environments: the environment of proximate genres; the mainstream market environment in each country; and the transnational field context, which includes developments in other countries. The ways in which these field environments affect the emergence and development of dance genres, however, varies by country. In particular, markets and movements are more strongly coupled in the UK and the Netherlands, compared to the US. Mainstream success of genres drives their development in both European countries, yet mainly through a mechanism of differentiation rather than legitimation, whereby new and distinct genres are founded as a reaction against increased visibility in the charts. These findings suggest multiple ways in which markets and genre movements can interact and contribute to our understanding of how new categories emerge.

Key words: field theory, genres, movements, organizational ecology, dance music

## *Introduction*

Sociology has witnessed a general debate between “social movement” and “field theoretical” approaches to understanding social and cultural change (Davis et al., 2005; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). The first approach sees dynamic processes and change as driven by “contentious” movements, and focuses on movement-centric processes, notably resource mobilization and framing activities. The second takes a less “movement-centric” view. It emphasizes the institutional context, and/or the interrelations between multiple movements, and aims to understand how the structure of the field—defined by established actors and the symbolic and material relations between actors—constrains and enables new developments.

Discussions within the sociology of art have paralleled these wider debates. Bourdieu’s (1993) field theory, for example, stressed how the emergence of new artistic movements can only be understood within the context of wider field structures, while Becker (1982) stressed the resource mobilization processes within artistic movements (cf., Baumann, 2007). Within the study of popular music genres, researchers have also alternated between emphasizing the “bottom up” process of scene and movement building (cf., Crossley 2015 on punk) or the more “top-down” influence of established media industries on the possibilities for genre emergence (cf., Thornton 1995 on acid house). The longstanding research tradition on “subcultures” (Hebdige, 2002 [1979]) and “scenes” (Bennett, 2004) has also mostly emphasized the autonomous development of subcultures and scenes, while the production-of-culture approach has studied how industry and market structures, among other factors, can be more or less conducive to the emergence and development of new genres (Peterson and Berger, 1975; Peterson, 1990).

The aim of this paper is to study the emergence and development of new artistic genres as “movements in fields.” Our approach, on the one hand, strongly emphasizes the likeness of artistic genres to social movements (Baumann, 2007). We use the term “genre movements” to refer to groups of people adhering to certain new and innovative cultural categories, which organize themselves collectively to strive for the acceptance and legitimation of the innovation by particular audiences (Baumann, 2007).<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, we emphasize how the emergence and development of these genre

<sup>25</sup> We see a “genre movement” as a more specific form of the more general “genre community” (Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019).

movements is affected by their embeddedness in field environments.

In this paper, we identify three wider field environments. First, we study the effect of the *proximate environment* that is constituted by other genre movements, since “rival genres are among the most important elements in a genre’s environment” (Lena, 2012: 110). We analyze how the embeddedness of genres in this “genre ecology” affects their emergence and development. Second, we analyze how the *mainstream music market* affects the emergence and growth of genre movements. We argue that the structure of the market, and the success of other dance genres in penetrating the mainstream market, can provide the motivation and “open up” the resources that stimulate movement-activity (Carroll and Swaminathan, 2000; Greve, Pozner, and Rao, 2006; Rao, 2009). Third, we investigate the *transnational field* environment, as the emergence and development of genre movements can affect each other across national borders, through network and/or cultural diffusion (Strang and Meyer, 1993; Hannan et al., 1995).

The empirical setting for our study is the development of dance music between 1985 and 2005 in the US, UK, and the Netherlands. The dance “genre stream” (Lena, 2012) shows a high degree of internal differentiation and has spawned a large number of specific dance genres, such as house, techno, acid, and many others (McLeod, 2001; van Venrooij, 2015). This allows us to investigate the drivers of, and interrelation between, genre development across multiple cases. Moreover, the success of dance within the mainstream markets of these three countries varied considerably during this period. While the dance genre stream—via the genres, house and techno—originally emerged in the US, it more successfully entered the mainstream markets of the UK and the Netherlands compared to the US (Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019). This difference in commercial trajectory, and other cross-national differences, allow us to explore variations in the interaction between markets and movements, and situate this dynamic in different field contexts. Moreover, the inclusion of three countries, which differ in their position in the transnational field, allows us to analyze transnational field dynamics.

In accordance with our approach to genres as movements, we track the emergence and development of genres in terms of the founding rates of organizations (i.e. record labels) that adopt and specialize in producing these cultural forms. Movements often create organizations as these “serve as vehicles for expressing preferences of individuals and instigating change in larger systems” (Hannan 1988, 163). As such, they can also facilitate the “material” institutionalization of new genres. Such a focus on the social

organization of genres also comes close to Lena's (2012: 6) definition of (music) genres "as systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music." Moreover, the population of labels that supported and produced dance to a large extent consisted of "micro-companies": small record companies formed by one or two individuals who put out only a few records, and mostly existed for only a short time (Hesmondhalgh, 1998). The dynamics of these organizational populations can thus be taken as a good indicator of the development of genre movements, and reliance on crowd-sourced discographical data (i.e., Discogs.com) can be used to measure the development of these populations, which has generally escaped the purview of traditional data sources, such as industry statistics (i.e., chart data). To model the emergence and development of genres, we rely predominantly on ecological approaches to studying organizational populations, i.e., density dependence theory. We investigate the dynamics of 27 genre movements in the UK, 19 in the Netherlands, and 20 in the US.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, we describe our theoretical approach to understanding the emergence and development of movements in fields. Second, we discuss the empirical context, i.e., the advent and development of the early dance genre movements in the US, UK, and the Netherlands. We proceed with a description of the data and methods, including a section describing the scope of the dance music genre category. In the first part of our analysis, we analyze movement development at the level of the entire dance genre stream. In the second part of our analysis, we model the emergence and development of particular dance genres. Finally, we discuss the study's contributions to the existing literature on genres and creative industries, its limitations, and opportunities for future research.

### *Genre movements*

We use the term "genre movements" to refer to groups of people adhering to certain new and innovative cultural categories, which organize collectively to strive for the acceptance and legitimation of the innovation by particular audiences (Baumann, 2007; Lena, 2012; Lopes, 2019). Genre movement members may form tightly knit networks, in the manner that we think of a particular local "scene" or "community," but they may also constitute more loosely organized movements, whose members adhere to certain genre ideals regardless of whether these members also directly interact (Lopes, 2019).

Comparable to social movements, success in gaining acceptance of innovations has been theorized to depend on endogenous as well as exogenous factors (cf., Baumann, 2007).

With the term “endogenous influences” we refer here to the successful mobilization of key resources, and how these affect the further growth of genre movements. Crossley’s (2015) analysis of the British punk scene, for example, has shown how the endogenous process of micro-mobilization and expanding networks allowed for the pooling of resources and the development of a critical mass that enabled artistic innovations to grow into established genre categories. Initially, the drivers of growth and development were thus internal to the movement, and Crossley demonstrated that (changing) environmental conditions, such as levels of concentration in the mainstream market, could not explain the timing of emergence of the punk movement (cf., Peterson and Berger, 1975; Peterson, 1990).<sup>26</sup>

Although the types of resources that are crucial for the development of a genre movement may vary, the mobilization of organizations seems especially important to the early development of new genres, since movements tend to create organizations as these “serve as vehicles for expressing preferences of individuals and instigating change in larger systems” (Hannan, 1988: 163). For music genres, the founding of new record labels seems to be a particularly relevant type of resource, as these create the organizational basis for the production of a music genre. Measuring and modeling the growth of the population of record labels within a genre therefore allows us to trace the emergence and development of genres.

Density dependence theory (Carroll and Hannan, 1989) provides a starting point for analyzing the importance of endogenous resource mobilization in genre emergence and development. Briefly, density dependence theory argues that in the early stages of development, new organizational forms lack legitimacy, making organizing difficult and new foundings relatively rare. With increases in the number of organizations, i.e., density, the legitimacy of a form increases, where at low levels of density, the effects of each new addition to the population on the legitimacy of the form are

26 Due to their reliance on chart data, studies on concentration and innovation in the mainstream market are, according to Crossley (2015: 72), also “less focused upon its emergence than upon its breakthrough into the mainstream pop world.” We concur with this critique and therefore rely on other measures to study movement development, i.e., data on labels gathered from a crowd-sourced discographical data set, Discogs.com.

high. However, when the population contains many organizations, the positive effect of adding new organizations to the legitimacy of the form decreases. So, legitimacy is theorized to increase with density at a decreasing rate. Similarly, when density is low, competition among organizations is also considered to be low, but rising with each new addition, at an increasing rate. At higher levels, density will therefore negatively affect foundings. The carrying capacity is reached and competitive pressures become dominant. Legitimation and competition suggest an inverted U-shaped relationship between density and foundings.

Organizational ecologists have likened the initial stages of organizational growth to the resource mobilization process of social movements (Hannan et al., 1995; Carroll and Hannan, 2000: 231). Instead of explaining organizational growth and the emergence of new organizational forms by external market demands or technological innovations, organizational ecologists point to the importance of social movement-like abilities to mobilize resources and create legitimacy for an emerging organizational form (Rao, 2009). Density-dependence theory captures the endogenous process whereby, in early stages of development, the successful mobilization of resources—visible as the increased number of resources dedicated to an organizational form, i.e., increased density—contributes to the further legitimacy, and therefore growth, of the organizational population (Baumann, 2007).<sup>27</sup>

This focus on the effects and use of density as a way to “capture” the legitimation process of new organizational forms has been critiqued for its assumed exclusion of sociopolitical or “external” legitimacy,<sup>28</sup> as well as the absence of more direct measures of legitimacy (Zucker, 1989; Baum and Powell, 1995). Organizational ecologists have, however, defended the use of density as it allows for comparative research across multiple cases and the ability to develop a general theory of how organizational populations grow (Hannan et al., 1995). While, as for example in our case, studying

27 Differences in positive, first-order, density-dependence effects on foundings have therefore been interpreted as indicating differences in the possibilities and scale of mobilization processes. In their cross-national study of the emergence of the automobile industry, Hannan et al. (1995), for example, explain the relatively strong first-order effect in France by noting that the social movement activity sustaining the organizational form was located in Paris, which enabled the quick diffusion of the model.

28 Density-dependence models, however, often include period effects to account for changes in the institutional environment, such as changes in legislation.

micro-mobilization generally requires quite extensive data collection (and is usually done on a case-by-case basis), density-dependence models allow us a simple but effective way to study how endogenous mobilization processes affect the growth of genres across multiple cases.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, density-dependence models can be extended to include direct measurement of (external) legitimacy.

### *Genre environments*

Following a field-theoretical perspective, we understand genre movements as embedded within larger fields (Bourdieu, 1993; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).<sup>30</sup> This embeddedness in fields suggests that the emergence and development of new genre movements may be affected by both endogenous *as well as* exogenous environments. We distinguish three field environments: (1) the environment of proximate genres, (2) the mainstream market, and (3) the transnational field.

#### Genre ecologies

The integration of social movement and field theory has suggested that movements occupy a shared (resource) space within a “movement field.” The development of movements is therefore not only influenced by the successful mobilization of resources internal to the movement, but also by the (successful) mobilization of resources in other movements. Field theoretical approaches in the sociology of culture have indeed also emphasized the importance of the proximate environment by arguing that cultural innovation occurs within the parameters of existing cultural forms (cf., Kaufman, 2004; Sgourev, 2020). Concerning music genres, Lena (2012: 110) has argued that “rival genres are among the most important elements in a genre’s environment.”

We therefore treat other genre movements as an exogenous factor that influences the development of genres (van Venrooij, 2015). To model

29 Both cross-nationally as well as across multiple genres.

30 Although, according to Fligstein and McAdam (2012), field theory, particularly as developed by Bourdieu, has underemphasized the importance of collective action and movements, and social movement theory “has never been oriented to the concept of “field”” (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 31), the field concept has been increasingly adopted to push the study of movements beyond the focus on a single movement and allow these to be studied in context (Davis et al. 2005, 10).

the effects of this genre ecology on the emergence and development of a focal genre, we follow an extension of density-dependence mechanisms, which allows for cross-form legitimation and cross-form competition effects (Ruef, 2000; van Venrooij, 2015). Cross-form legitimation occurs when the increased density of the genre form to which a genre belongs (operationalized as the total density of proximate genres) positively affects the emergence and development of the focal genre. Cross-form competition occurs when, at higher rates, increases in the density of the form negatively affect founding rates within the genre.

#### Mainstream market

The mainstream market is a relevant environment for understanding genre emergence and development for three main reasons.

First, resource partitioning theory has suggested that the (changing) mainstream market structure can explain the potential emergence of new genres (cf., Mezas and Mezas, 2000). Increased market concentration among “generalist” producers can leave resources open at the periphery of the market that “specialists” can start to occupy. The microbrewery movement, for example, could benefit from the increasing lack of diversity of “industrial beer” produced by the major breweries, leaving open the demand for more innovative and special tastes. Moreover, resource partitioning theory has also made the cultural argument that market concentration can act as a foil against which “anti-mass cultural” movements can mobilize and seek to capitalize on the lack of diversity in the mainstream market by mobilizing specialist producers (Carroll and Swaminathan, 2000; Rao, 2009). Earlier studies have indeed found that levels of market concentration stimulate the emergence of new, oppositional movements (Greve, Pozner, and Rao, 2006).

Second, institutional theories have argued that the legitimacy of new organizational forms can be increased through *external* legitimation from third parties, such as media, analysts, etc. (Baum and Powell, 1995; Kennedy, 2005; Ruef, 2000). Concerning genre movements, Baumann (2007: 49) suggests that external legitimation can be distinguished from internal legitimation, whereby the former refers to the acceptance of a form by the general public, whereas the latter refers to acceptance among the inner members of a genre movement. The visible popularity of genres in



mainstream markets, as constructed through market information regimes,<sup>31</sup> is important to consider in this regard, as this signals the widespread acceptance of a form. Moreover, the visibility of a genre (e.g. due to its mainstream success) can bypass the relational channels of social networks and create mediated channels for cultural diffusion and mobilization (Goldberg and Stein, 2018; Strang and Meyer, 1993; Rossman, 2012). Although the micro-mobilization of movements has generally been theorized as occurring through social networks, media provide alternative channels through which information can quickly spread (Rossman, 2012; Hannan et al., 1995). Market information regimes, such as the music charts, may have potentially far-reaching influences, affecting a broad scope of actors, which may also include actors at the periphery of the field. Considered as a form of external legitimation, we suggest that increased mainstream market visibility can have a positive effect on the growth of a genre.

Third, developments within the mainstream market may also stimulate the growth of genre movements by triggering fashion dynamics (Zuckerman, 2012). Although related to the anti-mass mobilization argument of resource partitioning theory, fashion mechanisms react not to the concentration or lack of diversity of the mainstream market, but to the increasing mainstream success of the genre itself, or of closely related cousins of the genre. Success might be off-putting to audiences with limited “taste for popularity,” who abandon tastes when they have become too widespread or publicly known (Kovacs and Sharkey, 2014). Fashion dynamics triggered by the popularity of some genres could then spur the emergence and development of new genres, as field participants explore new areas of the genre space. This dynamic seems particularly relevant to the emergence and development of dance music genres, as this field has witnessed a quick

31 Market information regimes consist of: “regularly updated information about market activity provided by an independent supplier, presented in a predictable format with consistent frequency, and available to all interested parties at a nominal cost” (Anand and Peterson, 2000: 271). According to Peterson and Anand (2004: 317), “markets are constructed by producers to render the welter of consumer tastes comprehensible”. Anand and Peterson (2000) use the idea of market information regimes to explicitly focus on the construction of markets through the use of rankings and charts, which allow market participants to compare categories’ performance. These information regimes can bring attention to fluctuations within existing market categories or place novel categories in the spotlight, thereby affecting what Anand (2006) refers to the process of “field evolution.”

succession of the rise and fall of a large number of genres (McLeod, 2001). It has also been argued that the logic of the field impels producers to quickly switch between styles and leave older styles behind as soon as a new style has emerged (Lena 2012: 86). Market visibility might have positive effects on the emergence and development of genres, *but on genres other than the popular genre*.

#### Transnational fields

The field environment can extend to include transnational fields. Organizational populations in general, and genre movements in particular, can influence each other across national boundaries. Hannan et al. (1995) have argued that transnational fields can affect density-dependence mechanisms whereby, most importantly, legitimacy might travel easily and quickly across national borders, whereas the effects of competition on vital rates might be more nationally bounded. Concretely, in their study of the organizational evolution of the automobile industry in Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, they find that the legitimating effect of density, measured at the transnational level, positively affects founding rates and makes the effect of national density negative, suggesting indeed that the legitimating effect of density crosses boundaries, but its competitive effect remains national.

### *Research setting: Dance in the US, UK, and the Netherlands*

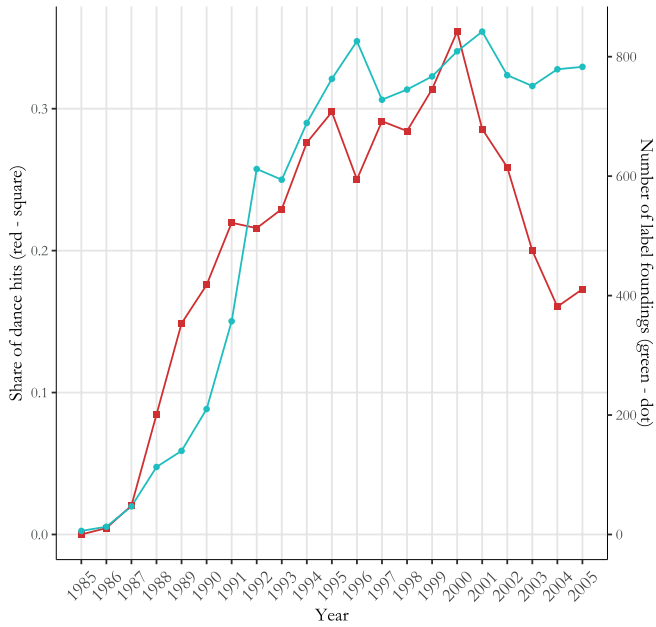
The empirical setting for our study is the development of dance music in the US, UK, and the Netherlands between 1985 and 2005. The study of dance is strategic to further our understanding of genre movements in fields for four main reasons.

First, dance is selected as it shows a high degree of internal differentiation because it spawned a large number of genres and styles (McLeod, 2001; van Venrooij, 2015). House music is generally considered as the “germinal” (Lena, 2012) or root genre of the post-disco dance music category, and was developed in the US in the mid-1980s by a scene of local producers in Chicago, who frequented the Warehouse, a Chicago club from which the name “house music” is arguably derived. House music subsequently differentiated into genres, such as “acid house,” “garage house,” and “deep house.” Another influential genre, “techno,” also originated in the mid-1980s in the US, in Detroit, and incorporated more electro- and fewer disco-oriented influences. Techno proved to be especially influential in Europe, where it differentiated into genres such as “trance,” “hardcore,” “gabber,” and others.

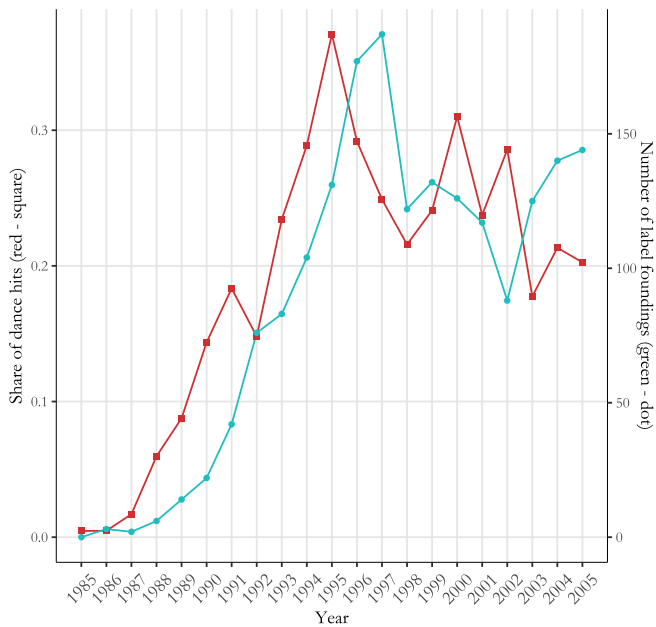
The high degree of internal differentiation within the category of dance allows us to investigate drivers of, and interrelations between, genre development across multiple cases.

Second, while the dance genre stream—via the genres house and techno—emerged in the US, these, and later dance genres, proved commercially less viable in the US than in the UK and the Netherlands. As can be seen in sections a-c of Figure 1, the peak market share of the dance genre stream in the UK and Netherlands was more than 30%, while in the US it was roughly 15% at its highpoint. In terms of the overall size of the dance music industry, the figure also shows considerable differences between the three countries. The average number of new labels per year for the entire dance genre stream, between 1985 and 2005, was 303 new labels in the US, 541 in the UK, and 88 in the Netherlands. This amounts to 1.14 labels per one million inhabitants in the US, 9.30 in the UK, and 5.72 in the Netherlands, respectively more than 8 and 5 times higher in the UK and the Netherlands than in the US.

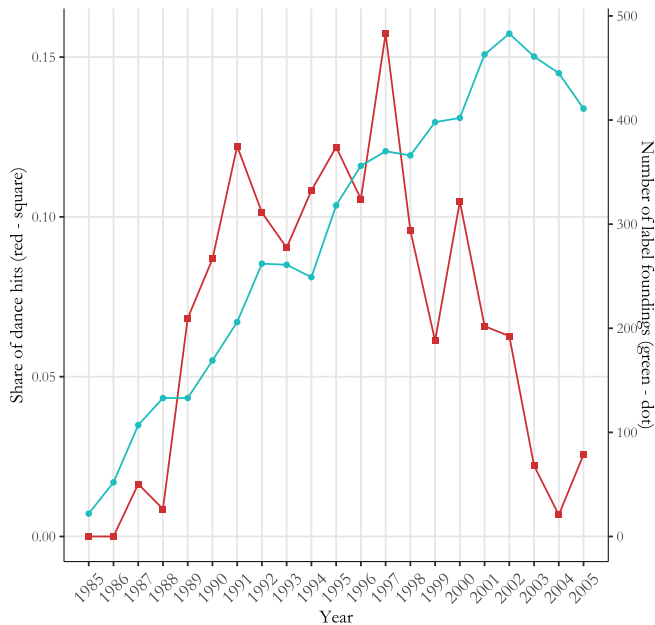
These cross-national differences in mainstream success can be attributed to several structural as well as historical factors (cf., Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019). First, in the US, house and techno emerged in relatively peripheral areas within the overall music field, which is highly concentrated in New York, Los Angeles, and Nashville (Scott 1999; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick 2010). The absence of local resources in Chicago and Detroit posed important obstacles to wider mainstream diffusion. In the UK, however, house and techno were promoted by clubs and media located in London and Manchester, which enabled their relatively rapid adoption by mainstream institutions, such as major record labels, radio (for example, the John Peel show), and prestigious clubs with more than local reach (such as the Hacienda in Manchester). In the Netherlands, the earliest introduction of house occurred through parties (organized by British organizers) in the capital of Amsterdam, which were given wide, and almost immediate, exposure through coverage in the main national newspapers (de Volkskrant, amongst others; De Wit, 2008).



**Figure 1a.** Share of dance hits and label foundings in the dance genre stream in the UK. *Source:* analysis of own data.



**Figure 1b.** Share of dance hits and label foundings in the dance genre stream in the Netherlands. *Source:* analysis of own data.



**Figure 1c.** Share of dance hits and label foundings in the dance genre stream in the US. *Source:* analysis of own data.

Second, the dance music field in the US, which was developed in the disco era, consisted of a network of discos, record pools, and the *Billboard* chart, and had as a whole become more detached from the mainstream market. As discussed by Wilderom and van Venrooij (2019), whereas disco clubs in the US would be taste-makers for the mainstream market during the highpoint of the disco era, the hit-making capabilities of the dance scene decreased during the post-disco era.

Third, the mainstream music markets of the US, UK, and the Netherlands also showed strong differences during this period. Market concentration (measured with the Herfindahl Hirshman Index) was high, on average, in the US during this period (1920), and much lower in the UK (1388) and the Netherlands (1244). Independents' average market share over the period 1985–2005 was relatively low in the US at 12%, compared to 21% in the UK, and 28% in the Netherlands. The US also had the highest average ratio of labels to firms (4.3), followed by the UK (3.2), and then the Netherlands (2.4), indicating fewer semi-independent labels and alliances between labels and firms in the UK and the Netherlands. Overall, the levels of new artists who entered the market were also much higher in the UK and the Netherlands. The average quarterly number of debuting artists was 37 in the UK, and 25 in the Netherlands, compared with 14 in

the US. In the UK, singles also spent, on average, far fewer weeks on the charts: 4 weeks, versus 12 weeks in the US and 7 weeks in the Netherlands. As previously described for the US and UK (Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019), there is suggestive evidence that these market differences enabled the relatively stronger commercialization of dance.

These cross-national differences in mainstream success arguably changed the trajectories of dance genres in the US, UK, and the Netherlands. In the US, in the absence of mainstream success, the development of several dance genre movements seems to have been “uncoupled” from developments in the mainstream chart. While pioneering scenes in Chicago and Detroit had largely waned by the late 1980s and early 1990s (Lena, 2012; Tepper, 2009; Reynolds, 1999), elsewhere in the US, new dance genre movements were on the rise, notably in San Francisco and New York, by the early 1990s (Graham, 2009; Reynolds, 1999; Thornton, 1995). These US dance genre movements formed what Lena (2012: 99) calls a “parallel production system.” This consisted of organizers, record labels (even some small distribution networks), magazines, and radio stations, all of which allowed them to circulate music outside the realm of the mainstream music market. In the two European countries, given the greater penetration of the mainstream market, subsequent dance genre movements were more likely to develop in tandem with the mainstream market. The (possibility of) mainstream success likely meant that new genre movements were more responsive—either in positive or negative ways—to the greater popularity and cultural visibility of dance. In her analysis of the early development of the dance field in the UK, Thornton (1995) indeed showed how the emergence of new dance genres was the outcome of a complex interplay between “mainstream” and “underground” organizations.

The third main reason to focus on dance is that the dance music industry positioned itself as an alternative to the mainstream music market, resembling anti-mass cultural movements, with an emphasis on “obscurity” and an anti-star-system ideology (Hesmondhalgh, 1998; Thornton, 1995). The field’s origins in black and gay subcultures in the US, and the embeddedness in the punk movement in the UK (cf., Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019), most likely left a cultural imprint on dance genres. The anti-mass cultural ideology within the dance community created a logic of “planned obsolescence” whereby dance genres that reached the mainstream were quickly abandoned for new genres (McLeod, 2001; Lena, 2012). Moreover, according to Hesmondhalgh (1998), this anti-mass culture ideology was also one of the factors that contributed to a strong push towards the de-

centralizing of music production, as evidenced by the rise of large numbers of independent, “do-it-yourself,” micro-labels. Small, independent labels made up a large proportion of all labels involved in the production of dance music. Hesmondhalgh (1998) argued that increased concentration in the UK music industry during the 1990s stimulated the growth of this independent sector. The rise of large retail chains, for example, left the “specialty record store” open to be transformed into record stores distributing new dance genres (a development that parallels the role of radio in the rise of rock ‘n’ roll in the US, as described by Peterson, 1990). As suggested by Dowd (2007), this resembles the argument by resource partitioning theory that increased market concentration captures one of the key dynamics of the growth of the UK dance music industry, and more generally suggests that market-movement dynamics may have been responsible for the growth and expansion of the dance field in the UK.

Finally, we focus on the development of dance, specifically in the US, UK and the Netherlands, since the popular music fields in these three countries hold quite different positions in the overall transnational music field. As various studies have found, transnational import/export ratios can greatly vary between national fields (Janssen, Kuipers, and Verboord, 2008). Verboord and Brandellero (2018), for example, found that the Netherlands had the most globalized charts (about 70–90% foreign acts between 1985 and 2005, most of which originated from the US and UK). The UK scored lower with 40–60% foreign acts, and the US relied the least on imports, with only 8.8% of hits in the US chart during 2005 being foreign (Verboord and Brandellero, 2018). While these figures concern the transnational connection of the mainstream markets in the three countries, the development of the dance music field also suggests that the development in each country was, to a large extent, influenced by developments in the other countries. Indeed, the early emergence of dance music in the UK was premised on the import of not-yet-commercialized genres from the US: house, acid house, and techno in particular (cf., van Venrooij, 2015; Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019; Thornton, 1996). However, following the adoption of US-origin genres, the UK also became the birthplace of entirely new dance genres (e.g., drum ‘n’ bass, UK garage, and trance). The emergence of dance in the Netherlands also seems to have followed developments in the UK and the US, while also becoming the birthplace of a local genre unique to the Netherlands (“gabber”). While the conduits for these transnational influences have been a mixture of social network relations, conferences (such as the “New Music Seminar” in New York, where British labels first “discov-

ered” house music), visibility in the mainstream charts may be an additional channel of diffusion. We will therefore also assess whether market visibility may have mediated these transnational influences.

### *Data and methods*

#### Defining dance

As discussed, we consider house and techno as the two *germinal genres* of the dance genre stream (Lena, 2012; van Venrooij, 2015). *Germinal genres*, as social constructs, “represent a significant departure from how earlier judgments about music were made” (Lena, 2012: 116). The advent of house and techno music was a critical turning point in the transition from instrumentally produced dance music (notably disco and funk) to electronically produced dance music, yet were also considered distinct from other electronically produced genres, such as synth-pop and hi-nrg, which were historically prior to house and techno. We therefore define dance as being comprised of house and techno, and the genres that emerged out of those genres (see Appendix I for a list of these 44 dance genres; cf., Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019).

#### Chart data

To measure the popularity of genres in the mainstream music market, we used weekly charts in the US, UK, and the Netherlands, namely the *Billboard* Hot 100 chart (initiated in 1958 by *Billboard* magazine), The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart (founded in 1952 by music magazine, *New Musical Express*), and the Dutch Top 40 (founded in 1965 by Radio Veronica).<sup>32</sup> During the period under consideration, each chart was based on a combination of sales and radio airplay.<sup>33</sup> These charts were featured on weekly radio and television shows, usually broadcast over the weekend (e.g., The British Official Chart), or published in print. While popular music charts function as a pivotal attention focus for industry professionals (Anand and Peterson, 2000), they are also significant foci for lay audiences, with some television programs reaching millions of viewers per show during their heyday.

32 In accordance with the British and Dutch chart data, the *Billboard* Hot 100 data were limited to top 40 singles.

33 The Dutch Top 40 considers airplay only since 1999. Each chart incorporated digital downloads by 2005, and more recently also streaming.



To account for “market visibility,” we computed the *annual share of dance hits* by coding the genre of each charted single—± 24,000 entries—in the US, UK, and the Netherlands over the period 1985–2005. The hits were coded for genre using two independent databases: Allmusic, which provides genre information on the level of the performing act, and Discogs, which provides genre information on the level of the release. Chart entries were coded as dance if (i) Allmusic classified the act/individual artist as “electronic” in one of their main genre classifications, and (ii) the release was coded in Discogs as being part of one of our selected 44 dance genres (e.g., including genres such as house, techno, jungle, triphop, etc.). We also measured the market share of each of these dance genres individually. Although there are cross-national differences, the majority of dance hits are formed by a small number of dance genres, i.e., house, techno, (happy) hardcore, euro-house, and trance.

We also coded chart data in each country to calculate levels of *market concentration*. Using the chart data, Discogs database, and liner notes, among other sources, we noted not only the label of each hit, but also the firm that owned these labels or that acquired the copyrights or distribution rights of the hit. This allowed us to calculate the Herfindahl-Hirschman index of market concentration, given by squaring the market share of each label (Dowd, 2004).

#### Record label data

To measure the *annual number of label foundings* within the dance genre movements in each country, we also used the Discogs database, which contains release information for a large number of record labels, including small, obscure, and short-lived labels (see van Venrooij, 2015, for an assessment of the comprehensiveness of the database). We counted the number of labels that had their first release within one of the 44 dance genres. This means that we did not count those labels that had a prior release in another genre. We also calculated the number of label foundings for each specific dance genre. Here we also did not count labels that had been previously active in another genre as a label founding. Our aim was to measure the size of genre movements in the respective countries. Labels can, however, release material in multiple countries (especially larger labels), so we assessed the “nationality” of a label by coding a label as, for example, a UK label, when most of their records were released in the UK. As noted above, the average number of new labels per year for the entire dance genre stream differs considerably between the countries; between 1985 and 2005, on average 303 new labels were

founded per year in the US, 541 in the UK, and 88 in the Netherlands.

To measure *density* we took the release information for each label and, to avoid censoring, we coded whether these labels were active between 1979 and 2010 (i.e., whether they released records during this period). We thus based our yearly count of density on whether labels were active in that year (defined as having had a release in or prior to that year which was not their final release as measured until 2010). We thus assumed that if a label did not have a release within a (minimum of a) five-year window (from 2005 to 2010) then that label had become inactive.

We also used data in Discogs on co-occurrences of genres at the level of labels, to group genres into similar clusters of proximate genres, since we wanted to assess whether label foundings in a focal genre benefitted from foundings in a similar genre (see Appendix I, Chapter 3, for further details).

#### Analytical strategy

We have divided our analysis into two parts. First, we focus on the level of the dance stream as a whole, comparing the development of dance music in the three countries. Here we make use of Granger causality tests to study the sequential order between market visibility of dance and founding rates of new labels producing dance. A Granger causality test considers influences between two variables in both directions, and can be used in situations where the causal relationship between two variables is contested, which is the case in debates about the question of whether market visibility might drive genre development, or vice versa. It is said that a variable “Granger causes” a second variable, if its past values have more predictive power than past values of the second variable alone (Pevehouse and Brozek, 2008, see Appendix B for further explanation). We then test density-dependence models on label founding rates using negative binomial regression analysis. Negative binomial regression is appropriate in the case of count data and is used instead of Poisson regression when there is evidence of overdispersion (i.e., when the variance exceeds the mean). As a general strategy, we start with a baseline density-dependence model (including density as an indicator of endogenous resource mobilization) and assess first-order and second-order effects of density on founding rates. Positive first-order and negative second-order effects would indicate that density—the size of the label population in a country—increases legitimacy at a decreasing rate, and increases competition at an increasing rate.

Next we include field-level influences, such as the mainstream

success of dance in a country, and density of dance labels in other countries. Positive effects on founding rates would indicate that the emergence and development of dance in a particular country is affected by more than resource mobilization. We also analyze possible changes in the effects of the first- and second-order density effects after introducing field-level factors. In particular, a decrease in the first-order effect of density would indicate that field-level factors would be operative in creating legitimacy for the category in the emergent phase, i.e., at low levels of density (Baum and Powell, 1995; Hannan et al., 1995). Second, we move to the level of the dance genres and create a data set consisting of genre-year dyads for the three countries. We included 27 genres in the UK, 19 genres in the Netherlands, and 20 genres in the US.<sup>34</sup> Using fixed-effects negative binomial regression models, we again start with a baseline model of the effects of density of the focal genre on founding rates. We then include the effects of proximate genres (measured by the density of proximate genres), market visibility of the focal and other genres, and market concentration in each country. Again, we also investigate whether these field-level factors decrease the first-order effect to assess whether these might be particularly relevant in explaining the emergence of genres.

## *Results*

### Genre stream-level analysis

We first analyzed the development of the dance genre stream as a whole in the US, UK, and the Netherlands (see also Figure 1a–c). We first performed a Granger causality test on the possible relationship between market visibility and label foundings for the dance genre stream.

<sup>34</sup> In constructing the data set, we removed the string of zeros at the start of more recent genre populations (cf., Carroll and Hannan, 1995: 104). Therefore the number of cases are fewer than the number of genres times the number of years.

**Table 1.** Hypotheses and outcomes Granger causality tests. *Source:* analysis of own data.

Null hypotheses	F-tests per country	Inference
1. <i>Label foundings do not 'Granger cause' share of dance hits</i>	US: insignificant UK: insignificant NL: insignificant	Genre movement activity does not form a good predictor market visibility in the US, UK and the Netherlands.
2. <i>Share of dance hits does not 'Granger cause' label foundings</i>	US: insignificant UK: significant* NL: significant*	Market visibility forms a good predictor of genre movement activity in the UK and NL, but not in the US.

\*Both tests are significant within the 5% confidence-level

Table 1 summarizes the hypotheses and the results of the Granger causality tests. In all three countries, at this level of analysis, label foundings do not predict market visibility. However, dance hits predict dance label foundings both in the UK and the Netherlands. The strength of dance hits as a predictor of label foundings is less evident in the US (where the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, even though it should be noted that the p-value of the F-test just exceeds the 0.05 significance level). In the two European cases, dance hits systematically predicted label foundings, suggesting that for the dance genre stream as a whole, incorporation in mainstream markets can precede (and possibly) stimulate the growth of genre movements beyond those mainstream markets. Moreover, the label foundings responded to rises *and* downturns in the share of dance hits. Market visibility could thus function not only as a catalyst, but also as a dampener of a genre movements' expansion. In the US, the share of dance hits and the number of dance label foundings were less strongly coupled. In Figure 1c, this can be seen in the initial growth of label foundings in the absence of dance hits, and also in the continuing growth of dance labels following the sudden downturn in dance hits from 1997.

In Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c we present results of negative binomial regression analyses of foundings per country. In model 1, we test, per country, a basic density-dependence model to assess the impact of endogenous resource mobilization on the founding of new labels within the overall

**Table 2a:** Dance label foundings in UK. *Source:* analysis of own data.

	UK (1)	UK (2)	UK (3)	UK (4)
Intercept	4.5028*** (0.2196)	4.3278*** (0.2191)	4.3215*** (0.2157)	3.5398*** (0.3169)
Density other countries (lagged)				0.0071*** (0.0020)
Market visibility dance genres (lagged)		4.9336*** (1.6643)	4.0448^ (2.0814)	
Country-level density (lagged)	0.0023 (0.0021)		0.0010 (0.0021)	-0.0062 (0.0029)
Country-level density2/1000 (lagged)	-0.0006 (0.0005)		-0.0002 (0.0005)	-0.0001 (0.0004)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0003 (0.0030)	0.0014*** (0.0005)	0.0006 (0.0027)	0.0076* (0.0031)
Dispersion	0.1694 (0.0564)	0.1445 (0.0489)	0.1407 (0.0478)	0.1039 (0.0356)
Log-Likelihood	-131.9456	-130.4137	-130.1850	-127.1054
N	20	20	20	20

^  $p < 0.1$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (one-tailed for density effects)

dance category. In model 2, we only include the effect of market visibility on founding rates. And finally, in model 3, we include both (endogenous) density effects and (exogenous) market effects.

For the UK, in model 1, we initially find the expected positive first-order and negative second-order effects for density, yet both are insignificant. Model 2 for the UK shows a significant effect for market visibility on foundings, and thus confirms the results of the Granger test. In model 3, we introduce both density and market effects. The effect of market visibility remains significant at the 0.1 level. Density effects continue to have the expected direction, yet they are not significant. It is noteworthy that the first-order density effect decreases in size, which suggests that the legitimating effect of market visibility is particularly effective at lower levels of density, i.e., in the emergence phase of the genre. Overall, this suggests that in

**Table 2b: Dance label foundings in NL**

	NL (1)	NL (2)	NL (3)	NL (4)
Intercept	2.5204*** (0.2091)	2.2937*** (0.2518)	2.3328*** (0.232)	2.0986*** (0.2288)
Density other countries (lagged)				0.0011** (0.0003)
Market visibility dance genres (lagged)		6.7846*** (1.7797)	4.1529^ (2.2993)	
Country-level density (lagged)	0.0134*** (0.0036)		0.0075^ (0.0046)	-0.0041 (0.0058)
Country-level density2/1000 (lagged)	-0.0212*** (0.0054)		-0.0115^ (0.0072)	-0.0109* (0.0054)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0053 (0.0047)	0.0070** (0.0028)	0.0039 (0.0046)	0.0206*** (0.0059)
Dispersion	0.1499 (0.0659)	0.1596 (0.0635)	0.1295 (0.0561)	0.0833 (0.0403)
Log-Likelihood	-94.7356	-94.3060	-93.1104	-90.1459
N	20	20	20	20

^ p < 0.1; \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01 \*\*\* p < 0.001 (one-tailed for density effects)

the UK, at the level of the dance stream as a whole, legitimation by market visibility has a more important effect on founding rates than endogenous legitimation.

For the Netherlands, in model 1, we find significant positive first- and negative second-order effects for density. This suggests that endogenous resource mobilization stimulates founding rates. In model 2, we again find a significant effect for market visibility. In model 3, we include first- and second-order density effects, and market visibility. While the effect of the latter decreases, it remains significant at the 0.1 level. After market visibility is included in model 3, the size of the positive first-order effect of density decreases, again suggesting that market visibility was especially important during the initial emergence of dance (i.e., at low density).

**Table 2c:** Dance label foundings in US. *Source:* analysis of own data.

	US (1)	US (2)	US (3)	US (4)
Intercept	4.3344*** (0.0936)	4.4176*** (0.0715)	4.3907*** (0.0940)	4.1070*** (0.1117)
Density other countries (lagged)				-0.0006 (0.0002)
Market visibility dance genres (lagged)		2.8669*** (0.5741)	1.6529 (1.0895)	
Country-level density (lagged)	0.0011^ (0.0006)		0.0008 (0.0006)	0.0037*** (0.0009)
Country-level density2/1000 (lagged)	-0.0006*** (0.0002)		-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0011*** (0.0002)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0033* (0.0015)	0.0034*** (0.0002)	0.0027^ (0.0014)	0.0018 (0.0012)
Dispersion	0.0080 (0.0045)	0.0082 (0.0043)	0.0063 (0.0039)	0.0037 (0.0026)
Log-Likelihood	-98.0600	-98.0545	-96.9894	-93.3219
N	20	20	20	20

^  $p < 0.1$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$  \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (one-tailed for density effects)

For the US, we find evidence of density-dependence in model 1 and market visibility in model 2, yet when combined in model 3, both endogenous and exogenous effects become insignificant, and therefore we would conclude that in the US external legitimacy through market visibility has no significant effect on founding rates.

In model 4, we investigate the transnational embeddedness of each national dance field. We follow Hannan et al. (1995) in re-specifying the density-dependence model to allow multiple levels of analysis and include density of other countries in model 4.

**Table 3a:** Label foundings in the UK (genre-level). *Source:* analysis of own data.

	UK (1)	UK (2)	UK (3)	UK (4)	UK (5)
Intercept	2.6410***	2.7179***	2.6497***	2.0309***	0.4707
	(0.2241)	(0.2218)	(0.2224)	(0.2432)	(0.4270)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0155***	0.0145***	0.0144***	0.0158***	0.0157***
	(0.0021)	(0.0021)	(0.0021)	(0.0020)	(0.0020)
Density focal genre (lagged)	0.0041***	0.0033*	0.0040***	0.0023*	0.0030**
	(0.0012)	(0.0015)	(0.0012)	(0.0012)	(0.0012)
Density focal genre2/1000 (lagged)	-0.0116***	-0.0112***	-0.0119***	-0.0093***	-0.0112***
	(0.0022)	(0.0024)	(0.0022)	(0.0021)	(0.0021)
Density proximate genres (lagged)		0.0036***			
Density proximate genres2/1000 (lagged)		-0.0048***			
		(0.0009)			
Market visibility focal genre (lagged)			5.6755^		
			(2.9570)		
Market visibility other genres (lagged)				3.1888***	
				(0.5889)	
Concentration					0.0016***
					(0.0003)
Density other countries (lagged)					
Dispersion	0.4528	0.4154	0.4475	0.4185	0.4093
	(0.0396)	(0.0367)	(0.0393)	(0.0369)	(0.0366)
Fixed effects (genre)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Full Log Likelihood	-1867.0079	-1848.3551	-1864.6931	-1849.6141	-1846.9974
N	452	452	452	452	452

^ p < 0.1; \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01 \*\*\* p < 0.001 (one-tailed for density effects)



UK (6)	UK (7)	UK (8)	UK (9)	UK (10)	UK (11)
2.7313***	1.9922***	0.6423	3.0287***	3.0094***	2.9430***
(0.2197)	(0.2659)	(0.4620)	(0.2387)	(0.2370)	(0.2299)
0.0133***	0.0135***	0.0139***	0.0207***	0.0198***	0.0172***
(0.0021)	(0.0020)	(0.0020)	(0.0022)	(0.0023)	(0.0023)
0.0031*	0.0041**	0.0041**	-0.0002	-0.0001	0.0011
(0.0015)	(0.0015)	(0.0015)	(0.0014)	(0.0014)	(0.0016)
-0.0114***	-0.0116***	-0.0127***	-0.0141***	-0.0143***	-0.0147***
(0.0023)	(0.0023)	(0.0023)	(0.0021)	(0.0021)	(0.0024)
0.0037***	0.0019*	0.0023**			0.0026**
(0.0037)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)			(0.0008)
-0.0037***	-0.0034***	-0.0037***			-0.0039***
(0.0009)	(0.0009)	(0.0009)			(0.0009)
6.2591*				3.4846	4.2802
(2.8055)				(2.8233)	(2.7556)
	3.0917***				
	(0.6662)				
		0.0014***			
		0.0003)			
			0.0056***	0.0053***	0.0043***
			(0.0011)	(0.0011)	(0.0012)
0.4088	0.3923	0.3837	0.4166	0.4146	0.3894
(0.0363)	(0.0348)	(0.0345)	(0.0374)	(0.0373)	(0.0352)
Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
-1845.2398	-1835.4459	-1832.8390	-1851.8836	-1850.9188	-1837.1814
452	452	452	452	452	452

**Table 3b: Label findings in the NL (genre-level)**

	NL (1)	NL(2)	NL(3)	NL(4)	NL(5)
Intercept	1.7960***	1.5648***	1.6710***	1.4888***	1.9462***
	(0.1878)	(0.2082)	(0.1838)	(0.2019)	(0.2645)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0477***	0.0491***	0.0425***	0.0457***	0.0454***
	(0.0067)	(0.0066)	(0.0065)	(0.0064)	(0.0072)
Density focal genre (lagged)	0.0125**	0.0029	0.0102**	0.0091*	0.0144**
	(0.0040)	(0.0056)	(0.0039)	(0.0040)	(0.0047)
Density focal genre2/1000 (lagged)	-0.1030***	-0.0745**	-0.0927***	-0.0865***	-0.1096***
	(0.0263)	(0.0282)	(0.0255)	(0.0259)	(0.0276)
Density proximate genres (lagged)		0.0098**			
		(0.0034)			
Density proximate genres2/1000 (lagged)		-0.0305**			
		(0.0113)			
Market visibility focal genre (lagged)			7.3428***		
			(1.9407)		
Market visibility other genres (lagged)				2.4172***	
			1.9758**	(0.5889)	
	(0.6681)				0.0016***
	(0.7088)				(0.0003)
Concentration					-0.0001
					(0.0002)
Density other countries (lagged)					
Dispersion	0.2204	0.2064	0.1942	0.1997	0.2190
	(0.0350)	(0.0338)	(0.0326)	(0.0330)	(0.0349)
Fixed effects (genre)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Full Log Likelihood	-820.2014	-814.9609	-811.0973	-812.2022	-819.8003
N	278	278	278	278	278

^ p < 0.1; \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01 \*\*\* p < 0.001 (one-tailed for density effects)

NL (6)	NL(7)	NL (8)	NL (9)	NL (10)	NL (11)
1.3953***	1.3974***	1.7623***	1.8300***	1.7095***	1.5196***
(0.2068)	(0.2137)	(0.2692)	(0.1772)	(0.1747)	(0.1994)
0.0439***	0.0471***	0.0460***	0.0484***	0.0436***	0.0442***
(0.0064)	(0.0065)	(0.0071)	(0.0063)	(0.0062)	(0.0061)
-0.0003	0.0034	0.0049	0.0041	0.0027	-0.0035
(0.0054)	(0.0055)	(0.0058)	(0.0041)	(0.0040)	(0.0053)
-0.0621*	-0.0709**	-0.0816**	-0.0952***	-0.0866***	-0.0666**
(0.0271)	(0.0278)	(0.0288)	(0.0248)	(0.0241)	(0.0259)
0.0105**	0.0065*	0.0103**			0.0075*
(0.0033)	(0.0036)	(0.0034)			(0.0033)
-0.0319**	-0.0200*	-0.0311**			-0.0231*
(0.0110)	(0.0118)	(0.0113)			(0.0108)
7.6476***				6.4645***	6.7698***
(1.9133)				(1.8327)	(1.8295)
		3.0917***			
		(0.6662)			
			0.0014***		
			0.0003)		
		-0.0002			
		(0.0002)			
			0.0020***	0.0019***	0.0017***
			(0.0004)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
0.1769	0.1947	0.2041	0.1851	0.1642	0.1545
(0.0312)	(0.0326)	(0.0336)	(0.0311)	(0.0292)	(0.0286)
Included	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
-804.7394	-810.1453	-814.1352	-805.4374	-797.5828	-794.3182
278	278	278	278	278	278

**Table 3c:** Label findings in the US (genre-level). *Source:* analysis of own data.

US (1)	US(2)	US(3)	US(4)	US(5)	US(6)
Intercept	1.7060***	1.2896***	1.6944***	1.3524***	1.7082***
	(0.1761)	(0.1690)	(0.1760)	(0.1863)	(0.2510)
Foundings (lagged)	0.0254***	0.0176***	0.0267***	0.0204***	0.0254***
	(0.0051)	(0.0049)	(0.0051)	(0.0050)	(0.0053)
Density focal genre (lagged)	0.0057**	0.0012	0.0057**	0.0076***	0.0057**
	(0.0020)	(0.0025)	(0.0020)	(0.0020)	(0.0023)
Density focal genre2/1000 (lagged)	-0.0152***	-0.0081**	-0.0154***	-0.0166***	-0.0152***
	(0.0025)	(0.0029)	(0.0025)	(0.0024)	(0.0027)
Density proximate genres (lagged)		0.0072***			
		(0.0008)			
Density proximate genres2/1000 (lagged)		-0.0097***			
		(0.0011)			
Market visibility focal genre (lagged)			-5.1075		
			(3.3543)		
Market visibility other genres (lagged)				4.1453***	
			2.9026***	(0.5889)	
	(0.8742)				0.0016***
	(0.8078)				(0.0003)
Concentration					-0.0000
					(0.0001)
Density other countries (lagged)					
Dispersion	0.2623	0.1862	0.2585	0.2347	0.2623
	(0.0300)	(0.0232)	(0.0299)	(0.0280)	(0.0301)
Fixed effects (genre)	Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
Full Log Likelihood	-1266.6399	-1222.3630	-1265.2281	-1253.2785	-1266.6398
N	351	351	351	351	351

^ p < 0.1; \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01 \*\*\* p < 0.001 (one-tailed for density effects)

US(7)	US(8)	US (9)	US (10)	US (11)
1.2817***	1.0711***	1.3232***	1.7147***	1.7010***
(0.1688)	(0.1763)	(0.2403)	(0.1744)	(0.1739)
0.0184***	0.0139**	0.0174***	0.0250***	0.0265***
(0.0049)	(0.0049)	(0.0050)	(0.0051)	(0.0051)
0.0016	0.0036	0.0013	0.0033	0.0031
(0.0025)	(0.0025)	(0.0025)	(0.0022)	(0.0022)
-0.0087**	-0.0104***	-0.0081**	-0.0149***	-0.0152***
(0.0029)	(0.0028)	(0.0029)	(0.0025)	(0.0025)
0.0071***	0.0065***	0.0072***		
(0.0008)	(0.0008)	(0.0008)		
-0.0097***	-0.0090***	-0.0097***		
(0.0011)	(0.0011)	(0.0011)		
-4.5593				-6.2569^
(2.9217)				(3.2872)
		3.0917***		
		(0.6662)		
			0.0014***	
			0.0003)	
		-0.0000		
		(0.0001)		
			0.0016**	0.0017**
			(0.0006)	(0.0006)
0.1831	0.1741	0.1861	0.2547	0.2492
(0.0230)	(0.0222)	(0.0232)	(0.0293)	(0.0290)
Included	Included	Included	Included	Included
-1220.8715	-1214.5558	-1222.3390	-1262.2885	-1260.0958
351	351	351	351	351

We find that for the UK, density in other countries has a significant, positive effect and changes the sign of the first-order effect of country-level density (which is non-significant because we use one-tailed tests for density). In model 4 in Table 2b, we find the same results for the Netherlands, with a significant positive effect for density in other countries, and a change in the sign for the first-order effect of country-level density. In Table 2c, we see that in the US, the introduction of other country-level density does not change the direction of the local density effects. This suggests that in the UK and the Netherlands, the development of dance in *other* countries (for the UK this effectively means the US, and for the Netherlands both the US and UK) spilled over and legitimated the emerging category. Yet at the same time, considering that density of the dance population *within* these countries has a linear negative effect on foundings, competitive effects from increasing density appear to remain nationally bounded (Hannan et al., 1995). In the US, the development of the dance genre stream does not seem to be affected by developments abroad, as the country-level density effects remain stable after including density in other countries.

#### Genre-level analysis

We turn now to the emergence and development of specific dance genres. The figures showing the label foundings per genre within distinct genre clusters in the US, UK and the Netherlands (see Appendix I, Chapter 3) suggest that the expansion of the dance genre stream is driven by further differentiation and innovation along new dimensions of the genre space. We can see distinct “waves” with successive peaks of label foundings, which suggests a pattern whereby the dance stream as a whole expands due to internal differentiation, starting with the germinal genres, house and techno, and later spawning a plethora of new dance genres. In this section, we analyze this dynamic process.

#### *Genre-level analysis in the UK*

Model 1 in Table 3a describes the baseline density-dependence model for founding rates within particular genres in the UK. It shows a positive and significant first-order density effect, and a negative and significant second-order density effect. Foundings in the previous year also positively affect foundings in the following year. In model 2, we add density for other, proximate genres (i.e., genres that are in the same cluster as the focal genre as measured through co-occurrences, see Appendix I, Chapter 3). We find strong effects for mutualism and competition *between* genres: density of

proximate genres increases the founding rates of the focal genre, but the negative and significant second-order effect shows that at higher levels this effect decreases.

In model 3, we include the (lagged) values of market visibility per genre and find a significant positive effect (at the 0.1 level;  $p=0.0549$ ). Founding rates of labels within genres are positively affected by the market visibility of these genres. The density effects do not change in this model, so genre market visibility seems to positively affect label foundings during the full trajectory of the genre and not particularly at low levels of density (so, in the early stages of development). In model 4, we look at the effect of the market share of *other* dance genres (i.e., the annual share of dance hits, excluding those of the focal genre), and we find a positive and significant effect: as *other* dance genres become more successful in the mainstream, the founding rates of labels in focal genres increase. The first-order effect of density decreases by almost 50% when we compare the effect sizes in model 1 and model 4. So, the market visibility of other genres “absorbs” some of the legitimation through density at low levels. Models 3 and 4 combined suggest that market visibility of the same and other genres both stimulate the growth of genres, yet particularly the market visibility of *other* genres seems to affect founding rates in the emergence phase of genres. The mainstream success of other genres seems to be an impetus for the founding of *new* genres. In model 5, we also find a positive and significant effect for market concentration. In the UK, resource partitioning is a factor in explaining the rise of new dance genres.

In model 6, we see that the effect of market visibility of the focal genre becomes significant when also including density effects of proximate genres. Model 7 shows that the effect of market share of other genres remains robust to including the density effects of proximate genres, and we find the same for concentration in model 8.

In models 9–11, we include the density of genres in *other* countries. These models show that transnational influences are also present at the level of specific genres. Interestingly, inclusion of this variable makes the first-order effect of local density insignificant, suggesting that these interact strongly with the early legitimacy by increasing density. Inclusion of the chart variable, however, does not strongly decrease the effect of density in other countries. Charts are apparently not the only channel through which developments from abroad influence the development of genres. Unmeasured diffusion channels, such as network contacts, media attention, etc. may possibly be at work here. Moreover, we can also not rule out that the charts

might provide a gateway for developments in countries *other* than the US and Netherlands. Finally, model 11, shows that the effect for density in other countries also remains robust when including the effect of proximate genres.

#### *Genre-level analysis in the Netherlands*

Moving to the Dutch context in Table 3b, model 1 shows the expected density dependence effects. The large effect size for the first-order effect of density is noteworthy: in small countries, such as the Netherlands, the legitimization of a genre could potentially spread more quickly. In model 2, we find the expected effects for the density of other proximate genres, and, interestingly, the first-order effect of the density of the focal genre now becomes smaller and insignificant. It appears that the emergence of genres is strongly affected by the increasing density of other proximate genres.

In model 3, we find a positive and significant effect for prior market visibility on founding rates of that genre. As this does not affect the density effects, we conclude that this positive effect of market visibility extends over the whole period. In model 4, we also find a positive effect for the market visibility of other genres on the development of genres, which also reduces the first order effect of density, but to a lesser extent than in the UK. In model 5, we do not find evidence that market concentration affects founding rates of subgenres.

Models 6, 7, and 8 show that these results remain robust to the inclusion of the density effects of proximate genres. In all three models, the first-order effect of the focal genre's density becomes small and insignificant, due to the inclusion of the effect of the proximate environment. In model 7, after including the market visibility of other genres, the legitimating effect of the density of other genres (at low levels of density) decreases, which suggests that the market visibility of other genres might also mediate some of the legitimating effects of the growth of other genres on the rise of the focal genre.

We also find evidence of transnational influences. Inclusion of the density of genres in other countries (US and UK in this case), decreases the first-order effect of the density of genres in the Netherlands, and becomes insignificant. Genre emergence in the Netherlands therefore also seems to be strongly affected by developments abroad, also at the level of particular dance genres. Inclusion of the market visibility of genres and the effect of proximate genres does not change the effects of the density of genres in other countries. Also here, we cannot conclude that the positive effect of



chart success was primarily a mediator for exposing influences from abroad.

### *Genre-level analysis in the United States*

Table 3c shows results for the US. In model 1, we again find the expected effects for density, and in model 2, the inclusion of the proximate environment shows significant results on the founding rates, and the first-order effect of focal genre density becomes small and insignificant, suggesting that the emergence of genres is, to a large extent, stimulated by the development of other proximate genres.

In model 3, we find no effect for the market visibility of genres. In model 4, we do find that the increased market visibility of other genres stimulates the founding rate of focal genres, yet this does not change the first-order effects for density, so we cannot conclude that this particularly affects the emergence of genres, yet increases the founding rates relatively independently of the size of the focal genre. In model 5, we find no evidence that market concentration affects founding rates in the US. Models 6, 7, and 8 show that these results on the three market variables do not change when including the proximate environment.

In models 9–11, we see that for the US there is a significant positive effect for density in other countries. While we did not find this at the level of the entire dance genre stream, this most likely means that although the rise of the category as a whole (which, as we know, started from US-based genres) was not stimulated by developments in Europe, at least some of the included genres originated in the UK and diffused to the US, thus explaining the importance of density in other countries for the emergence of genres. Model 11, however, shows that this effect disappears when including the effect of proximate genres, and the effect of transnational influences is less robust in the case of the US.

### *Discussion and conclusion*

This study aimed to analyze how the interaction between field-level factors and movements affects the growth of new cultural categories. Studies of new scenes or subcultures (Bennett, 2004; Hebdige, 2002 [1979]) have generally analyzed the development of genres as relatively autonomous processes whereby, for example, mainstream success is considered as a form of incorporation, which potentially follows after a period of micromobilization (Crossley, 2015). Field theoretical perspectives, however, would suggest that the development of a genre movement depends on the environment in which the movement interacts with other individual and collective field par-

ticipants, including other movements (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). We examined the movement–field interaction by focusing on the development of dance, a genre that differentiated into multiple genres, and had varying degrees of mainstream success in our selected countries of the US, UK, and the Netherlands.

The results show that the field embeddedness of dance genre movements affects their development in all three countries, with some similarities and some differences. We observe in all three countries that the environment of other, proximate genres has a strong and consistent effect on the development of new genres. This suggests that cross-form mechanisms of imitation and differentiation are at play in all three “movement fields.” This corroborates findings on earlier community ecology models of genre emergence in the dance field (cf., van Venrooij, 2015). However, we also see cross-national differences in these effects: in both the Netherlands and the US, the proximate environment strongly decreases the legitimating influence of endogenous resource mobilization, whereas in the UK, this is not the case. This might suggest that in the UK certain “scenes” developed in a more autonomous way. Yet, at the same time, this autonomy should also not be overstated considering our findings on the effects of the “environment” of the mainstream market.

Analysis of the movement–market interaction shows that, at the level of the dance genre stream, there is a *strong* coupling with the market in the UK and the Netherlands, and a relatively *weak* coupling in the US. Analyses at the level of particular genres also suggest that in both the Netherlands and the UK, prior market visibility stimulates the growth of genres, whereas this is not the case in the US. In both European countries, the visibility of the genre in the charts raises the founding rates of genres, but unrelated to levels of density—so not particular to the emergence phase. Moreover, we see that especially in the UK, and to a lesser extent in the Netherlands, market visibility of *other* genres stimulates the emergence of *new* genres. Market visibility of other genres might thus drive the expansion of the genre space through differentiation, i.e., the emergence of new genres as a reaction against the mainstream adoption of other genres. Moreover, the UK is the only country where we find positive effects of market concentration. This finding suggests to us that the differentiation process in the UK might also be enhanced by the opening up of resources due to a concentration within the center of the market. This suggests that the emergence of new genres in the UK can be the result of anti-mass cultural movements, enabled by the opening up of resources at the periphery of the field, and

reacting to increased market visibility of the dance category.

In identifying this *differentiation* effect, it proved crucial to move down from the stream-level to the genre-level. The stream-level analysis of the UK and the Netherlands, i.e. the positive effect of market visibility on founding rates, could have been seen as providing evidence for the argument that the commercial success of a cultural form might drive the growth of the genre. As such, it could be taken as evidence of “top-down,” market driven influences on genre development. Market visibility, which in the UK and the Netherlands, were facilitated by more favorable industry structures (Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019), could have been seen as providing *direct* legitimation for the genre. Yet, the analysis at the genre-level nuances this interpretation. Especially in the UK, we have presented evidence that it is the market visibility of *other* genres that seems to especially affect the early founding rates of new genres. Instead of calling this a legitimating effect, we would therefore indeed rather interpret this as an effect of *differentiation*, i.e., the emergence of new genres in reaction to signals from the market from other genres. Combined with evidence for resource partitioning theory, this market-movement interaction incorporates both “top-down” as well as “bottom-up” processes. New movements are triggered by markets, by reacting *against* increasing market visibility of the category as a whole. This process of differentiation and continuous transformation again emphasizes the need to study genre development as part of an expanding cultural classification system (DiMaggio, 1987; Lena, 2012). Studies focusing on the expansion of a single genre category would fail to grasp this dynamic.

Finally, the emergence of new genres in the UK and the Netherlands is also strongly affected by developments abroad, and to a lesser extent in the US. This suggests that the field of dance music is a transnational field wherein the legitimacy of genres travels quickly across borders. We do not find evidence that this transnational diffusion operates through market information regimes such as the charts. The effects of transnational influences remain robust to the inclusion of market visibility of the focal genre in the domestic country—which could be a possible strategy to test whether charts might provide the information on developments from abroad and therefore work as a diffusion channel for developments abroad (cf., Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019). We do not find evidence for this possible role of the charts.

At this point it is useful to consider the limits of our study and opportunities for further research. First, within (cultural) markets and fields there can be multiple and potentially competing sensemaking devices, and

in this paper we have only focused on the charts. Our approach could be advanced by comparing the effects of multiple sensemaking devices, such as the general press (Thornton, 1995), the music press (Van Venrooij, 2015), or even micro-media covering a certain niche (McRobbie and Thornton, 1995). Second, while this paper draws on density-dependence theory and uses label foundings as being indicative of (increased) genre movement activity, and exploits the possibilities for across-case analysis of multiple cases of genre emergence using this type of data and analysis, this does not preclude more within-case analysis and the use of network data to study how environmental changes can drive movement expansion (cf., Crossley, 2015).

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# Chapter 4 — When existing genre communities adopt new genres: analyzing networks and market information to explain the rise of trance music

## *Abstract*

The emergence and development of new genres has been studied using distinct perspectives. Network studies focus on the members of a genre community, and on how (changes in) their network relations and efforts to mobilize resources can act as drivers of the development of new genres. Market information studies focus on how changes in the market success of genres can potentially trigger responses among the members of genre communities. Combining the two perspectives, this study analyzes how a “shift” in popularity from hardcore to trance music, visible at the macro-level of the Dutch mainstream music market, was a cause *and* an effect of a re-constellation of the networks of hardcore and trance scenes at the micro-level. Using a historical case study design, it analyzes primary and secondary sources on the commercial success of dance genres and network relations in the dance genre community. By analyzing the interaction between networks and market information, we can extend our understanding of how, when, and why new genres and their supporting genre communities develop from precursors.

## *Introduction*

Cultural fields, such as the market for mainstream music, are characterized by dynamic processes whereby genres continuously emerge, grow, and decay (Peterson and Anand, 2004; Lena, 2012; Punt and van Venrooij, 2021; Sgourev, 2020). To understand these genre dynamics, researchers have used various perspectives. One body of work in genre research “zooms in” and focuses on how the emergence and development of new genres is driven by genre communities, who are organized in networks and strategically mo-

bilize resources in support of certain cultural innovations. This lens, which takes inspiration from social movement analysis, was effectively applied by Crossley (2008; 2009; 2015) who has documented how pre-existing networks, the existence of foci (i.e., places where people meet and can form new relationships and/or mobilize each other for a common goal), and various other network formation mechanisms were crucial in the mobilization processes that underpinned the rise of punk in London, Manchester, and elsewhere in the UK, around 1975.

Another body of work, associated with the production of culture perspective (Peterson and Anand, 2004), “zooms out” to the broader field-level and addresses—among other things—the question of how dynamics in the music charts shape sensemaking processes among field participants. This body of work treats the music charts as “market information regimes,” which “provide a common focus of attention that serves to interlock disparate actors into a common field” (Anand and Peterson, 2000: 281; see also Anand, 2005). The development of new genre communities can be spurred when the charts disseminate information about (changes in) the popularity of genres, and, as such, inform collective sensemaking and stimulate the adoption of new genres.

Whilst the former lens focuses on how the development of genre communities, i.e., actual network connections among people engaged in a shared musical activity, is necessary for the popularization of genres (Crossley, 2008; 2009; 2015; McAndrew and Everett, 2014), the latter lens focuses on how more abstract forces at the field-level, that is, the spread of market information through regimes like the charts (Anand and Peterson, 2000), can drive changes in genre communities.

The network and market information perspectives have been used largely separately from one another, but researchers on both sides have tentatively suggested that there is a need to combine the two approaches. From the side of network analysts, Crossley (2009: 27-29) has called for studies not only to attend to concrete network relationships, but also to analyze how these interact with the shared artistic conventions in the wider network (i.e., network members’ “shared techniques, habits and rules/norms,” Crossley, 2009: 27). Assessing the popularity of genres within the music market can, I suggest, offer us a practical way to map which artistic conventions are more or less valued in a given field. I will unpack this idea in more detail below.

In the camp of market information studies, it is hypothesized that the information disseminated by such regimes can spur the expansion of

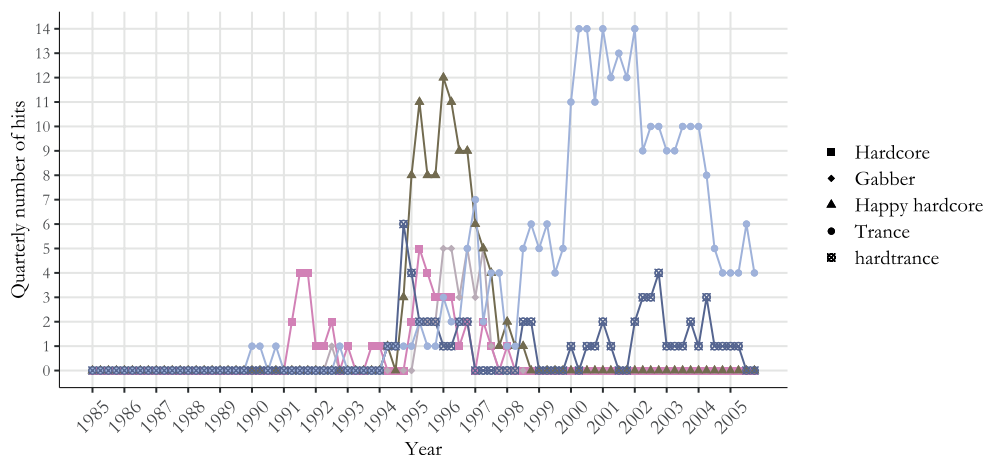
new genre communities (see Anand and Peterson, 2000: 282, on the case of the disco genre community), yet their empirical analyses attend to (genre popularity) dynamics at the level of the broader market or field, and do not consider the development of genre communities in detail. In the closely associated domain of “market device” studies—which, like the literature on market information regimes, is also concerned with the potential performative effects of market devices, such as the charts—Velthuis (2020: 90) notes that this body of work can overcome its limitations by connecting to other strands of research. This notably concerns Grannovetter’s (1985) embeddedness approach, which emphasizes the importance of ongoing network relations among market participants. Market devices, such as the charts, can then be seen as “co-creators” of markets (Velthuis, 2020), affecting market participants’ behavior *alongside* the network relations that tie them to each other.

In the present study, I analyze the interaction between networks and market information, which, I argue, can help us to better understand the processes by which new genres and their associated communities develop. I do so by investigating the case of trance music in the Netherlands. As can be seen in Figure 1, trance—a genre that is part of a larger dance genre stream, and emerged from house and techno (Lena, 2012; Van Venrooij, 2015)—entered the Dutch music market in the year 1990, but it took about a decade before it commercially blossomed. The figure also shows that the popularity of trance especially took off as the popularity of hardcore, a previously dominant dance genre, reached its lowest point, which suggests that the popularity of the two genres may have been interdependent. The aim of this paper is to unpack and analyze how this “shift” in popularity from hardcore to trance, as visible at the macro-level of the music market, was a cause *and* an effect of a micro-level re-constellation of the networks of hardcore and trance scenes. Drawing on this case, the broader question this paper aims to address is how genre communities respond to, and drive, fluctuations in the popularity of genres.

The analysis below documents three stages through which the trance genre and its supporting genre community developed. First, it shows how—after an initial period in which the trance genre entered the Dutch music market through chart hits by foreign acts—a locally networked trance scene developed in Rotterdam. This scene emerged within a pre-existing genre community oriented to hardcore. Second, it discusses how a downturn in the popularity of hardcore led to a re-constellation of the dance network, which connected previously (largely) divided communities in Rotterdam

and Amsterdam as they pooled resources and collectively switched from hardcore to the embryonic genre of trance. Third, it discusses how this resource pooling enabled the further commercial rise of trance.

To make this argument, this case study analyzes dynamics in network relations and the popularity of genres using a historical case study design (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). Data on network relations among artists and entrepreneurs in the broader dance genre stream (including, but not limited to, trance and hardcore) were collected by coding books on the history of dance in the Netherlands during the period 1985–2005. To capture changes in the popularity of genres during the same period, all singles in the Dutch top 40—the main chart for the Dutch music market, established by Radio Veronica in 1965—were coded for genre using the Allmusic and Discogs online databases. These primary and secondary and primary sources were complemented by additional background information on artists and labels, provided by the comprehensive Discogs database, and occasionally other online sources, such as artists’ personal websites.



**Figure 1.** the popularity of the hardcore and trance genres in the Dutch music market. *Source:* analysis of own data.

Investigating the interaction between network relations among genre community members and popularity dynamics in the charts helps us to better understand how pre-existing communities play a role in the development of new genre categories and new genre communities. The importance of pre-existing communities as the foundation for new (genre) categories has been addressed in the literature on both genres and social

movements (e.g., see Crossley, 2015, on how pre-existing network relations among “proto-punks,” such as pubrockers, became the basis for a London punk scene; and see McAdam, 1982, on how pre-existing church and college communities functioned as the bedrock of the Civil Rights movement). This study adds to such work by demonstrating how the transition from precursor to new genre communities is critically shaped by the popularity of previously dominant genres. More specifically, the study documents how the diminishing popularity of hardcore spurred the re-constellation of network relations and the mobilization of resources in support of trance. Exchanges of “complementary resources” (organizational resources, on the one hand, and cultural resources, on the other) appeared to play an important role in this process.

In the remainder of this article, I will review the literature on how pre-existing communities, network mechanisms, and resource mobilization can serve as a basis for the development of new genres. In this section, I will also consider perspectives on how to study the interplay between genre communities and the popularity of genres. After providing details on the dance genre stream in the research setting, the data and methods used in this study will be discussed. This is followed by a historical investigation that documents three stages through which the trance genre community evolved in its new context. Finally, I will discuss the contributions of this study to the literature on (genre) categories.

## *Theory*

Pre-existing communities, network mechanisms, and resource mobilization as a basis for genre development

How do changes in cultural fields, such as the emergence and development of new genres, come about? One stream of research focuses on the collective development of new genres by investigating the dynamic relationships among the members of genre communities, often using social network analysis (Crossley, 2008; 2009; 2015; McAndrew and Everett, 2014). As noted, this work can be situated in a longer tradition of social movement research, which has, for example, shown that pre-existing communities can be a fertile ground for the development of new movements. The readily formed—and potentially long-running—social ties among community members allow them to be organized more quickly around a new common goal, whereas the organization of hitherto unconnected individuals is generally more time and resource intensive (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Moreover, pre-existing communities have generally aggregated various kinds

of resources, such as financial resources or facilities, which can be used for new purposes (see, for instance, McAdam [1982] on how the buildings and spaces available to black churches and black colleges sustained the organization of the emerging civil rights movement in the US in the 1950s).

Such a sociological approach can also be applied to genres, allowing us to identify how communities have formed around certain genres, and then later drive the creation or adoption of new genres (Lena, 2015). Several studies have documented how pre-existing communities played a role in musical innovations. Brandellero and Kloosterman (2020) documented how a “scene ecology” built around indorock by an Indonesian migrant community in the Netherlands provided the bedrock for a lively and commercially successful beat music scene in the 1960s. Explaining the rapid emergence of punk in the UK, Crossley (2015) points to the pre-existing relations among a London-based community focusing on earlier music, such as pubrock, and progressive dress styles, art, and ideas. Central actors in this community were Malcom McClaren and Vivienne Westwood, who ran the clothing boutique SEX, and whose sales assistants included Sid Vicious (Sex Pistols) and Chrissie Hynde (The Pretenders, see Crossley, 2008). The pre-existing community provided not only artists who started making punk, but also a wider network of interlinked people, including punk-oriented entrepreneurs—or the “support personnel” (Becker, 1982)—and even audiences (e.g. SEX’s clientele).

To understand how new genre communities can develop, Crossley (2009) delineates several network mechanisms. These network mechanisms are useful to analyze how existing relations are maintained, and how new ties are formed. First, the concept of foci (Crossley, 2009; Feld, 1981) highlights how people with a shared interest are likely to form network ties when visiting the same places or events, such as venues that regularly offer (punk) gigs or cafes where community members frequently hang out. Consistent with the idea of foci, Brandellero and Kloosterman (2020) note that especially informal spaces, such as bars, where people interact in more playful and convivial ways, play an important role in the emergence of new music scenes.

Second, Crossley (2009) also points to preferential attachment, which refers to a network mechanism through which people tend to establish relationships with so-called *social hubs* (Barabási, 2003), i.e., those who are already well connected. Social hubs are usually resource-rich actors and associated with certain foci, such as the clothing boutique owner, record label manager, and television presenter, Malcom McClaren, referred to

above.<sup>35</sup> In the analysis below, I will investigate how certain foci and social hubs have played a role in the rise of trance and its associated genre community.

The interaction between networks and market information  
The discussion of pre-existing communities, network mechanisms, and resource mobilization emphasizes how the development of genres is facilitated by the (growing) interaction of people in genre communities. However, genre development can be influenced by forces other than (increasing) face-to-face interactions. Crossley (2015) attends to this idea by discussing the roles of the media and the music charts in the development of network relations among British punks. The media are seen as a common reference point that can link members of a genre community in different parts of a country. In a similar vein, music charts, particularly the independent chart in the case of punk, are referred to as a “centralised information hub,” which facilitated coordination among members of the punk genre community (Crossley, 2015: 231). Such thinking about networks and extra-network influences is consistent with the idea that networks are embedded in a field, and that field participants receive information directly from one another *and* from central sensegiving/market devices, such as the charts (Anand and Peterson, 2000; Anand, 2005; Maitlis and Christianson, 2014; Velthuis, 2020; Rossman, 2014). The music charts supply information on the popularity of genres and, by shaping sensemaking processes among field participants, can guide actors’ actions, such as how record label owners allocate budgets to certain genres (for instance, see Anand and Peterson, 2000, on how the revaluation of country music spurred new investment in this genre by industry executives). Such outcomes, then, can be understood as being the result of both unplanned field- or market-level dynamics and actors’ purposeful actions at the micro-level (Aspers and Godart, 2013; Sgourev, 2013; Sgourev, 2020).

Finally, it is expected that market information supplied by the

35 Another network mechanism highlighted by Crossley (2009) is the Granovetter effect, also known as “transitivity,” and refers to a frequently observed phenomena in networks that new connections are often formed through a mutual contact, e.g. one person introduces two of his/her friends to each other (see also Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2010; 2019; Granovetter, 1973). While there several examples of transitivity have been observed in the dance network, these are not discussed in the analysis below.

charts can bring about processes of resource mobilization through existing *and* newly formed relationships. With regards to the latter, this is likely to include new relationships, or “conduits” (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980), towards actors associated with trending genres, allowing resources to flow to new locations/communities in the network. In turn, we can expect that such re-constellations of, and resource mobilization in, the network can further drive the popularity of certain genres that were already attracting some attention.

### *Research setting*

To unpack how genre communities respond to, and drive, changes in the popularity of genres, this study focuses on the rise of trance vis-a-vis the downfall of hardcore. These two genres were direct descendants of house and techno, which formed the foundation for a still evolving dance genre stream (Lena, 2012; Van Venrooij, 2015). DJs in the US, such as Joey Beltram and Lenny Dee, and in Europe, such as Marc Acardipane, developed the fast-paced and “grim” sounding hardcore genre, which, in the Netherlands, transformed into the even faster-paced gabber, and into a more joyful and uplifting version called happy hardcore. “Hardcore” is used as shorthand for these associated genres.

Characterized by its repetitive and “hypnotic” effects, trance emerged around the same time as hardcore, whilst its popularity peaked later. Early (proto) trance acts included the KLF in the UK, as well as DJ Sven Väth and Dance 2 Trance in Germany.

The trance genre transformed some years later into the faster-paced hardtrance, a genre made especially by foreign “industry-based” artists who also produced conventional trance, such as the German acts, Scooter and Dune. While both hardcore and trance sprung from house and techno, the two genres evolved musically in a rather distinct fashion. As can be read on the Discogs style guide, “[t]rance generally has no ‘bump’ in its percussion or ‘groove’ in its basslines - that is, the hi-hats and the bass in the kick drum are generally de-emphasized as compared to house or techno.”<sup>36</sup> However, for hardcore, the hi-hats and the (distorted) kick drum became the genre’s distinguishable features, and they were accentuated even more than house and techno.<sup>37</sup>

36 See, Discogs Style Guide “Trance,” <https://www.discogs.com/style/trance>.

37 See, Discogs Style Guide “Hardcore,” <https://www.discogs.com/style/hardcore>



Hardcore and trance became two of the most commercially successful dance genres in the Dutch music market. Beside the progenitor genres, house and techno, their most important, and stronger, competitor was Eurohouse. This genre was created by established professionals within the music industry according to a tried-and-tested pop music strategy: anonymous and experienced music producers and marketers worked together with young people (often models or dancers) who became the faces, and sometimes also vocalists, of an act (Van Terphoven et al., 2013). Since Eurohouse is best considered as an “industry-based” genre, which did not develop into a scene-based form, it will not be further discussed in the analysis below.

For this project, I collected data on the broader stream of dance genres in the Dutch music market between 1985 and 2005. This time-frame captures the emergence of dance (i.e., the advent of house and techno), the peak of popularity of the dance genre stream during the 1990s, when new dance genres (trance and hardcore in particular) became successful, and, towards the end of the period, also the diminishing popularity of the dance genre stream as a whole.

### *Data and methods*

I have followed earlier studies that used both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze social networks (Crossley, 2008; 2009; 2015) and the interaction between culture and networks (Fuhse and Mütsel, 2011). The dance network data were collected by manually coding books on the history of dance in the Netherlands. The chart data were collected by coding the genre for each record with a chart notation between 1985 and 2005. To analyze the two-way influences between network relations, on the one hand, and genres, on the other, this study relies on a historical case study design (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). In this case study design, the descriptive network and genre popularity statistics are complemented by rich background information on the relationships and exchanges between members of the dance genre community, as provided by the dance history books, the Discogs database, and occasionally other online sources, such as artists’ websites. More details on the data and methods are provided below.

Network data and analysis: the Dutch dance genre community  
In addition to artists themselves, entrepreneurs, or “support personnel,” are also known to play an important role in the mobilization of resources used to drive innovations in art (Becker, 1982). I therefore aimed to include both artists *and* entrepreneurs (e.g., record label managers) in the network

dataset. This makes artist collaboration data—where, for instance, network ties are formed by those who work together on a record—less suitable. Instead, similar to the approach taken by Crossley (2009) in his work on the emergence of punk, I used secondary sources: available books that cover the history of dance in the Netherlands over the period 1985–2005 (see Table 1 below for an overview of the titles).

Books on the history of dance as a source for network data come, as do other sources for network data, with their own (dis)advantages. The people and their relationships, which are featured in these books, rely on their authors and their sources, most notably their interviewees. Moreover, authors of dance history books are likely to focus on artists who enjoy(ed) some form of recognition. This makes this form of data collection more prone to tie omission than data collection strategies that do not depend on narrators or the recollection of past relationships, such as more systematic data derived from sleeve notes on collaborating artists or, say, from governmental registers on family relationships. The advantage of history books over such systematic data sources is that the former contain information on the different types of actors involved in building a new genre community, including record labels and record store owners, party organizers, journalists, funders, and, of course, the artists themselves.

**Table 1.** Coded books on the history of dance in the Netherlands. *Source:* analysis of own data.

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Year of publication</b>	<b># Nodes</b>	<b># Edges</b>
<i>Release</i>	Gert van Veen	2004	180	337
<i>Roxy en de House revolutie</i>	Job de Witte	2008	111	194
<i>Mary Go Wild</i>	Arne van Terphoven, Britta Möller, Gert van Veen, and Alex Slagter (Eds.)	2013	358	599
<i>Extrema 20 Years of Love</i>	Mark van Bergen	2015	20	25
<i>Rotterdam in the House</i>	Ronald Tukker	2015	164	360

Two people were coded as having a relationship when they were engaged in dance-related *activities* together, such as the production of a dance record, party, or radio show (this includes not only business relationships, but also friendships, and family members, who, for example, loaned money so that their relatives could begin a club). To identify relationships among actors in the dance network, I relied solely on the dance history books, yet background information on those actors and their relationships (including information on the year in which these relationships were formed) was retrieved not only from the books, but also from the Discogs database and other online sources. If the books, or one of the online sources, did not provide explicit information about when this relationship was formed, then I used the date of the first dance-related activity in which both were engaged as the start of their relationship. People who were not permanent residents of the Netherlands, but worked together with someone in the Dutch dance network, were also included. This, for example, includes Jeff Mills, a famous DJ from the US, who worked together with some Dutch artists. Exceptions were instances where the relationship was “parasocial,” for example, when one artist only mentioned that s/he was a fan of another artist.

After removing duplicates across sources, the final network consisted of 717 people (nodes) and 1492 relationships (edges). The mean degree is 4.16, meaning that, on average, each person had about 4 contacts. The transitivity is 0.24, hence for every four triads there was about one “transitive” triad (where node A, B, and C are mutually connected), while there were about three “intransitive” triads (where A is connected to B and C, yet the latter two have no observed connection) (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson, 2013). The average clustering coefficient is 0.42. These two clustering metrics indicate that the network was relatively “clumpy.” At the same time, the average shortest path length of the largest component (which involves almost the entire network) is, at 4.41, relatively short, which shows that the dance network in the Netherlands had a “small world” character: while it is clumpy, there are sufficient connections between clusters, so relatively short paths are needed to link any two nodes in the network (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson, 2013; Uzzi and Spiro, 2005). While actors’ mean degree is relatively low, other elements of the overall network structure, such as its transitivity and average path length, are comparable to other networks on, for instance, board directors and jazz musicians, as reported by Smith (2006).

In the descriptive network analysis, I focused on how the network mechanisms discussed above were operative in the case of hardcore and trance. People in the dance genre community were grouped into so-called

“partitions”—also referred to as “clusters”—using community detection. It returned a set of meaningful partitions where people grouped around certain foci (Crossley, 2009; Feld, 1981), such as record labels, and social hubs (Crossley, 2009; Barabási, 2003), such as record label managers.

To understand how members in the dance genre community were related to one another and to specific dance genres (most notably to hardcore and trance), I worked with several data sources in conjunction. Not only were the dance history books taken into account, I also used the genre-coded chart data to create an overview of the artists who produced trance hits, and specifically of the artists who did so during the take-off phase of the genre. For those trance artists (as identified either through the dance history books or the chart data), I also examined their historical discography on Discogs to trace when they started producing and officially releasing trance.

#### Chart data and analysis: the Dutch dance genre stream

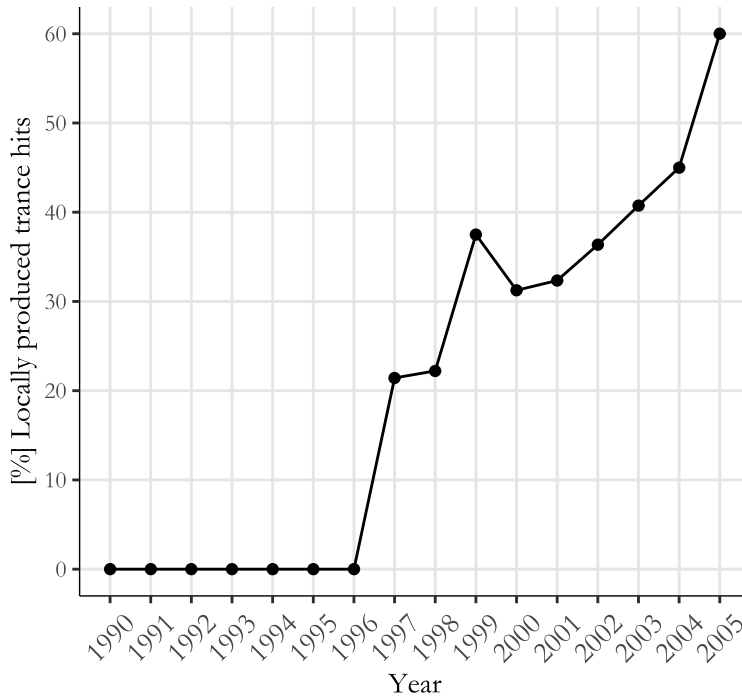
To track genre popularity dynamics over time, this study analyzes the 5822 singles that charted in the Netherlands between 1985 and 2005. These were coded for genre using two independent sources. First, the Allmusic database was used to code the genre of each chart artist. Second, genre classifications at the level of individual records were coded using the Discogs database. If Allmusic coded an artist as “electronic” in one of their three main genre classifications, and Discogs also coded the track as belonging to one or more of the “core” dance genres (as identified in earlier projects), then the chart entry was considered as belonging to the dance genre stream. In this way, I constructed a longitudinal data set with quarterly observations on the popularity of specific dance genres. Drawing predominantly on artist information in the Discogs database, and occasionally on other sources, such as artists’ personal websites, I also manually coded each trance act in the Dutch charts for their country of origin. In this way I could assess the ratio of foreign to local artists with trance hits in the Netherlands, and thus also assess how the visibility and commercial success of the local trance scene changed with time.

### *Results*

The introduction and local adoption of trance

While the Netherlands brought forth some of the most renowned trance DJs in the world, the story of trance in the Netherlands began with foreign trance acts, who first appeared in the Dutch charts in 1990. It would take

until 1997, as can be seen in Figure 2, for the first *locally* produced trance hits to appear in the Netherlands (then 3 out of 14 trance hits in total, i.e., 21%). The percentage of locally produced trance hits grew steadily in the following years, reaching 60% (9 out of 15 trance hits) in 2005.



**Figure 2.** Percentage of locally produced trance hits in the Dutch music market. *Source:* analysis of own data.

During its inception in the Netherlands, trance is therefore best understood as a “satellite, industry-based” genre (Lena, 2012). The term “satellite” is used to indicate that it concerns a genre that developed outside its original national context. The first series of trance hits in the Netherlands were produced by foreign acts who were already commercially successful elsewhere, most notably in the UK and Germany. We can also refer to it as being “industry-based,” because the initial organizational support for trance in the Netherlands consisted entirely of large, transnational record labels with a generalist identity, i.e., labels that are not focused on one, but several genres. This includes independent labels, such as Edel subsidiary Club Tools, Jive, and Stockholm Records, as well as major label subsidiaries, such as Polydor’s Urban. Interestingly, but perhaps not entirely surprisingly, the foreign artists

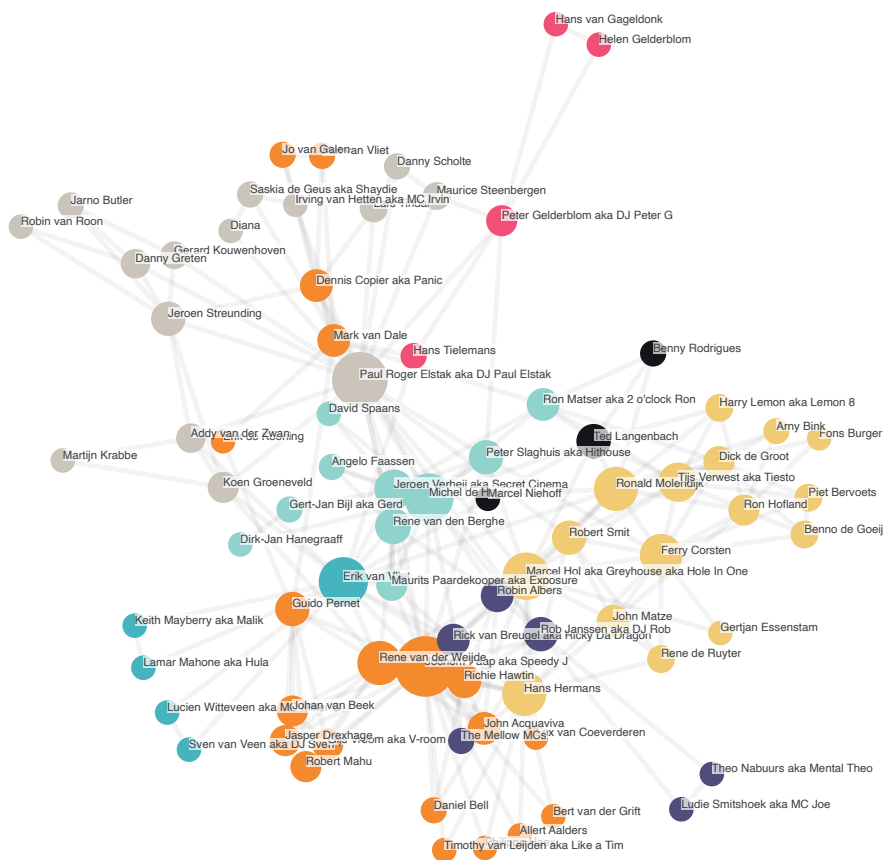
and representatives of these transnational labels are not discussed in books on the history of dance in the Netherlands, so they are also not included in my network data. Those included are the members of a Dutch trance genre community who, while not “charting” until 1997, had already been producing trance since the early 1990s.

Trance was initially adopted by members of an already existing music community, who were predominantly oriented towards hardcore, and resided in Rotterdam. This “scene within a scene” was identified by drawing on primary (the genre-coded chart data, including information on the artists producing trance hits) and secondary sources (the dance history books). The network graphs were especially useful to visualize and understand how those identified as being part of the trance scene were related to each other and clustered in certain parts of the network.

While some artists in other parts of the Netherlands, including Amsterdam, also appear to have been involved in the formative years of the trance genre, the community of Rotterdam-based artists discussed here initially formed the only sizable *locally networked trance scene*. The artists populating it—including the “big three” trance artists Tijs Verwest (aka Tiesto), Ferry Corsten, and Armin Van Buuren, as well as Benno De Goeij and Piet Bervoets (the duo behind Rank 1)—would become the most successful artists in the genre in the early 2000s, as indicated by their (inter)national chart success and leading positions in the *DJ Mag*’s annual DJ awards.

Rotterdam as a cradle of one of the most popular genres in the history of dance in the Netherlands may seem peculiar when noting that, certainly in the 1990s, the city occupied a semi-peripheral position in the Dutch cultural field, following Amsterdam, and even smaller cities, such as Utrecht and Hilversum, which had a relatively high agglomeration of employment in the creative industries, including the arts, media, and creative business services (Kourtit et al., 2013; Stam, De Jong, and Marlet, 2008). However, to understand why Rotterdam was so important for the Dutch trance scene, we need to consider out of which precursor genre community it was built. Rotterdam, the second largest city of the Netherlands, hosted a vibrant hardcore scene, whose producers—e.g., Jochem Paap, Michel de Heij, and Paul Elstak—had considerable success in the charts, and as club DJs (Tukker, 2015; Van Terphoven et al., 2013). So, while being semi-peripheral in the Dutch cultural field at large, Rotterdam could be considered as a leader in the field of dance. It was a strong competitor of artists and entrepreneurs in Amsterdam, where a relatively separate hardcore scene had formed.

Figure 3 shows the predominantly Rotterdam-based “hardcore/trance” partition in the larger dance network, including its various subpartitions, by 1996, the year in which hardcore was at its commercial peak, and a year before we saw the first locally produced trance hits appearing in the charts (see Figure 2). This partition tells us that some of the acts who became the most commercially successful trance artists (Ferry Corsten, and Thijs Verwest aka Tiesto) were part of the already existing hardcore community that had developed in Rotterdam. Most of these trance acts had themselves also previously released hardcore records (for example, Ferry Corsten, on the hardcore label Terror Trax), but later moved to trance. It should be noted that this “trance” subpartition was initially a minority within the hardcore network, and certainly not all Rotterdam-based hardcore artists and entrepreneurs adopted trance either initially or in the long run. Moreover, the artists and entrepreneurs who did were clearly not “randomly” positioned in the partition, but structured around certain *foci* (Crossley, 2009; Feld, 1981): places where network members often gathered, and, linked to those places, *social hubs*, or relatively well-connected people (Barabási, 2003). Most of the trance acts within the Rotterdam hardcore scene were located in the yellow ocher subpartition on the right-hand side of Figure 3, with its main foci being the record labels, Basic Beat (which also functioned as a popular record store and hangout for DJs) run by Ronald Molendijk and Ron Hofland, and See Saw, lead by Hans Hermans. These label managers, along with some well-connected artists, such as Ferry Corsten, also constituted the emerging trance scene’s social hubs. While social hubs are not necessarily the starting point for innovations, such as new genres, they are known to play an important role in building them, since social hubs are usually formed by resource-rich actors (e.g., see Crossley, 2008; 2009; 2015).



**Figure 3.** The Rotterdam-based “hardcore/trance” partition in the larger dance network by 1996. The subpartitions are marked using distinct colors. Nodes with only one relationship were omitted from the graph to improve its readability. *Source:* analysis of own data.

Most artists and entrepreneurs in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition were, as noted, oriented towards hardcore before starting to produce trance records in the early-to-mid 1990s. They included the members of the Basic Beat team: Ron Hofland and Ronald Molendijk (who, besides running a record store, were also known for their hardcore hit “De rode schoentjes”), and Arnie Bink and Tijs Verwest (who also run the hardcore/gabber label Trashcan Records), as well as their regular clientele, including Ferry Corsten, who—together with Robert Smit, Rene de Ruyter, and John Matze—formed the hardcore act the Tellurians (signed by the Hermans’ See Saw label). Others in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition had different musical backgrounds (for instance, as producers of techno), but also adopted



trance, including Marcel Hol (a Basic Beat regular also known as Hole In One, whose trance single, *Life's Too Short*, reached the number one position in the UK charts) and Benno de Goei and Piet Bervoets (the duo behind the internationally successful trance act Rank 1).

People in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition began releasing trance records as early as 1992 (Hans Hermans, who began releasing work from foreign acts, notably records from the early German trance act, *Transform*). Others in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition began creating their own trance records in 1993 (Ferry Corsten and Marcel Hol), 1994 (Tijds Verwest and Arnie Bink), and in later years.

The emerging Dutch trance scene also encompassed some people outside the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition. The analysis of the primary and secondary sources identified a small number of other actors who adopted trance during its take-off phase. Many of them had *direct relations* with members in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition. Most notably, there was the trance and techno-focused Haunted House Records, established by Erik van Vliet (see also Figure 3, in the turquoise subpartition), who also ran Hotsound, a record store where Molendijk used to work before starting Basic Beat. Haunted House released work from several Dutch trance artists in the early 1990s, including trance productions by Rene van der Weijde, Rick van Breugel, and the above-mentioned Corsten and Smit. So, even though actors, such as van Vliet, are allocated to different subpartitions of the Rotterdam hardcore/trance network, they can still be considered as members of the emerging Rotterdam trance scene.

At this point it is valuable to consider whether other actors in the wider Dutch dance network also adopted trance, who were not linked directly—or, at least, not according to the available data—to the Rotterdam hardcore/trance network. These actors indeed existed, yet were in most cases established, commercial artists who produced hits in various dance genres, such as the Utrecht-based brothers, Martin and Bobby Boer, who formed the successful act, 2 Brothers on the 4th Floor, best known for its Eurohouse hits. They appeared in the genre-coded chart data with a trance hit in 1997, the year in which the first trance hit was produced within the Netherlands, but were not present in the network data. Other artists in this category are Jan Engelaar (DJ Jean), and Wessel van Diepen (Alice DeeJay), who had trance hit records to their name, but were not connected to the Rotterdam network. The above analysis therefore does not intend to suggest that those within, or linked to, the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition constituted the entire emerging Dutch trance genre community. However,

they did constitute the only sizable *locally networked* trance scene, and the artists within it—e.g., Tijs Verwest aka Tiesto—would dominate the charts throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, as I will further discuss below.

What can we establish so far? First, when Dutch artists began producing trance, it had already been introduced to the charts by foreign artists. Thus, trance in the Netherlands first emerged as a “satellite, industry-based” genre, which was initially supported by generalist labels, and then transformed into a local “scene-based” genre. Second, most members of the emerging trance scene in the Netherlands stemmed from a pre-existing genre community, in which their network relations clustered around certain foci (e.g., Basic Beat) and social hubs (e.g., Ronald Molendijk). The importance of a pre-existing music community for the emergence of a new scene can first of all be explained by the various resources which pre-existing communities have already accumulated (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; McAdam, 1982), and how those resources can be collectively mobilized in support of new genres (Brandellero and Kloosterman, 2020; Crossley, 2009). In addition, pre-existing communities and the network relations among its members may also help to overcome legitimacy issues, since innovations belonging to categories that are not yet, or only weakly, legitimate, tend to depend on peer-influencers to diffuse (Rossman, 2014). With trance being an emerging rather than established genre category in the Dutch music market in the first half of the 1990s, this could also explain why network relations within a pre-existing community were relatively important for its initial adoption.

The decline of hardcore and the re-constellation of networks

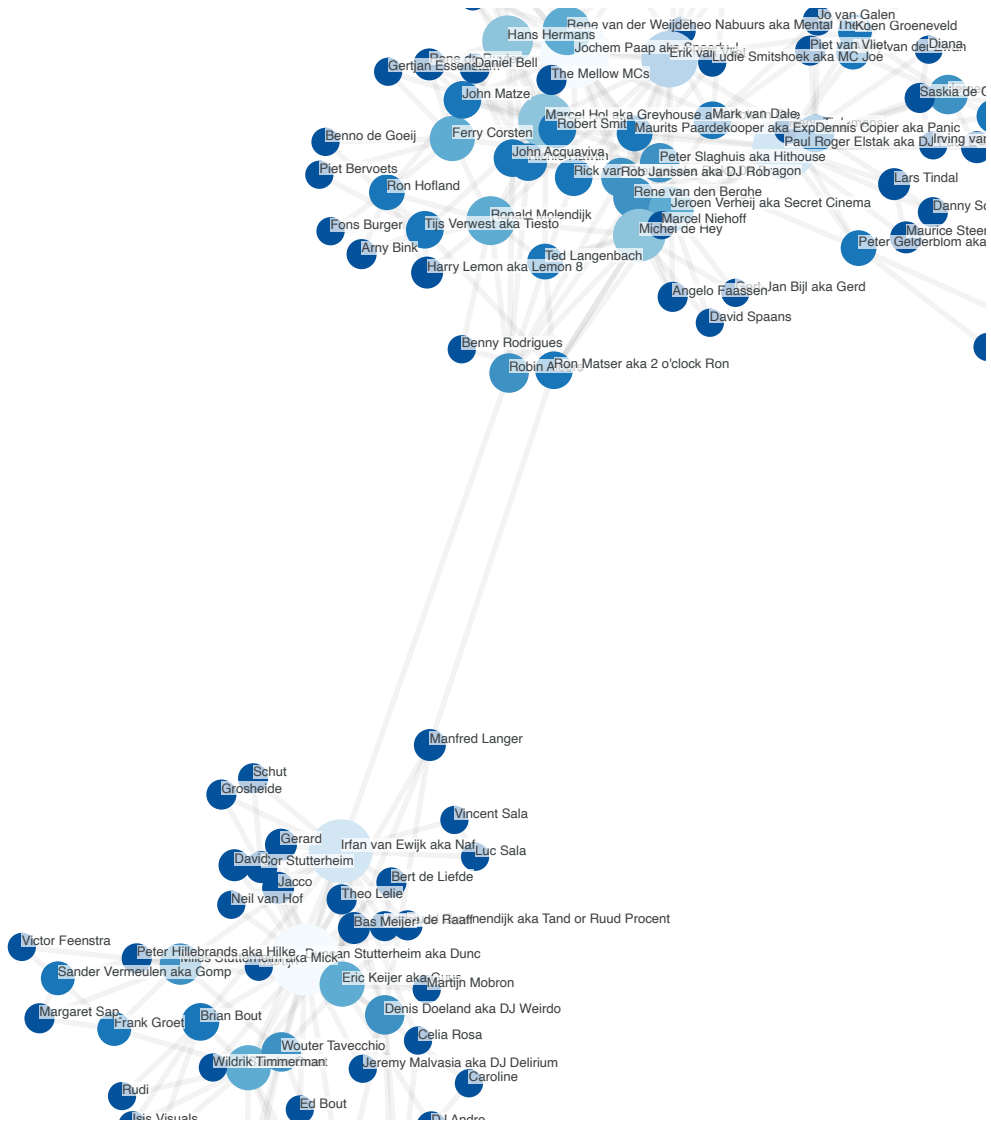
In the previous section, I discussed how a locally-networked trance scene emerged in the first half of the 1990s, prior to the declining popularity of hardcore. In other words, the dissipation of hardcore did *not* form a condition for hardcore artists and entrepreneurs to begin adopting trance. Below, however, I will discuss how the declining popularity of hardcore critically shaped the network constellation of the emerging trance scene.

Figure 1 shows how the popularity of hardcore collapsed between the 2nd quarter of 1996 and the 4th quarter of 1997. While the popularity of trance initially peaked in the beginning of 1997, it was also pulled down by the decline of hardcore, which affected the dance genre stream as a whole. Further analysis of the chart data shows that the market share of the entire dance genre stream almost halved, from 30% in the 2nd quarter of 1996, to 18% by the 4th quarter of 1997. By 1998, the moment that

hardcore was, except for one hit, nonexistent in the charts, the popularity of trance had begun to rise again, as did the market share of the dance genre stream, which increased to a peak of 35% in the 2nd quarter of 2000. This indicates that the mobilization of resources from hardcore to trance, which I will discuss below, provided some artists and entrepreneurs in the dance genre stream with an effective strategy to overcome the “field crisis” (cf., Fligstein and McAdam, 2012) caused by dissipation of hardcore.

While a small number of hardcore artists and entrepreneurs survived as a niche outside the mainstream (Van Veen, 2004), many abandoned the genre after its collapse, and refocused on other genres, such as techno, and, importantly, trance. Besides the Rotterdam-based community (depicted in Figure 3), there was, as previously mentioned, also an Amsterdam-based hardcore community, which, for a large part, had formed around ID&T, the most commercially successful organizer of hardcore parties/festivals and hardcore record label of that time, led by Duncan Stutterheim (Van Terphoven et al., 2013; Van Veen, 2004). In 1998, when hardcore had almost disappeared from the charts, Stutterheim cut back 50 of his 80 members of staff, and then re-positioned ID&T in the dance genre stream by fully distancing it from hardcore, while aligning it with new dance genres. In their search for new music and partners, ID&T hired the artist and repertoire (A&R) manager, Dick de Groot, in 1998, who had previously worked for half a year as an assistant A&R manager at Basic Beat (Van Veen, 2004). With the hiring of Dick de Groot, ID&T gained access to a new and valuable artist roster. It also began focusing on other pre-hardcore genres, in particular techno, for which they also hired a new A&R manager in 1998, Costijn Egberts, who, like de Groot, acted as a broker to connect ID&T to a pre-existing community of techno artists, such as Orlando Voorn (Van Terphoven et al., 2013).

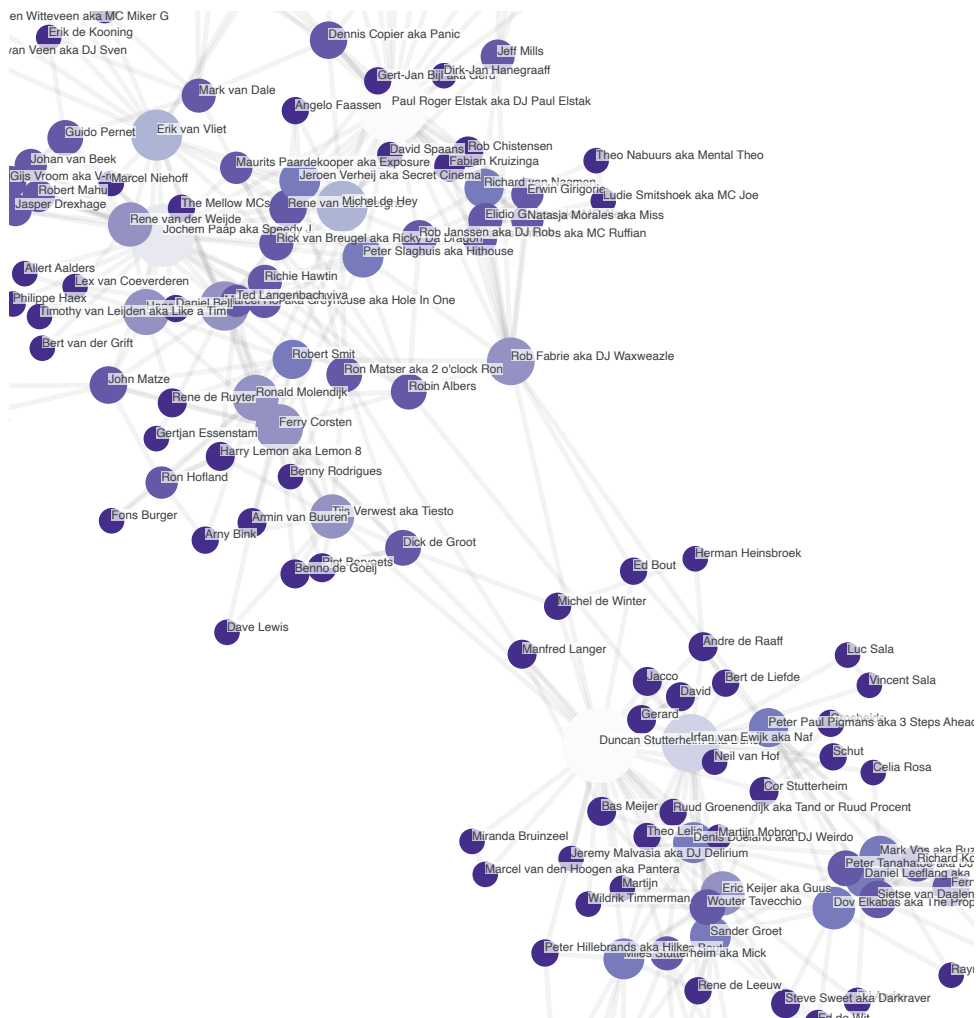
Figures 4 and 5 show the connections between the hardcore/trance partitions in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1996 and in 1998. The two figures indicate that several new relationships across these partitions were established by 1998. This includes, most notably, people from Basic Beat and See Saw, such as Tijs Verwest, Ferry Corsten, and Dick de Groot, who were bridging the structural hole (Burt, 1992) that previously largely divided the two partitions. This network re-constellation can be understood as an effect of the shifting popularity of genres in the charts. In the section below, I will consider how former hardcore affiliates in Rotterdam and Amsterdam joined forces to popularize trance and survive after hardcore dissipated.



**Figure 4:** hardcore/trance partitions in Rotterdam (top) and Amsterdam (bottom) by 1996. *Source:* analysis of own data.

### The commercial rise of trance

The collaborations across the Rotterdam and Amsterdam partitions, described above, allowed exchanges of what I like to call “complementary resources,” that is, existing organizational resources (e.g., ID&T’s financial resources and infrastructure for organizing large-scale dance parties) and new cultural resources (e.g., Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition members’ understanding of, and capability to produce, trance music). This further



**Figure 5:** hardcore/trance partitions in Rotterdam (top) and Amsterdam (bottom) by 1998. *Source:* analysis of own data.

drove the development of trance in two ways. First, the network changes and mobilization of resources sparked a series of new parties and festivals, which were partly or wholly focused on trance. By the end of 1998, ID&T's substantially renewed artist roster was presented in its own *Slam!* magazine, which also announced Innercity, ID&T's first party since hardcore had disappeared from the mainstream. Innercity featured several genres (besides hardcore), namely, trance, techno and club, and also became known as the

event that introduced Tijs Verwest to large audiences in the Netherlands (Van Veen, 2004). Many other trance-oriented parties and festivals followed after Innercity's success, notably ID&T's Sensation, whose first occurrence took place in July 2000. Second, the network changes and mobilization of resources also significantly contributed to the success of trance in the charts. This increasingly concerned *locally produced* trance hits, as can be seen in Figure 2. This considerable growth, which started in 1997, is indicative of the commercial success of the Dutch trance genre community.

We can, for a large part, also trace the locally produced trance hits back to the network, thereby distinguishing two types of artists. First, many (38%) of the locally produced trance hits in the late 1990s and early 2000s were created by artists who were part of "the scene," discussed above. That is, these hits were made by people associated with Basic Beat/See Saw (including the "big three" trance artists, Thijs Verwest, Ferry Corsten, and Armin van Buuren), or by artists, who, often at a later point, turned to trance, and were associated with ID&T (such as Marco Verkuijlen aka Marco V, or Jurgen Rijkers aka DJ Jurgen, both of whom were signed by Dick de Groot). Second, and as mentioned above, there were the artists whom we can consider as "scene outsiders," those unconnected to Basic Beat, See Saw, or ID&T. These artists—behind 62% of the locally produced trance hits—often constituted established, commercial acts (or the producers behind such acts), such as 2 Brothers on the 4th Floor, and various projects by Wessel van Diepen, who produced hits across several genres, mainly already prior to the introduction of trance. The new trance genre community was thus, to a large extent, populated by people from older music communities who adopted the new trance genre and thereby secured their positions in the market. Concurrently, we can also observe cohort replacement, as some people within these older music communities without earlier hits (e.g., Verwest and Corsten) began having hits only once they had switched to trance.

When the popularity of genres or other categories in markets shifts, we can thus observe simultaneous reproduction and innovation, with new genres providing a—potentially unique—opportunity for artists to better their market position. In this regard, it is interesting to note that across the two rival production centers for hardcore, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, new alliances were initiated between some of the most central and resourceful actors in the former camp (e.g., Stutterheim), and some of the semi-peripheral actors in the latter camp (e.g., Verwest and Corsten). This finding concurs with research emphasizing how institutional change is not brought about by either more central or more (semi-)peripheral players, but through

cooperations between the two (Leblebici et al., 1999; Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017; Sgourev, 2013). The present study adds to this work by illuminating how dynamics in the popularity of genres influences whether and when such players may choose to cooperate.

### *Discussion and conclusion*

In this study, I analyzed the interaction between networks and market information in order to better understand how new genres and their associated communities develop. To this end, I examined both network relations in the dance genre community (using coded books on the history of dance in the Netherlands), and the commercial success of different dance genres (using coded music chart data). Focusing on the case of trance, and the precursor hardcore genre and genre community, the broader question that this study aimed to address is how do genre communities respond to, and drive, fluctuations in the popularity of genres.

The historical analysis demonstrated, first, how trance was introduced to the Netherlands by foreign trance acts, and how it was locally adopted within a pre-existing hardcore genre community; second, how the decline of hardcore led to a re-constellation of the dance network; and, third, how this, in turn, furthered the commercial rise of trance. By analyzing macro-to-micro linkages, it has illuminated how genre popularity dynamics at the level of the broader field were connected with dynamics in social network formation at the genre community level.

When attending to precursor genres and genre communities out of which later ones are built, it is important to note that different types of causes may underpin waning popularity of genres; ranging from “naturally” occurring, unplanned cultural ecological dynamics (Kaufman, 2004; Lieber-son, 2020; Sgourev, 2020), to deliberate, collective efforts aimed at discrediting existing genres (Griswold, 1981; Nie, 2021). In both cases, however, we can expect that the diminishing popularity of a genre will stimulate at least a fraction of its former “adherents” to drive innovations of sorts, such as new or only marginally popular genres, in order to ensure their survival within a field. Innovations in cultural fields, therefore, appear to parallel innovations in other kinds of fields in that they are often propelled by crises that threaten the status quo. As Fligstein and McAdam (2012: 32) put it, “when resources or rules are up for grabs and when the existing order does not hold, skilled strategic actors fight hard to produce alternative orders.” The case of trance also demonstrates that such new social orders can already exist in an embryonic form *before* the decline in the popularity of previously

dominant genres sets in, but that a “field crisis” drives the further consolidation of these embryonic social orders.

This research makes at least two contributions to the existing literature. First, network analysts have shown how common network mechanisms, such as foci and social hubs, can mobilize people in support of new genres (Crossley, 2009; 2015; McAndrew and Everett, 2014). Drawing its inspiration from social movement research, this body of work has also addressed the importance of pre-existing communities as a basis for new communities and scenes. In the present study, I have demonstrated how the re-constellation of the dance network was importantly triggered by the decline of the hardcore genre. While (local) network mechanisms were undoubtedly also relevant in the case of trance, the present analysis highlights that the ebb and flow of genres configures the directions in which new relations are created through these local network mechanisms. For example, while Tijds Verwest and Dick De Groot met in one of the important foci of the dance network (i.e., Basic Beat), we need to account for the fluctuating popularity of the genres with which they were associated to understand why they embarked on a new project together with people in the ID&T organization. This study has also pointed at particular network changes and resource mobilization processes that underpinned the trance scene’s consolidation. When people abandon older genres and turn to new ones, we can expect to see new connections *across previously largely divided partitions* since these allow exchanges of complementary resources. That is, people who possess organizational resources that have lost their purpose due to the declining popularity of a genre are likely to collaborate with people who possess new cultural resources, but, potentially, lack the organizational resources to optimally drive diffusion processes. This focus on network changes and resource mobilization helps us to further illuminate how institutional change is often spurred by collaborations between central and (semi-)peripheral actors (Leblebici et al., 1999; Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017; Sgourev, 2013). By complementing this network approach with a market information perspective, this study helps us to better understand *why* and *when* actors from different partitions decide to join forces.

Second, the case of trance also highlights a specific diffusion mechanism, which may be typical of smaller/peripheral countries, such as the Netherlands, whose cultural field is traditionally more focused on foreign cultural products (Janssen, Kuipers, Verboord, 2009; Kuipers, 2015). This analysis has shown how genres can enter markets through transnational, generalist record labels that introduce musical innovations from abroad,



and that these genres are then further developed and consolidated by local communities/networks. In so doing, it contributes to our understanding of the workings of satellite genre communities, which are an important—although not well understood—source of contemporary musical innovation. One unresolved question, according to Lena (2012: 165), is whether satellite genre communities can spark the development of scene-based genre communities in new national contexts. The case of trance demonstrates that this is indeed possible, and that the ratio of foreign to local artists with trance hits in the Netherlands at one point tipped in favor of the latter, demonstrating the extent to which local music communities can have an impact on the production, distribution, and consumption of music.

An important feature of this transnational diffusion process is that the initial “satellite, industry-based” trance community behind every trance hit during the period 1990–1996, was formed by established actors with privileged access to the Dutch market. Another important feature of this transnational diffusion process is also that they became forgotten along the way: they did not appear in any of the history books on dance in the Netherlands. This study suggests that the initial satellite, industry-based trance community played a more important role than they are credited for in retellings of the emergence of trance in the Netherlands, namely, that they acted as an interface between local music communities in different national contexts, thereby shaping the transnational spread of genres.

Finally, while this study has focused on genre popularity dynamics in the mainstream music market, we can observe the continuous waxing and waning of categories in different markets and fields. The findings generated in the case of trance may help us to further our understanding of how other kinds of communities relate to (genre) category dynamics. For instance, research on intellectual communities (Collins, 1998; Frickel and Gross, 2005) has also relied on social network analysis to study the people driving innovations. At the same time, these studies also recognize that these communities operate in a limited “attention space” (Collins, 1998: 38), so when the popularity of previously dominant categories becomes saturated and declines, we can expect communities to shift their attention to new categories. The present study has hopefully shown how such innovation processes depend on linkages between micro-level network influences and macro-level field influences.

Opportunities for future studies

This project has also aimed to identify new opportunities for new research.

A question that lay beyond the scope of this study, but would be interesting to investigate further, is which people in precursor genre communities do (and do not) switch to new genres?

There are two potential network structural explanations. First, research on creative innovation in the film world suggests that people who are neither very central, nor very peripheral in networks, but instead occupy an “intermediate position,” are favorably located to introduce innovations in film (Cattani and Ferianni, 2008; Patriotta and Hirsch, 2016). These actors are often aware of alternatives to the prevailing categories in a field, while also having the resources and legitimacy to advocate for and popularize them. Whether such network positions also benefit those who have reoriented to new (genre) categories, forms an interesting question for new research. As noted above, the present study indicates that trance was introduced by some semi-peripheral actors (at the level of the entire dance network), including Tijs Verwest and Ferry Corsten, while it also suggests that their later cooperation with more central actors, such as Duncan Stutterheim, was particularly important for the subsequent rise of trance (see Sgourev, 2013, for a similar argument in the context of the Parisian art world).

Second, future studies may also assess how existing relationships and being embedded in certain partitions or clusters affects the decision of some to support new genres. Even though their individual attributes differed considerably, for instance in terms of network position or career length, nearly everyone in the Basic Beat/See Saw subpartition switched to trance. They collectively established new network relations and mobilized resources, whereas in other hardcore subpartitions in Rotterdam most people disregarded trance. Future studies may investigate how existing relationships and membership of (sub)partitions can explain such switching behavior. The SIENA model would provide an interesting methodological opportunity in this regard (see, for example, Ebbers and Wijnberg, 2010; 2019). When panel data on network relations and genre affiliations would be available, then future research can use the SIENA model to investigate the co-evolution of networks and individual behavior. The popularity of genres could then be included in the model to estimate how genre popularity as an “exogenous factor” next to the network structure as an “endogenous factor” affects the formation of new ties.

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# Chapter 5 — How moral panics lead to legitimation: the British dance field as a societal threat and legitimate leisure activity, 1985-2005

## *Abstract*

The emergence of new fields is often accompanied by the eruption of moral panics. Although moral panics highlight the illegitimacy of a targeted field, we argue that moral panics can also catalyze their legitimation process. In the present study, we investigate how such—potentially counter-intuitive—outcomes took shape in the case of the emerging British dance field. We combine a computational and qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles and other sources to show how a moral panic created an ‘issue field,’ which draws in actors from the media, the state, the music market, and the dance field itself. These actors collectively triggered institutional changes that led to more favorable opportunities for stricter alternatives in the dance field, namely dance festivals and club parties. We argue that understanding moral panics from a field theoretical perspective adds to our understanding of the emergence and consolidation of new fields, in popular culture and beyond.

## *Introduction*

When dance parties, or ‘raves’ arrived in Britain in the mid-1980s, they were received with indignation and alarm. British tabloid, *The Sun*, wrote about ‘thrill seeking youngsters in a dance frenzy,’ gathering at events, with ‘ecstasy wrappers’ being found on the floor (Reynolds, 1999: 76). In *The Guardian*, officials denounced organizers as ‘drug pushers ... targeting young people, among the most vulnerable in our society’ (*The Guardian*, November 11, 1989). In 1988, negative news stories led to the removal of t-shirts with smileys—the icon of dance music—from all Top Shop and Top Man clothing stores (Reynolds, 1999).

This moral panic contrasts starkly with today's settled, 'taken for granted' status of dance festivals and parties, supported by a community of organizers, DJs, labels, critics, connoisseurs and mainstream sponsors, who are keen to use dance events to build brand recognition (Graham, 2009). The rise of dance in the UK—like the emergence of rock 'n' roll, heavy metal, and rap in the US (Binder, 1993)—demonstrates how new music genres, and the fields that form around them, initially propel a moral panic (Cohen, 2011; Thornton, 1995). It also shows how such panics can disappear, and how a once disqualified field can become legitimate in the eyes of different audiences.

We combine moral panic theory and field theory to show how moral panics can—paradoxically—contribute to the acceptance of new, illegitimate fields, such as the field of dance in the UK. The moral panic perspective helps us to make sense of the potential controversy that new fields can trigger, and, interestingly, how this can also benefit their legitimation process. As theatrical rituals of social control (Cohen, 2011), moral panics generate widespread attention and draw actors—including claim makers and counter-claim makers—into a public debate. This can lead to formal (e.g., new laws and regulations) and informal (e.g., new frames/shared meanings) institutional changes (Klocke and Mushert, 2010). To explain moral panic dynamics and their particular effects (i.e., whether the moral-panic-induced institutional changes lead to a more hospitable or repressing environment) we draw on field theory. From this perspective, moral panics can be thought of as generating an 'issue field'—'[a] set of actors that interact and take one another into account on particular issues,' and 'negotiate, govern, and/or compete over meanings and practices that affect multiple fields' (Zietsma et al., 2017: 400; Hoffman, 1999). Moreover, the field perspective also helps us to understand how moral panics create opportunities for the emergence of 'close substitutes,' i.e., more legitimate organizations that gain a competitive edge over their delegitimated counterparts (Piazza and Jourdan, 2018).

Our analysis combines computational techniques for inductive pattern recognition in a corpus of newspaper articles, and a qualitative analysis of a subset of these data, to further interpret the identified patterns (Nelson, 2020). More specifically, we use topic models (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei, 2013)—an unsupervised machine learning technique—to identify frames of the evolving dance music field, and complement these with qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014) of a selection of newspaper articles and other sources, such as policy documents. The combination of

these different analytical approaches shows how a moral panic around ‘raves’ in the UK created a so-called issue field (Zietsma et al., 2017; Hoffman, 1999) that impelled institutional responses and offered opportunities for the flourishing of clubs and festivals as more legitimate forms of dance music organizations. We argue that this move from disqualification to legitimation is a common trajectory in the rise of new fields, not only in popular culture but also beyond.

### *Theory: moral panic meets field and organization theory*

Moral panic and similar forms of public delegitimation have often been conceptualized as expressions of social control that aim to keep established patterns in place (Adut, 2005; Cohen, 2011; Devers et al., 2009). Recently, a small body of research has investigated how moral panic can also benefit the targeted actors (e.g., Hampel and Tracey, 2016; Piazza and Jourdan, 2018; Thornton, 1995). We further this line of inquiry by integrating theories of moral panics and (organizational) fields.

#### Moral panics

During moral panic episodes, certain groups and their behaviours are seen as a threat to societal values (Cohen, 2011; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Klocke and Muschert, 2010). Cohen’s (2011) seminal study of 1960s youth culture showed how moral panics can act as a (heightened) form of social control, where moral entrepreneurs, known as claim makers, attempt to scapegoat, stigmatize, and suppress the often socially lower-ranked ‘folk devils.’ Youth culture has frequently been studied through a moral panic lens, from post-war teddy boys to more contemporary ravers (Tepper, 2009; Thornton, 1995).

According to Klocke and Muschert (2010), moral panics follow a similar developmental sequence. During the *cultivation stage*: a (potentially staged) conflict arises between ‘two or more competing moral universes’ (Klocke and Muschert, 2010: 301), which is made public by moral entrepreneurs. Moral panics commonly emerge when a society is allegedly under threat, for example, due to social change or a political/economic crisis. In the *operation stage*, a moral panic takes off with an exceptional, ‘shocking’ event, which attracts media attention and public anxiety. The phenomenon is linked to an appropriate folk devil, and a focused media discourse develops, usually offering competing definitions of the social problem. In the *dissipation stage*, moral panics recede, often ‘result[ing] in longer lasting

social or institutional transformation (e.g., new laws), either in support of moral regulation of folk devils, or against it and accepting them as part of a changing democratic culture' (Klocke and Muschert, 2010: 304).

While the original critical approaches to moral panics framed them primarily as social control—the scapegoating of deviant folk devils to defuse real (class) conflict (Garland, 2008)—later authors stressed that moral panics may lead to new settlements and durable societal changes, in which 'deviants' have become 'innovators' (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Thornton, 1995). Moreover, moral panic studies underline that public anxiety and calls for action can lead to formal institutional changes (e.g., new laws and regulations), to satisfy audiences that the problems have been managed (McRobbie and Thornton, 1995), and benefit the legitimacy of those complying with new regulatory frameworks (Suddaby, Bitektine and Haack, 2017). Additionally, moral panics can lead to informal institutional changes: not only more hostile, but also more tolerant attitudes vis-à-vis the folk devils. More tolerant attitudes can emerge through the involvement of counter-claim makers, who defend the folk devils, and challenge stigmatizing conceptions and media images (Cohen, 2011).

The classic literature on moral panics leaves certain issues underexplored. First, to understand how moral panics develop, or more specifically, whether they result in more hospitable or repressing environments, we need to analyze the larger field structure in which moral panics unfold (see also Dandoy, 2015). Second, while the consequences of moral panics depend on whether moral entrepreneurs and/or the folk devils receive support from different groups, and despite identifying relevant groups—notably, public officials, action groups, the public, and media—moral panic theory has failed to provide a framework to analyze how these various groups relate to each other (Klocke and Muschert, 2010). Third, recent literature on how scandals (including moral panics) affect organizational fields helps us to better understand the mechanisms whereby moral panics can create new opportunities within fields for alternative organizations to emerge and prosper.

#### Field theory

Moral panic theory suggests that moral panics not only trigger public anxiety, but also resolve it, as they bring about institutional responses. To make this mechanism more explicit, and explain the conditions under which moral panics may lead to more hospitable (or repressing) environments for the folk devils, we propose to draw upon field theory.

Fields can be defined as ‘mesolevel social orders in which actors (who can be individual or collective) are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared (which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field (including who has power and why), and the rules governing legitimate action in the field’ (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 9). Within a field theoretical framework, we can equate a moral panic with the onset of an ‘issue field,’ composed of actors from *multiple fields* who become oriented to each other based on an issue, rather than exchange relationships as in traditional organizational fields (Zietsma et al., 2017; Hoffman, 1999). In our analysis, we foreground four fields—the political field, the media field, the established organizational field, and the focal (dance) field—from which participants were drawn into a new issue field as the moral panic arose.<sup>38</sup> Consideration of these four fields offers a first step in our analysis of how a moral panic unfolded in the case of British dance music.

#### The political field

New fields do not necessarily lead to moral panics. In cases where moral panics do not arise (or only in a very minor way), this can obstruct legitimation processes. This latter scenario is best documented by Tepper (2009) who showed that local officials in Chicago, where rave culture emerged in the 1980s, avoided a moral panic, opting instead for an alternative tactic described as ‘quiet regulation.’ Rather than waging a highly visible, morally charged campaign, officials focused on practical issues, such as event safety, and passed and enforced several anti-rave ordinances ‘without much fanfare’ (Tepper, 2009: 280). This bureaucratic response impeded ravers, and—crucially—their potential supporters, from mobilizing against overt governmental opposition, and led to the decline of the Chicago rave community. Reversing this argument, we can see how stricter government policies are likely to elicit public attention and countermobilization. The moral panic around raves was shaped by the polarized British political configurations and the strict legal and regulatory traditions of the 1980s. The British government and police were infamous for their actions against groups perceived as being a threat to public order, such as strikers and youth cultures (Cohen, 2011; Pilcher and Wagg, 1996). Government repression, however,

38 In a similar vein, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) refer to ‘webs of fields’ composed of multiple related fields. We understand an issue field as a particular instance of a web of fields.

can have unintended effects. The introduction of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) that gave police the power to shut down music events ‘characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats,’ for example, became a rallying cry for several protest marches, strengthening the solidarity and unity of the emerging field.

#### The media field

The overall structure of the media field also influences the unfolding and consequences of moral panics. One important factor in the UK context was the presence of so-called ‘supermarket tabloids,’ a typical feature of the British, market-dominated media system (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). These popular newspapers, with large audiences often from lower social classes, depend on single-copy sales, which stimulates them to present news in a sensationalist, moralizing tone. Consequently, they play a central role in creating moral panics (Cohen, 2011; Thornton, 1995). The (Conservative) governments in the 1980s used the tabloids to create public support, a process that the liberal media, especially *The Guardian*, often answered by critiquing the anxiety (Cohen, 2011: p.xxiii). In other social contexts, the media may remain silent, as Tepper (2009) found in Chicago, where leading local newspapers paid almost no attention to the fight for and against raves, thus reinforcing the local government’s line of action. Tepper’s analysis suggests that we should consider the *relationships* between fields, such as the state and media (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). A differently configured field structure would have produced different dynamics and outcomes.

A media field prone to moral panics, as in the UK, places a moral imperative on actors from different fields to engage themselves with the issue. A key consequence of moral panics is that the targeted phenomenon receives a great deal of attention, and an array of stakeholders—including governmental officials, journalists, and the deviants themselves—compete over the definition of the situation, and call upon each other to act (Cohen, 2011; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Similarly, the literature on scandals argues that publicized transgressions can lead to increased ‘norm enforcement’ and can prompt actors into action who might otherwise not become engaged and remain aloof (Adut, 2005). Widespread media attention can transform knowledge of the alleged transgression into *public* knowledge, making it imperative for institutional actors (lawmakers, police officials, etc.)—who might have known about the transgression, but did not act on it—to become engaged. The publicity that comes with a moral panic can set a dynamic in motion whereby governmental action is triggered, and strate-

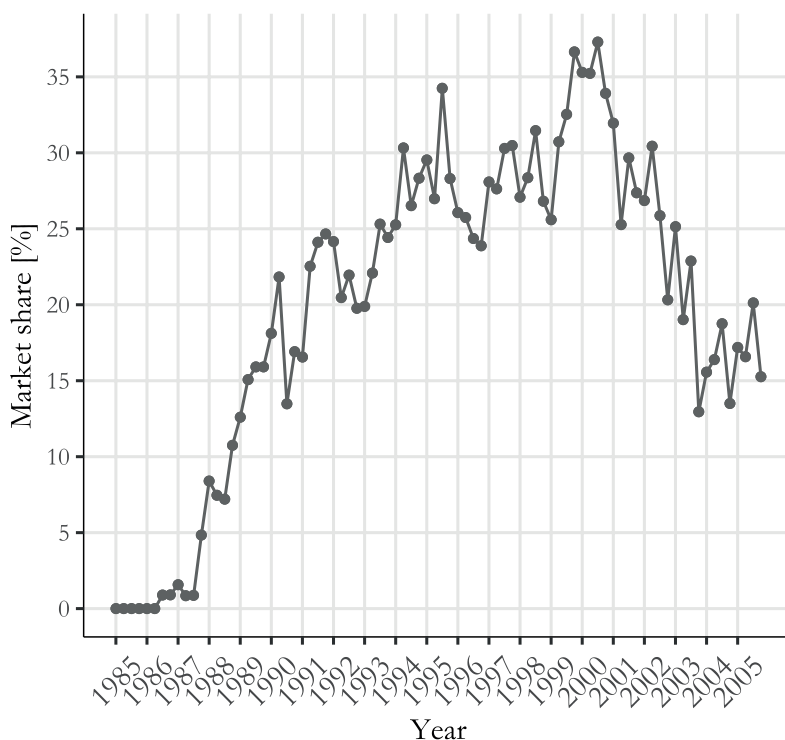
gies of ‘quiet regulation,’ as in Chicago, are no longer an option.

The role of the established organizational field

Another important field is the British music market. The ‘openness’ of this organizational field to innovative music contributed to the commercial success and professional recognition of the dance genre (Wilderom and van Venrooij, 2019). This resulted in a positive feedback loop from audience to industry to (more) audience, and so on, increasing the support for dance within the British music market (cf., Rossman, 2014). The average market share of dance music in the British charts amounted to 20% over the period 1985–2005, with peaks of more than 35% (see Figure 1). The thriving sales of recorded music were paralleled by the genre’s ‘live’ performances at raves, in clubs, and at music festivals, first exclusively at new festivals specialized in dance, but later also at established generalist festivals. Again, this is not a necessary outcome of the emergence of new (controversial) genres. It depends on the extent to which an established organizational field is ‘open’ to innovations, and we expect that *popular* new, deviant fields—as opposed to unpopular ones—are more likely to trigger state fields to constitute new laws and regulations for the new field in question. This again underscores the need to analyze several fields as interacting in a larger issue field.

#### *The role of the deviant field*

The potentially positive effects of a moral panic are often understood by participants in emerging fields. Rather than attempting to mitigate the moral panic, actors within the dance



**Figure 1.** The market share of dance music in the British music charts.

*Source:* analysis of own data.

field actively provoked conservative audiences.<sup>39</sup> Thornton (1995) found that entrepreneurs in the British dance field knowingly incited the outrage to create free publicity and to construct an oppositional identity. Helms and Paterson (2014) refer to such intentional provocation as ‘stigma label co-optation,’ a strategy used by stigmatized actors to gain the attention of some audiences, while creating controversy with others.

A field theoretical perspective also highlights the diversity of actors and their strategies within fields. Some segments of the field may be more the target of moral panics than others, and different actors are more or less vulnerable to moral hazards. Moreover, different actors respond differently to reactions by external stakeholders, such as actors in state fields, who

39 For instance, the 1992 hit song *Sesame's Treet* by the Smart E's (a reference to ecstasy) reached the second position in the British charts, using *Sesame Street's* theme song, children's vocals, and many references to drugs.



attempt to regulate and control them. Some actors may reject cooperation with those in power. For example, the Black Panthers, and other more radical, African-American movements that sometimes used violent means to pursue their goals, were seen as a threat by political elites in the late-1960s and early-1970s and spurred moral panic-like responses in the US press (McAdam, 1982). While the Black Panthers rejected cooperation with the state and did not abandon their controversial insurgent tactics, more moderate (NAACP/church-affiliated) groups were open to such alliances. The settlement of post-moral panic relations between a focal field and, for instance, state fields, thus depends on the former's willingness to cooperate, negotiate, and potentially develop more moderate versions of their initial change projects.

Taking this diversity into account, recent work on the effects of scandals and moral panics on organizational fields has suggested that such public delegitimization can transform a field, as it provides opportunities for organizations that are considered 'close substitutes' for the implicated organizations (Piazza and Jourdan, 2018). Piazza and Jourdan (2018) show, for example, how child abuse scandals within the Catholic church created relative advantages for other Christian denominations that were perceived as enforcing stricter standards of conduct. Similarly, the moral panic around 'raves' allowed for close alternatives to emerge, namely dance clubs and festivals, both more strongly regulated alternatives to clandestine raves. So, while the moral panic may have made dance more alluring and may have led to institutional changes through which the emerging dance field became better accommodated in the UK, on the other hand, the moral panic also gave a competitive edge to the 'stricter' alternatives (i.e., dance clubs and festivals), which further contributed to the overall legitimacy of the field.

### *Methods and data*

General approach and data

In this study, we use an historical analysis to theorize how the legitimation of new, deviant fields can benefit from moral panics or similar forms of public delegitimization. Two methods are used: topic models (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei, 2013) and qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014). Topic models allow us to identify broad discursive patterns or 'frames,' and visualize how these are manifested through time. Qualitative content analysis allows close reading of a subset of newspaper articles as well as other sources, such as policy documents. The analysis is presented as an historical narrative, divided over two sections, each of which interweaves elements

from the topic model and the qualitative content analysis.

Our study is based primarily on 1,595 dance music-related articles, published between 1985 and 2005 in *The Guardian*, a British ‘quality’ newspaper with a relatively progressive readership<sup>40</sup>. *The Guardian* is best suited for our analysis because during the dance-related moral panic it gave a platform both to *claim makers* (opposing the folk devils), and the *counter-claim makers* (the folk devils themselves or people supporting them). Earlier studies (Cohen, 2011; McRobbie and Thornton, 1995) identified *The Guardian* as central to the moral panic dynamics as it gave space to the panics initiated by tabloids, but also to critical counter-voices.

Besides the newspaper data, we collected publicly available policy and legal documents and secondary sources, i.e., academic and non-academic books and articles on the history of the British dance field.

Using topic models to study frames

Table 1 provides an overview of our analytical process. *The Guardian* articles dataset was used as input for topic modelling.<sup>41</sup> We generated the topic models with the widely-used Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) algorithm, which clusters words together as a ‘topic,’ when they frequently co-appear in a collection of texts. The output consists of lists of words (usually the top 30 words per topic), which represent a pattern of associations between terms, and can be understood as an ‘interpretative frame’ in a given discourse (DiMaggio, Nag and Blei, 2013).

40 Our search query yielded 15,441 *Guardian* articles, including many irrelevant ones. Topic models were then used for document classification in order to identify ‘true-positive’ dance articles. This resulted in the main primary dataset of 1,595 articles. For the data collection, pre-processing and document classification procedures, we refer to Methodological Appendix I, Chapter 5.

41 Topic models emerged in the wake of a wave of new forms of algorithm-based, ‘big data’ analysis, and gained traction across the social sciences (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei, 2013; Fligstein, Brundage and Schultz, 2017).

**Table 1.** Research process

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Description</b>
1.	Collecting and preprocessing the initial dataset consisting of 15,441 <i>Guardian</i> articles, including many irrelevant ones (see Method Appendix I, Chapter 5).
2.	Topic modelling for document classification in order to identify relevant newspaper articles about dance music (see Method Appendix I, Chapter 5). This yielded a new, main primary dataset consisting of 1,595 <i>Guardian</i> articles.
3.	Using the main primary dataset, we ran a final 20-topic model (see Method Appendix II, Chapter 5) from which four topics were selected, representing key themes of interest. We also used our topic model for document classification in order to create subsets of newspaper articles associated with the four key themes of interest.
4.	Assisted by ATLAS.ti software, we conducted a qualitative content analysis of subsets of newspaper articles, policy and legal documents, and secondary sources.
5.	As the analysis took shape, we reconsidered our steps in earlier stages and revisited these where necessary.

As an unsupervised machine-learning method, topic models follow an ‘inductive’ logic: they do not require any pre-annotated data, and no parameters are set other than the number of topics a model yields. We chose a 20-topic solution. Table 2 shows the four topics that we selected as themes of interest to inspect more closely.

Together with our other historical qualitative data, these article subsets were used for our qualitative content analysis using ATLAS.ti software. Our analytical process advanced iteratively as we moved back and forth between the topic models, the qualitative content analysis, and the historical narrative.

**Table 2.** Four selected topics from the original 20-topic model. *Source:* analysis of own data.

<b>Topic label (and number from original model)</b>	<b>Topic terms</b>
Moral panic topic (Topic #4)	police drugs drug home party yesterday parties officers acid prison rave young local public court government law time pounds told crime arrested london taken criminal men night man group heroin
Dance/drugs culture topic (Topic #1)	ecstasy dance culture drug drugs like acid use rave sound world youth club remix way britain taking technology record clubs generation time trance rock make effects london man young really
Festival topic (Topic #11)	festival dance event pounds park tribal festivals glastonbury gathering weekend events night council mean parade organisers tickets fiddler tent line love licence near universe home party outdoor rave dancing brighton
Club topic (Topic #10)	club clubs night djs clubbing dance scene nights city garage clubbers street cream venue pounds ministry london bar liverpool disco manchester door guide local gay sound venues big rave nightclub

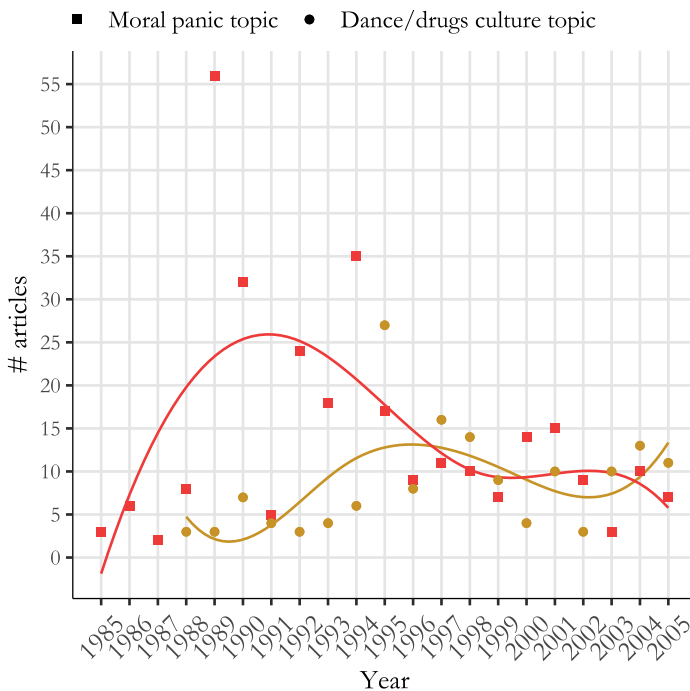
We understand these topics as frames: cognitive schemas embedded in broader (public) discourses that suggest particular ways to make sense of events in the social world (Benford and Snow 2000). Such frames emphasize certain aspects of events, while also diverting the attention away from others (Fligstein, Brundage and Schultz, 2017; Zerubavel, 2015). Framing, thus, refers to the work that actors (intentionally or otherwise) put into the construction of collective meanings. This allows us to understand both ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ meaning making in institutional processes: actors can use framing to foster institutional change, but also as a discursive activity that aims to keep the status quo in place (Purdy, Ansari, and Gray 2019). In other words, framing can be a potential vehicle for, but also a barrier to, institutional change (Werner and Cornelissen, 2014). The topic models as well as the qualitative analysis also allow us to identify the actors and fields connected with these frames, which is important in order to identify the claim-makers, and counter claim-makers, as highlighted in moral panic theory, as well as the interacting actors from various fields, as foregrounded by field theory.

## Results

How new, deviant fields trigger moral panics (topics 4 & 1)

A moral panic targeting dance music parties arose in 1989, as so-called raves began receiving frequent, negative media attention. Both the topic models and the qualitative content analysis reveal two central issues: illegal parties, and the drug-use by partygoers, which received increasing attention after a series of drug-related deaths starting in 1991. Such broader societal concerns are reflected by topic 4 (see Table 2). The occurrence of terms such as ‘police,’ ‘drugs,’ and ‘crime,’ alongside ‘party’ and ‘rave,’ indicates that dance parties were discussed as a deviant activity associated with drugs and crime, or, in other words, they suggest the presence of a ‘moral panic.’

Figure 2 shows how topic 4 peaked in 1989, 1992, and 1994, after which it decreased. This figure shows the yearly number of articles with a ‘high’ probability of belonging to a given topic (i.e., higher than one standard deviation above articles’ mean probability). These peaks in media attention create a mutual attention focus between various actors: organizers, the police, politicians, and, importantly, the media themselves, who all become participants in a new issue field.



**Figure 2.** Moral panic and dance/drugs culture topic.

Source: analysis of own data.

Further qualitative analysis shows newspaper articles reporting on how authorities stopped raves, or were outsmarted by organizers and visitors. Participants in the dance field frequently clashed with existing laws. In 1989, the Conservative British Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, informed the public about the government's repressive policy:

The police had taken action to prevent these parties where possible if there was a risk to public safety ... The Metropolitan Police alone had either prevented or shut down some 75 such parties so far this year. (*The Guardian*, June 30, 1989)

Hurd announced a tightening of laws to control all-night acid house parties (*The Guardian*, July 11, 1989). His successor, David Waddington, proposed in 1989 that: 'organisers of unlicensed Acid House parties could face six-months prison terms, 20,000 Pounds fines, and confiscation of profits' (*The Guardian*, December 6, 1989). This led to the Entertainments (Increased Penalties) Act (1990).

As the cat-and-mouse game between organizers and officials continued in the early 1990s, the repressive policies tightened, but so did the critique of this 'intolerant' stance. One journalist aptly identified the framing of folk devils: 'ravers had become, along with New Age travellers, bail bandits and joyriders, part of the Government's new law and order demonology' (*The Guardian*, November 12, 1993). This peaked in 1994, with the passing of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which made it easier for police forces to stop unlicensed dance parties and penalize their organizers.<sup>42</sup>

In response, supporters organized themselves to protest. An anti-Criminal Justice Act protest, organized by ravers united in the so-called Advance Party and the activist reform group Charter '88, took place at the British Parliament in January 1994 (Graham, 2009; Reynolds 1999). It was followed by two larger protests: a march from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square in London, in July 1994, with a turnout of 40–50,000 people, and the occupation of Hyde Park, in October 1994, attended by up to 100,000 people. These protests did not stop the new laws from being implemented by the government in November 1994 (Graham, 2009).

As noted in the literature review, moral panics can result in institu-

42 In 1993, a number of amendments in the Public Order Act opened up possibilities for police forces to control dance music parties. The 1994 Criminal Justice Act and Public Order Act gave even more possibilities to do so.

tional changes leading to further regulation *or* acceptance of the folk devils (Klocke and Muschert, 2010). Our analysis shows that dance-related moral panics set off both processes. Initially, the moral panic led to more restrictive legislation and regulation, as discussed. As time passed, however, counter-claim makers, including participants in the dance field, journalists, and, interestingly, some officials, also advocated for the acceptance of this new field. Notably, officials disseminated what could be described as the ‘regulation through cooperation’ tactic.

Detective Chief Inspector Alan Burrell, head of the police unit monitoring raves, ‘believed negotiation with rave organisers was preferable to confrontation,’ and in a 1992 newspaper article in *The Guardian*, entitled ‘Leader of “rave” parties squad urges licensing to avoid overcrowding disaster’ he was one of the first officials to publicly advocate for a ‘truce’ between the government and participants in the dance field (*The Guardian*, April 30, 1992). In October 1994, the Home Office report *Police, Drug Misusers and the Community* expressed a similar ‘counter-frame’ urging the adoption of an alternative policing strategy that moved away from the severe repression:

... the organisation of more legal raves be encouraged by local authorities exercising maximum discretion in the granting of licences and by involving responsible organisers of raves in the process ... resorting to criminal law against raves may well lead to conflict between the police and young people. (*The Guardian*, August 1, 1994)

The report resonated with various actors, including civil liberties groups and key figures in the dance field. The spokeswoman of a civil liberty organization commented that, ‘driving underground rave parties just increases the risks for young people ... [t]hey are at much greater risk where there are no controls and no advice on drugs’ (*The Guardian*, August 1, 1994). By October that year, the first public inquiry into the behavior of the police towards party organizers was also announced (*The Guardian*, October 4, 1994). The new consensus also shifted the frame to new actors: ‘promising’ party organizers who were willing to cooperate should be supported in their requests for appropriate licenses for club parties or festivals.

As state actors constituted new licensing procedures for the emerging dance field, they conferred critical regulative legitimacy, which was hitherto lacking, and benefited the legitimacy of those complying with those procedures (Suddaby, Bitektine and Haack, 2017). Concurrently, illegal raves were further repressed by the new Criminal Justice Act. Figure 2 shows how, around this time, the moral panic waned. The decline of the moral panic was not exclusive to liberal newspapers, such as *The Guardian*. Additional analysis

with articles from the tabloid, *Daily Mail*, shows a similar decline in the moral panic in tabloid papers (see Method Appendix III, for details). This already suggests that these informal and formal institutional changes (new frames/shared meanings and new regulatory frameworks) had the potential to benefit the emergence of close substitutes, such as dance festivals and club parties.

As the moral panic topic withered, a 'dance/drugs culture' frame captured by topic 1 (see Table 2 and Figure 2) shortly appeared afterwards. This topic marks the beginning of the legitimacy of dance. Most articles associated with this topic are feature pieces that provide background on 'dance music culture,' a term that these articles often used. In retrospect, they speak of the 'media's hysterical reaction to Ecstasy' (*The Guardian*, February 7, 1998). In a clear recognition of the growing legitimacy, they note how businesses (in 1997) increasingly associated themselves with dance music: 'Ecstasy culture approaches its 10th summer as vibrant as ever - its sounds, signs and symbols embraced by businesses cashing in on a bit of subcultural credibility' (*The Guardian*, March 28, 1997). Some articles were critical about certain aspects of parties, such as the potential hearing damage to visitors. Yet, these (mild) critiques were intended to improve the party practices, rather than criminalize them.

Festivals and club parties as legitimate leisure (topics 11 & 10)

As the moral panic dissipated, it was succeeded by new frames that centered around dance festivals and club parties, as can be seen in topics 10 and 11 (see Table 2 and Figure 3).

References to 'drugs' or 'deaths' largely disappeared, as the complete absence of these terms in both topics indicates, although the issue incidentally still reappears. By 1996, a dance music festival was described as 'a kind of licensed rave,' a highly popular, and now largely legitimate leisure activity for young Brits (*The Guardian*, May 3, 1996). Many newspaper articles associated with the 'festival' topic evaluated parties' success by reporting on their ticket sales (also note the terms 'pounds' and 'tickets' in topic 11). Figure 4 details how the moral panic and festival frames co-existed and gradually replaced each other over time. It graphically demonstrates how this informal institutional change took place, and how old meanings were replaced by new ones. During the transition period, newspaper articles on festivals still show traces of stigma. For example, in 1996, a journalist wrote that 'dance culture [is] now mainstream, but still tainted by the association with illegal raves and ecstasy' (*The Guardian*, May 3, 1996), commenting on



some incidents where local police forces rejected or otherwise obstructed organizers' license applications. Such complaints about difficult licensing procedures were more frequently heard directly after the enactment of the 1994 Criminal Justice Act, yet within about two years this situation had also changed.

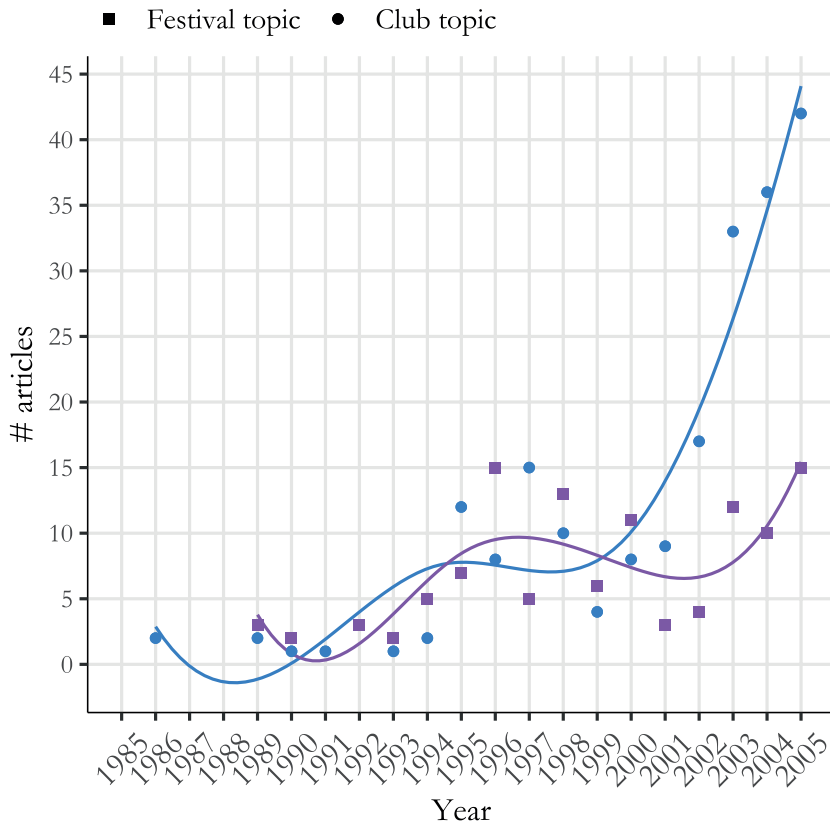
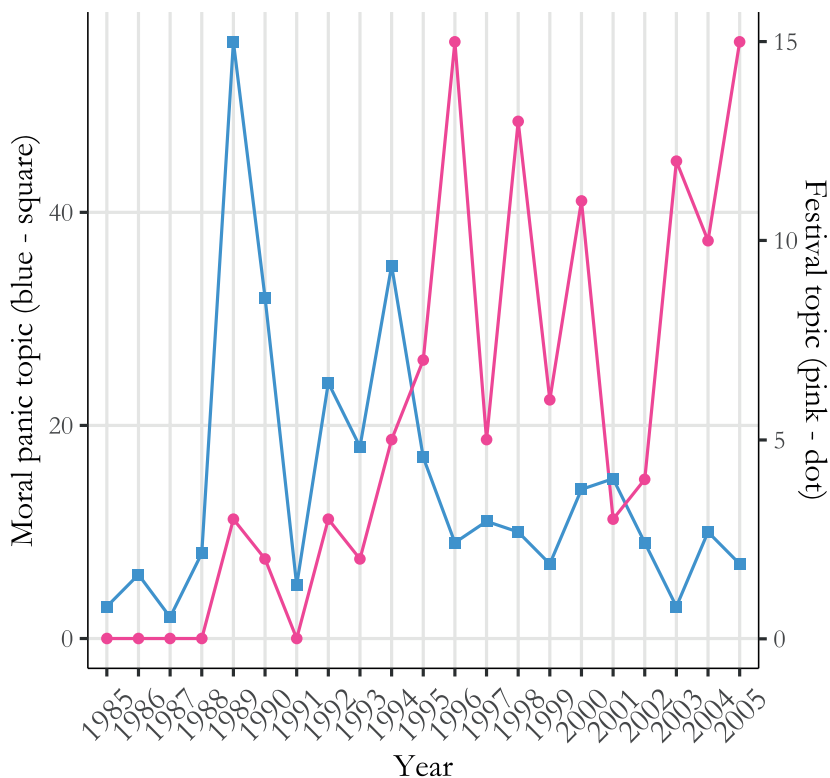


Figure 3. Festival and club topic. *Source:* analysis of own data.



**Figure 4.** Moral panic and festival topic compared. Note that the two Y-axes use different scales. *Source:* analysis of own data.

The new institutional arrangements for organizing licensed parties, combined with the British government’s zero tolerance policy on unlicensed parties, also created a favorable context for dance music-oriented clubs. Similar to the festival topic, the rise of topic 10, a ‘club’ topic (see Table 2 and Figure 4), shows that these types of organizations became dominant in the coverage of the dance music field. There is again an emphasis on club parties’ commercial success—which became one of their key legitimizing features in the late-1990s. In 1998, *The Guardian* reported that dance music-oriented clubs had become ‘insanely lucrative’ (*The Guardian*, October 9, 1998), yet this time there was no mention of the malicious drug pushers referred to in the introduction to this chapter.

The dissipation of the moral panic and the rise of topics referring to festivals and club parties as ‘joyous’ and ‘money-making’ activities, of course, begs the question whether this can be explained by a decline in drugs-related problems. Systematic, longitudinal data are unfortunately

unavailable, yet studies indicate that drug problems did not decline. Analyzing data from several medical registers in the UK, Schifano and colleagues found that the annual number of ecstasy-related deaths grew from 31 in 1994 to 78 in 2002, after which it declined to 48 in 2003 (Schifano et al., 2005). The authors also note that ‘most ecstasy consumption takes place at clubs, raves and other such venues’ (Schifano et al., 2005: 457). In other words, the main cause of the moral panic had not disappeared, but for the media this had ceased to be the central defining lens of the dance field. These changes in framing reflect a wider understanding of dance party practices as being essentially ‘legitimate’—to the point that illegitimate aspects are overlooked. The cognitive sociologist, Zerubavel (2015), sees this as a common social process, referring to it as the social organization of attention: when people collectively bring certain facets of a phenomenon into focus this inevitably leads to ‘inattentional blindness.’

Governmental regulation and the measures taken by organizers to keep drugs from their premises therefore appear, at least at times, to have been more ceremonial than effective. While organizers formally complied with the new rules, e.g., by establishing event safety plans or engaging professional security, this did not eliminate their problems with drugs. Reynolds (1999: 130) observes, ‘[i]n order to get a license from the local authorities, they [the organizers] absurdly and disingenuously forbade “illegal substances” and promised stringent searches and “firm but friendly security”.’ The declining public fears for dance music parties were thus at odds with the grounds for concern.

Whilst some illegitimate practices endured, the analysis of the increasingly prevalent topics around clubs and festivals shows that they were discussed in more legitimate terms. As close substitutes for raves, these apparently more strictly controlled and normalized types of organizations, thus seemed to have benefitted from the moral panic around the earlier rave parties. Moral panics can thus aid the increased legitimation of a field, not only by bringing about formal and informal institutional changes, but also by offering chances to close yet more controlled alternatives within the dance field (Piazza and Jourdan, 2017). The basis of this shift, and the more favorable opportunities for stricter alternatives, was formed by the moral panic, as described above.

### *Discussion and conclusion: theorizing how moral panics lead to legitimation*

This study used a combination of computational techniques for inductive pattern recognition in a corpus of newspaper articles, and a qualitative content analysis of a subset of these data and complementary documents (Nelson, 2020). We tracked the process whereby a moral panic initially developed in response to some of the forerunners in the field of dance, who organized ‘raves,’ highlighting the illegal organization of such parties and the drug use by partygoers. In response to such public indignation, government officials established stricter laws and repeatedly clashed with the rave organizers. We also see how the emergence of the moral panic spurred the involvement of various other actors, including other claim makers but also counter-claim makers, who defended and critiqued what they saw as an ‘overreaction’ and pushed for accommodating regulation instead of criminal prosecution. Backed by the increased popularity of dance in the UK, as well as the opportunities for counter-mobilization provided by the criminalizing approach of UK governments, more strictly regulated alternatives to raves—clubs and festivals—became the dominant organizational forms within the dance field, and, according to our discourse analysis, were indeed framed as being more legitimate, even though one of the main triggers for the moral panic (i.e., the widespread use of party drugs) did not disappear.

We theorize, in a more general sense, that the impact of the moral panic on the legitimacy of the dance field was constituted through a positive feedback loop (Kuipers, 2015; Walby, 2007) between several, moral panic-induced processes: in response to the delegitimizing frames, new frames emerged that advocated for better regulation and less criminalization, which lead to more accommodating regulatory frameworks, and further benefited the growing population of alternative organizations. To explain this outcome, we suggest that it is important to understand how the moral panic unfolded in the particular configuration of a new ‘issue field’ (Hoffman, 1999; Zietsma et al., 2017), which involves (representatives from) the political field, the media field, the established music market, and the dance field itself. The particular structure and relations between these fields, we argue, is important to understand the direction in which a moral panic dynamic can develop.

Our study contributes both to the literature on moral panics and fields by utilizing the complementary strengths of both frameworks. It adds to field theoretical research by demonstrating how the potential controversy that new fields can trigger can be unpacked using a moral panic-lens. It also

extends existing moral panic research by showing how the various fields involved shape the unfolding of a moral panic. Considering different counterfactuals (in terms of field structures and relations) can help us to understand under which conditions delegitimation (does or does not) lead to legitimation. One of these counterfactuals can be observed when moral panics do not emerge because governments opt for quiet regulation and the media are rather silent. We see Tepper (2009) as providing an example of how the reactions of the government and media to the early rave scene in Chicago led to its relatively rapid demise. A second counterfactual would involve new, deviant fields that lack popularity among audiences and within an established (organizational) field (e.g., see Weber, Heinze and DeSoucey, 2007, on the biodynamic movement). A third counterfactual that can obstruct the legitimation of a new field would be that actors in the emerging field would reject the terms of cooperation with actors in established fields (e.g., see McAdam, 1982, on the Black Panthers). If more 'conformist' substitutes, even if only in appearance, did not exist, or were somehow obstructed in their development, the moral panic would probably also not unfold in the direction of further accommodation. These processes are, of course, interdependent, and we therefore reiterate our earlier point that the relationships between multiple fields should be taken into account to understand why initial disqualification can turn into acceptance.

Methodologically, we hope that our study has demonstrated how topic models and qualitative content analysis complement each other when studying (de)legitimation and processes of institutional change more generally. Topic models proved particularly useful for two tasks: (i) topic models helped us with large scale *document classification*, i.e., to process initially collected newspaper data, deal with the search terms' ambivalence, and identify potentially relevant articles to inspect more closely, based on a thematic interest; (ii) the machine learning technique allowed us to assess the *historical prevalence of frames* within public discourses. Our project benefited from the ability of topic models to track dynamic understandings of an emerging field, which is a useful feature for studies of institutional change concerned with how new frames replace previously extant ones (Werner and Cornelissen, 2014). These two tasks would have been difficult to achieve using qualitative research alone, yet close reading the documents behind the relatively generic topics made it possible to comprehend how changes came about, who voiced a frame, and to disambiguate between the multiple meanings of words.

Studying processes through which moral panics can have positive

outcomes for the legitimacy of emerging fields can be of wider importance. In modern societies, where the birth of new fields proliferates (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012), conflicts between new and established social orders are quite common. We therefore see similar processes of legitimation via disqualification not only in creative industries but, for instance, also during the emergence and institutionalization of Uber taxis (Pelzer, Frenken, Boon, 2019), medical marijuana (Dioun, 2018), webcam sex (Van Doorn and Velthuis, 2018), and crypto currencies (Flyverbom and Reinecke, 2017). Whilst these fields are—albeit to different degrees—increasingly accepted and institutionalized, initial public delegitimation appears to be a common stage in their developmental trajectories. We expect to see in other cases that moral panics can restrain some organizations in new fields, while enabling others. The conflicts between new and established social orders, we suggest, may be resolved through a first round of morally charged delegitimation, an ‘illegitimacy detour,’ which provokes the involvement of actors from various fields, who bring about both formal and informal institutional changes that can render deviant fields into legitimate ones.

We see herein a number of opportunities for future studies on the legitimation of new, deviant fields. First, by focusing on one type of deviant field in multiple contexts, studies could take a comparative angle and further explore how different contexts affect legitimation processes. For example, an interesting question that could be explored with comparative designs are cases where both ‘quiet regulation’ and ‘noisy campaigns’ are used by state fields and the media to manage new, deviant fields. Linked to this, one question that could be explored is whether and how targeted organizational actors may use strategies to successfully turn quiet regulation into more noisy campaigns.

Second, our analysis showed how a refocus on the positive sides of dance festivals and club parties was accompanied by ‘inattentive blindness’ (Zerubavel, 2015) for their darker sides. Future studies of the legitimation of new fields could examine in which kinds of issue fields such inattentive blindness is more or less likely to occur. Such work could attend to actors’ more deliberate framing tactics aimed at changing perceptions (Werner and Cornelissen, 2014) and less intentional legitimating strategies by, for example, journalists (Vaara, Tienari, and Laurila, 2006).

Finally, another avenue for future research is the relationship between new, deviant fields and established organizational fields. Once a deviant field is considered legitimate by a particular audience or field, this legitimacy can ‘spillover’ to other fields. Our analysis suggests that actors

in existing organizational fields, including, but not limited to, the creative industries, are likely to be forerunners in this process. Deviant fields provide interesting cases to better understand how different stakeholders follow each other when conferring legitimacy, since such fields are prone to having 'fragmented' societal legitimacy. As noted, their deviant image in the eyes of some can make them extra attractive and thus legitimate for others. One such spillover example is provided by hip hop music in the US, which propelled controversy in the press, yet, due to its popularity among inner-city youth, motivated large corporations such as Adidas, to sponsor hip hop artists' tours (see Lena, 2012, on Run DMC's 1988 My Adidas tour). Such early-stage legitimating support from established organizational fields, and its spillover to other fields, forms an exciting opportunity for future research.

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# Chapter 6 — Conclusion:

## how new genres institutionalize

Sociological imagination probably starts with sociological wonder: asking yourself, “What is this unusual, odd thing that I am looking at and other people do not question?” Such wonder comes to me when I pause for a moment to consider all the “taken-for-granted” cultural forms around me: a landscape oil painting, a Nordic noir book, a TV cookery show. Then, I try to think of their lesser-known counterparts, or possible genres about which I never heard, but which could be out there, if you use some imagination. This thought experiment helps me to realize that most genre innovations, in contrast to landscape oil paintings, Nordic noir books, or TV cookery shows, did not develop into mainstream cultural forms, as others have also noted (e.g., Becker, 1982; Godart and Galunic, 2019). Additionally, it suggests that the trajectory from being appreciated in small circles to being widely known and loved is actually quite extraordinary, even though our world may be filled with the success stories. These trajectories are “historical accidents,” yet, as I will discuss below, comprehensible accidents, rather than elusive ones, which we can explain, and possibly even predict.

The main theoretical issue that this PhD dissertation addresses—*How and why do new genres become (un)successfully institutionalized?*—allows us to investigate such wonder in a more systematic way. Institutionalization is here understood as a process by which genres emerge, diffuse, and become a durable part of social life, as mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation (DiMaggio, 1987; 1988; Hallet and Ventresca, 2006; Scott, 2014). What happens in those rare cases where new genres in art or popular culture strike a chord with many people? And, what happens in those—probably abundant—cases where the appreciation of a genre is limited to a relatively small group during the course of its existence? One common theme that runs through the empirical chapters is that they demonstrate the importance of analyzing how the dance fields in the US, UK, and the Netherlands were formed by their relationships with proximate fields. These fields have thus been investigated as being part of a “webs of fields” (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012), a framework that allows for what I like to call an *unrestricted multilevel analysis*. This model is preferred over extant alternatives that prescribe a focus on a limited set of facets (Peterson, 1990; Peter-

son and Anand, 2004) or fields (Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), as I will explain in more detail below.

Innovatively building on Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) work, I contribute to three more specific theoretical terrains related to genre trajectories, incumbent–challenger dynamics, and transnational fields. Before discussing these in more detail, I will briefly cover the central findings of the four empirical chapters, how each chapter takes the case of dance to learn more about a specific facet of the institutionalization of genres, and how the chapters complement each other as such.

Chapter 2 (“Intersecting fields,” see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019) reaches furthest back into history and focuses on the emergence of dance and its early adoption by those outside the pioneering US house and techno genre communities, a key step in the institutionalization process of dance. It points to the importance of so-called “progenitor genre communities” out of which the initial dance genre communities in the US and later also the UK were built. It analyzes secondary sources, but also primary data, such as genre-coded chart data, record label data, and music journalism. The “mismatch” between the US dance genre community and the US mainstream music market, and the initial “match” between their counterparts in the UK can be explained by simultaneous developments in several proximate fields—such as, the progenitor disco and punk music fields, the music journalism field, and mainstream music market itself—that were linked to the two dance fields. Moreover, it shows that the trajectories of the latter two fields were also interdependent, as the failure of dance in the US, became one of the reasons why it was positively evaluated and adopted in the UK.

Chapter 3 (“The dance of markets and movements”) zooms in on the mechanisms that drove the growth of the population of dance labels in the three countries under consideration, thus tapping into another facet of institutionalization, namely the establishment of organizations that are necessary for the “material” institutionalization of genres. It combines genre-coded chart data with data on the production-side of the field. The study investigates how the emergence and development of “genre movements” was affected by endogenous resource mobilization processes as well as exogenous influences from the proximate environment of other genres, market structures, the success of dance genres in their respective domestic music markets, and the growth of record label populations in other countries. The study illuminates how a straightforward concept of diffusion and adoption falls short in capturing the more complicated dynamic of genre

development. When looking under the surface of the diffusion of a larger dance genre stream, we can see that this process is characterized by differentiation and continuous transformation, as the success of genres in the market stimulates the emergence and growth of *new* genres. So, this chapter again emphasizes how particular genre communities or “movements” are embedded in, and affected by, a multilevel field environment, which includes the presence of proximate genres.

Furthermore, the chapter shows that the embeddedness in field environments varied cross-nationally. Although in the US, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019), the field environment was also historically relevant, our finding in Chapter 3 shows that the development of dance in the US was *not* strongly coupled to the US mainstream music market. Instead, this genre movement operated more autonomously in a “parallel production system” (Lena, 2012), which could largely sustain itself, despite the relative failure of dance in the US mainstream market. These findings are also relevant for research on how collective actors in cultural fields are characterized by different degrees of “peripheralness,” how they accordingly develop different peripheral strategies, and whether and how they engage with the center of a field (for a more elaborate discussion, see Kuipers, Holla, and van der Laan, 2022).

Chapter 4 (“When existing genre communities adopt new genres”) is also informed by the notion that the development trajectories of genres are interrelated, and it narrows this down to the development of one genre (i.e., trance), which is analyzed vis-à-vis the dissipation of another genre (i.e., hardcore). The idea of diffusion as continuous transformation is also relevant here, as the new trance genre community was built by, and out of, the people and resources that had earlier gravitated to hardcore. I will further theorize the role of such “legacies” in processes of innovation and institutionalization below. As in the previous chapters, this chapter uses data on dynamics in the charts, and simultaneously analyzes data on dynamics in the network relations between Dutch dance genre community members.

By analyzing the interaction between networks and market information to explain the rise of trance music, this study also aims to make a more general contribution to research on institutional change. It shows how the actions of market participants are influenced by their network relations as well as by the information supplied by market devices (in this case the charts), both of which can be seen as “co-creators” of markets (Velthuis, 2020). The study also shows how former hardcore-affiliates in largely divided network partitions started to cooperate when switching to the trance

genre. In so doing, they brought together “complementary resources” in the network, and it is argued that a field-level perspective, which focused on genre popularity dynamics, can help us to explain why actors in different parts of the network decided to join forces.

Chapter 5 (“How moral panics lead to legitimation”) is concerned with another dimension of institutionalization: the process by which dance became legitimated by, and became part of, the wider British society. The study draws on newspaper data and other historical sources to investigate the public reception of dance, especially regarding views on dance parties. It shows how news coverage of dance was initially dominated by a “moral panic,” which grabbed the attention of, and mobilized, several actors who, in response to the “panic,” brought about formal and informal institutional changes. These new arrangements repressed the pioneering community of illegal “ravers,” while favoring a growing population of alternative, “substitute” organizations. It is argued that when conflicts between new and established fields take place in public, they can—under certain conditions—catalyze, rather than harm, the legitimation process of new fields.

In this study, we analyzed how the actors who were part of various fields together formed a so-called issue field (Hoffland, 1999; Zietsma et al., 2017). While the moral panic contributed to the legitimation of dance in the UK, they do not always have such accommodating outcomes. It is suggested that by incorporating the idea of an issue field (a special instance of a “web of fields”), analyses can illuminate how moral panics, or other forms of (public) delegitimation, can positively or negatively impact the development of new fields.

As noted, the analysis in each empirical chapter was informed by the basic principle of Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) work: that developments in a focal field depend on their interactions with several proximate fields. In the following section, I will discuss how this approach contributes to four more specific theoretical terrains related to *genre trajectories*, *incumbent–challenger dynamics*, and *transnational fields*. Some of the themes cut across these theoretical terrains (e.g., the section on incumbent–challenger dynamics also uses a “transnational” perspective), so the sections below should be understood as building on, and refining, each other.

### *Contributions to the literature on genres and fields*

How webs of fields explain genre trajectories through conjunctures  
As noted in the Introduction, an unanswered question in the study of genre development relates to the “mechanisms that cause genres to transition from

one form to the next” (Lena and Peterson, 2008: 698). I have also discussed how a theoretical framework that draws on social movement and field theory—such as that proposed by Baumann (2007), and Fligstein and McAdam (2012)—could further our understanding in this regard.

Using a web of fields approach can illuminate how processes in different fields work together for “scene-to-industry” trajectories to be (un) successful. To make sense of this, we can draw on historical sociological theory, and treat them as *conjunctures* of developments in a web of fields, that is, “a coming together—or temporal intersection—of separately determined sequences” (Mahoney, 2000: 527). Focusing on how developments in several fields come together, these historical accidents or rare cases referred to above, can help us to explain how and why scene-to-industry trajectories occur.

At the root of such conjunctures are often “crises,”<sup>43</sup> which are potentially followed by episodes of contention, defined as “a period of emergent, sustained contentious interaction between . . . actors utilizing new and innovative forms of action vis-à-vis one another” (McAdam, 2007: 253). Crises of sorts can be perceived by a movement as a threat *or* opportunity to which they respond by mobilizing available resources and developing innovative lines of action (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In other words, one of the key mechanisms underpinning scene-to-industry trajectories appears

43 The term “crisis” is used by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) to refer to all kinds of destabilizing processes that alter the role structure between the incumbents and challengers in a field (see also, Fligstein, 2001). As explained in the Introduction, a way in which Fligstein and McAdam (2012) distinguish their theory from earlier work on institutions and social movements is by stressing that fields are neither usually stable, nor that they are usually changing, but that, with time, fields move along a continuum between (relative) stability and change. This field feature is shaped by the degree of cooperation or conflict between incumbents and challengers. While Mahoney does not use the term “crisis,” he refers in a very similar way to causes of change, such as an “exogenous shock” or, more specifically, the “[w]eakening of elites and strengthening of subordinate groups” (2000: 517). Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood (2017: 1889) discuss an alternative source of institutional change consisting of improvisations in the “mundane day-to-day practices,” which slowly, and in an uncontentious way, spread and eventually can lead to field-wide change. However, the studies in this dissertation show that the institutionalization of new genres in the mainstream music market does not occur in such a slow, uncontentious way. It usually involves more “turbulent” processes that we could refer to as crises (e.g., the declining popularity of previously dominant genres).

to be the occurrence of a crisis combined with episodes of contention, as shown in Chapter 2 (see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019). Chapter 5 illustrates that crises in the form of “moral panics” followed by institutional responses (e.g., the constitution of new laws and regulations) can drive the accommodation of new genres in the wider society.

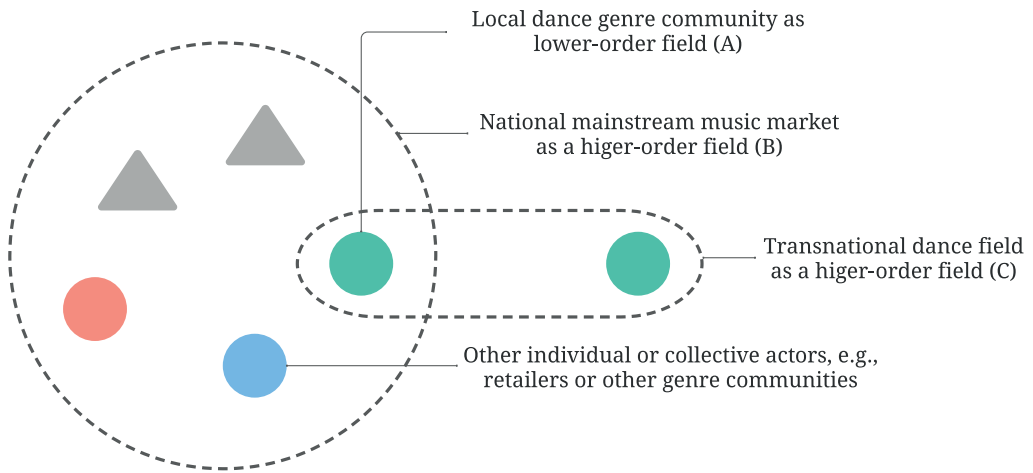
So, to understand the distinct development of dance in the US and the UK, we need to consider at least two conjunctures—one in the US context, and one in the UK context—and their underpinning crises and episodes of contention (or the lack thereof). In the US, it was the conjuncture of a crisis in the disco field and the consequent marginal position of the former disco producers who invented house and techno, the affordable drum computers that entered the market around that time, and the incumbents’ control of the mainstream market which remained stable over time, that can explain how dance emerged, but was restricted to a scene-based genre form in the US. In the UK, it was the coming together of the punk field’s crisis, the independent distribution networks that survived and were thus conducive to a new episode of contention, and the keenness of British music journalists and other intermediaries to legitimate especially as-yet-commercialized, peripheral US music, that can explain why dance more successfully institutionalized in the UK.

While the “mainstreaming” of genres in the US market was possible, it was only possible through a decentralized production system (Dowd, 2004; Lopes, 1992). We can refer to this as a “mediated pathway” for genre innovation, one that was almost fully controlled by major labels, and while this did not work for dance, it did for hip hop in the US (see Appendix IV, Chapter 2, or Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019, for a more detailed discussion). This decentralized production system emerged in the 1960s and, through processes of institutional reproduction (Jepperson, 1991; Mahoney, 2000), has been kept in place ever since. In the UK, punks successfully initiated an episode of contention in the late 1970s by establishing an independent distribution network that disrupted incumbents’ market control. This formed what Fligstein (2001: 118) would call a “real crisis,” “a situation where the major groups are having difficulty reproducing their privilege.” In the British case, we can therefore observe a second type of genre innovation consisting of a “direct pathway” into the mainstream, that is, artists and labels could generate hits without the need for major labels. Focusing on conjunctures of developments in webs of fields can thus help us to explain not only whether, but also the way in which, new genres institutionalize.

I believe that at this point it is worth noting that the analysis



above—which shifts between focusing on field relationships at the national and transnational levels—also demonstrates that one of the merits of a web of fields approach is that it allows unrestricted multilevel analyses. As such, it is preferable to models that, a priori, are constrained to, for instance, a limited number of facets (Peterson, 1990; Peterson and Anand, 2004) or a limited number of fields (Bourdieu, 1996). To grasp the multilevel nature of a web of fields, I propose to think of them as sets of lower-order and sets of higher-order fields. Figure 1 provides a simplified representation of a web of fields. Collective actors, such as the US dance genre community (A), constitute lower-order fields. In turn these may be nested in multiple higher-order fields, such as a national mainstream music market (B), and a transnational genre field (C).<sup>44</sup>



**Figure 1.** A simplified representation of a web of fields with two higher-order fields

44 Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) study of the civil rights movement also exemplifies the need for "unrestricted multilevel" analyses. It considers how the success of the civil rights movement was shaped by its own tactics, the Southern cotton economy (which marginalized African Americans, despite the abolition of slavery), and the US field of racial politics. The position of the civil rights movement in the field of racial politics eventually improved due to the Great Depression in the national US economy, and the Cold War. The fields considered here are: a social movement (consisting of various chapters/fields), a national political field (consisting of several local political fields), a local industry, a national economy, and a transnational political field.

In the “Limitations and avenues for new research” section, I will consider how this multilevel approach can be developed further by attending to a micro- or small group level. Before discussing the second contribution, I will first briefly attend to the question of how we can view the proximate genre environment in a web of fields framework.

*The importance of the proximate genre environment*

Three studies in this dissertation also point to a particular factor influencing genre trajectories, namely, the rising or declining popularity of other, proximate genres, as can be seen in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. This work points to the importance of investigating inter-genre dynamics, hereby following earlier cultural sociological studies (Aspers and Godart, 2013; DiMaggio, 1987; 1992; Godart and Galunic, 2019; Kaufman, 2004; Lieberman, 2000; Van Venrooij, 2015; Sgourev, 2020).

The question I would like to address here is how existing research on the institutionalization of new genres accounts for dynamics among proximate genres, and how such dynamics can be integrated into a “web of fields” analysis. When reviewing existing genre studies, there appears to be a disproportionate attention for what DiMaggio (1987) regards as changes in “social systems,” which lead to changes in “cultural systems.” This can be seen in the six-faceted model of the POC perspective, which, as discussed in the Introduction, focuses on changes in law, technology, industry structure, organization structure, occupational career, and market (Peterson, 1990; Peterson and Anand, 2004). The POC perspective is not unique in this regard. For instance, eight out of the nine empirical studies cited in Baumann’s (2007) section on opportunity structures refer to social causes of cultural change, such as shifting racial relationships, the upward mobility of social groups, and the process of industrialization.

While some studies consider the interplay between dynamics in social and cultural systems (see, for example, DiMaggio, 1992; Lena, 2012), this approach does not provide a generalizable model of how such factors

relate to each other as new genres institutionalize.<sup>45</sup> I suggest that we can address this limitation using a web of fields approach.

In the context of such a web, we can perceive the declining popularity of a genre category, e.g., the decline of punk and hardcore, as a specific type of field “crisis” for the associated genre community, albeit one that is very common in cultural markets. When people recognize such crises as an opportunity for change, it can, as explained above, spark an episode of contention: movement insurgence, sustained by framing and resource mobilization (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). While important, these processes concern what I like to call *post-hoc framing* and *post-hoc resource mobilization*, that is, activities that follow after an unplanned “crisis.” We thus need to analyze strategic, deliberate behavior, such as framing and resource mobilization, against the background of cultural ecological dynamics in the proximate genre environment (Sgourev, 2020). Note that this approach is largely consistent with Baumann’s (2007) social movement approach, yet the concept of an opportunity structure is developed using the idea of a web of fields in which crises, such as the rising or declining popularity of a genre, can take place.<sup>46</sup>

45 DiMaggio (1992) explicitly stresses the particularities of the processes by which theater, opera, and dance were “sacralized” as high art. Hence, “[e]ven within the limited scope of aesthetics in the United States, no one set of generalizations characterizes the process of sacralization in all cases” (DiMaggio, 1992: 44). This leaves the study somewhat under-theorized, thereby limiting the possibility to review whether the given explanations can be applied to understand similar processes in other settings. Lena’s (2012) work provides tentative explanations for genre trajectories both in the realm of social systems (e.g., the racial boundaries in the mainstream music market and the US that can act as an inhibiting factor), and in the realm of cultural systems (e.g., the stagnating growth of grunge as a stimulant for former grunge artists to work on the creation of new avant garde genre forms instead). Yet, as noted above, it does not provide a fully fledged model to explain genre trajectories.

46 While common, the dissipating popularity of a genre is not the only type of crisis that can affect participants in the mainstream music market. Other crises can affect a broad scope of actors, such as the emergence of online peer-to-peer file sharing platforms around the year 2000, which led to the depletion of revenues across the music market (Krasilovsky and Schemel, 2007). A field systemic approach can be used to delineate the scope of a crisis and understand its influence in a given web of fields.

Incumbent–challenger dynamics in processes of institutionalization  
When do incumbents resist challengers, and when are these parties willing to collaborate and form alliances? Two studies in this dissertation add to our understanding with regards to this question, thereby contributing to the work of Fligstein and McAdam (2012), who are relatively silent about it, and simply note that incumbents usually resist change, but in some cases may work with challengers (see also, Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017: 1902). Chapters 2 and 5 suggest that conflictual or collaborative incumbent–challenger relationships depend on the leverage that challengers have. In Chapter 2 (see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019), this leverage consisted of an independent distribution network that predated the introduction of dance, and diminished incumbents’ (notably major labels’) grip on the mainstream market.

This was an effect of years of accumulating resistance, which started at least as early as the mid-1970s with the emergence of pub rock (Crossley, 2015; Laing, 1985). Pub rockers, a progenitor or “proto-punk” genre community, opposed the commercial logic of mainstream music by focusing on live performances in small, intimate venues (usually the pub), using inexpensive equipment. While they were only locally successful for a short time, their “do-it-yourself” ethic was incorporated and further developed by the punk genre community, which took many parts of the music production process into its own hands, from album cover design to distribution and the organization of live performances. Punks created an alternative system for alternative music that was capable of making mainstream hits without major label support.

Major labels reacted to the strengthened position of independents, which became particularly strong with the early introduction of dance, by offering them profitable licensing and distribution deals, thereby accommodating these challengers (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012; Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017). In their turn, dance artists and labels responded positively to these offers, due to which the percentage of independent dance hits sharply dropped from 58% during the period 1985–1989, to 27% during 1990–1994. Concurrently, the market share of dance grew rapidly. That the strategy of majors to collaborate with independents was successful is also indicated by the percentage of independent hits in general, which more than halved from 31% during the period 1985–89, to 15% during 1990–94. The strategy to collaborate, rather than resist, can be explained by the changing role structure between incumbents and challengers in the British mainstream music market, in which the position of the challengers

notably bettered during the days of punk and the early days of dance.

In a similar vein, in the US, the absence of such alliances between the inventors of dance and major labels can be explained by the role structure between incumbents and challengers in the US mainstream music market, which was undoubtedly in favor of the former party. So, while the British pub rockers and American inventors of house and techno produced little success outside their scenes themselves, the music communities in both countries left a heritage on which later challengers built. In a similar vein, Schneiberg and Lounsbury (2017) note that most attempts to resist corporate capitalism fail, yet insurgents leave “organizational, cultural and institutional legacies,” which can serve as the input for later episodes of contention. Chapter 2 of this PhD dissertation (or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019) showed that such legacies and swelling contention vis-à-vis incumbents’ hegemony can build up in different national contexts before they are channeled to each other.

Besides its growing presence in the mainstream music market, the British dance genre community also triggered institutional change in the wider society, for instance in state fields, as new regulatory frameworks were created, which is the main focus of Chapter 5. This chapter documents how some incumbent actors in state fields initially strongly resisted illegal raves, while doing little to improve the “antiquated” (Reynolds, 1999) regulatory frameworks for licensed parties, but eventually acquiesced and resorted to cooperation. The leverage, in this case, was provided by the growing support for dance from the mainstream music market, media, and even state officials themselves, which was paradoxically mobilized by the moral panic that aimed to repress it.

Another ongoing debate in the institutionalization literature relates to the field position of those who “drive” the institutionalization of an innovation. Several studies have documented how new market categories are initially “challenger-driven,” while the impact of new categories appears to be substantiated by the involvement of incumbents (for art-related examples, see Patriotta and Hirsch, 2016; Sgourev, 2013; for non-art examples, see Van Wijk et al., 2013; Weber, Heinze, and DeSoucey, 2008).

As for the case of dance, in both European countries we can observe that specific dance genres (most notably, house, techno, and trance) in their earliest stages were introduced by incumbents, and were then co-developed by both incumbents and challengers. For example, house and techno were introduced in the UK by London Records, a subsidiary of major label, Decca,<sup>47</sup> and soon after the genre also attracted the involvement of challengers (the former UK punk genre community).

It would therefore be an oversimplification to state that the institutionalization of dance in these two countries was “challenger-driven.” Yet, the idea that institutionalization can be challenger-driven and accommodated by incumbents (Micelotta, Lounsbury, and Greenwood, 2017) can be applied to the case of dance when viewed at a transnational level, where the innovative genre was introduced by challengers in the US, imported by incumbents in Europe, and there further *co-developed* by incumbents and challengers. Interestingly, the latter party played a relatively significant role in this co-development stage, as indicated, for example, by the relatively high share of independent hits during the early days of house and techno. Such incumbent–challenger dynamics are, to my knowledge, not discussed in the existing literature, which is often focused on innovations introduced by challengers (e.g., Patriotta and Hirsch, 2016), or, more rarely, on those introduced by incumbents (Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum, 2009; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006).

The analysis of incumbent–challenger dynamics in this dissertation also shows that shifting between a national and transnational level of analysis matters when assessing who “leads” and who “follows” in processes of institutionalization. Different levels of analysis reveal different answers to this question. In the European adopting countries, incumbents were important drivers of dance, yet, the incumbents, in turn, adopted—in a sense appropriated—a musical innovation developed by challengers in a different national context. In the following section, I will unpack such a transnational perspective on the institutionalization of dance in more detail.

47 Not only did it release the first British house hit (Love can’t turn around, by Farley “Jackmaster” Funk, Jesse Saunders, and Darryl Pandy), but it also compiled compilation albums which inaugurated the house and techno genres in the British music market, and worked together with music journalist Stuart Cosgrove to legitimate these genres among wider audiences (Van Venrooij, 2015).

Transnational fields, satellite genre communities, and the issue of inequality

A number of studies in this dissertation extend our understanding of the relationship between national and transnational fields. As discussed in Chapter 2 (see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019), we can trace the rise of the transnational dance field to the emergence of new interactions between music communities in the US and the UK, which initially consisted of excursions by British music journalists to the house and techno scenes in Chicago and Detroit (see also Van Venrooij, 2015), and the import of US house and techno records by British labels. The motivation of actors in both countries to engage in such interactions, was, as explained above, created by conjunctures of developments in a web of fields in the US (which made musical entrepreneurs keen to cooperate with parties other than US major labels), and by conjunctures of developments in a web of fields in the UK (which made musical entrepreneurs keen to discover non-commercialized, as-yet-discovered and peripheral music from the US). The new transnational dance field thus emerged due to the conjuncture of two other, initially disparate conjunctures.

While most research on transnational (cultural) fields focuses on the “flow” of successful (commercially profitable and/or high status) cultural products across countries (e.g., see Kuipers, 2011, on the import of US TV programs and formats; or Buchholz, 2016, on the expansion of the Sotheby’s and Christie’s auction houses), Chapter 2 (or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019) points to the importance of “status reversal” in the emergence of transnational (cultural) fields. Dance was adopted by intermediaries in the UK because it was *peripheral* and relatively undiscovered in the US.

We can observe that many genres are appreciated outside their original (national) contexts, and that, accordingly, many music fields have a transnational, if not global, dimension. Originating in the US, rock ‘n’ roll, hip hop, and dance, among others, gave rise to numerous new genre communities elsewhere in the world. More recently, reggaeton and other Latin-American music genres also were highly successful in diffusion at a transnational scale (Leight, 2017). The concept of *satellite genre communities* can be used to refer to new music communities that form outside their original national context, yet, as Lena (2012: 165) notes, we know very little

about the workings of such communities.<sup>48</sup> Several studies in this dissertation add to our understanding in this area.

Chapters 2 and 4 discuss various satellite dance genre communities in the UK and the Netherlands, which all held comparable field positions: the artists in these communities were associated with either majors or resourceful independents, and were thus within, or proximate to, the center of the music market. Satellite genre communities may, of course, form in distinct ways (e.g., we can imagine scenarios where foreign genres are imported by more marginal music communities). Nonetheless, it is likely that it was not a coincidence that those who initiated satellite dance genre communities in the UK and the Netherlands had such central field positions. I will return to this point shortly when reflecting on the issue of inequality in transnational cultural fields.

Focusing on the development of trance in the Netherlands, Chapter 4 addresses the question of how genres in new national contexts can emerge in satellite genre communities, and how those genres with time can be adopted by already existing scene-based genre communities. Trance first emerged around 1990 in the UK and Germany, from where large, generalist record labels—both independents and majors, who were not specialized in a particular genre and operated at a transnational level—exported/imported a small number of trance records with chart success to the Netherlands. In these formative years, only a few Dutch artists started to experiment with trance, but none produced hits in their domestic market. This changed when the popularity of hardcore suddenly declined, and, consequently, many former hardcore artists and organizations switched to trance, propelling the trance genre further into the mainstream. This demonstrates how the expansion of a transnational trance genre community was also initially driven by incumbents (the large generalist labels) and later became a project in which also challengers (the former Dutch hardcore genre community) played a role.

Investigating the case of dance from a transnational perspective, thus, also adds to the earlier discussed concepts of genre trajectories (Lena,

48 Exceptions are, for instance, Bennett (1999) and Bramwell and Butterworth (2019). However, this work tends to emphasize the connections between scene-based communities in various parts of the world, but says very little about the relations between these local scenes and (industrial) firms in national music markets, while, according to the studies in this dissertation, these appear to play a key role in how local scenes emerge.



2012). In the US, dance started as scene-based genre (and initially even an avant garde genre), while in the two European adopting countries, dance started as an *industry-based, satellite genre*, and developed as a scene-based genre over time (a genre form that co-existed next to the industry-based genre form). So, when viewed at a transnational level, dance did not follow a conventional scene-to-industry or industry-to-scene trajectory, as discussed by Lena and Peterson (2008; Lena, 2012; see also the Introduction to this dissertation).<sup>49</sup> Instead, it is probably best understood as a scene-to-industry-to-scene trajectory, in which the industry-based, satellite genre community formed the crucial link between the different national contexts.

This brings us to the issue of the unequal field positions of originators and later adopters/popularizers of cultural forms, which appears to be a common feature of transnational (cultural) fields (Lavie and Varriale, 2019; Lena, 2012; Velthuis and Brandellero, 2018). Such inequalities can, for instance, shape which “authentic” cultural forms can flow from the Global South or East to Anglo-American or Western European countries (e.g., see Sedano, 2019). In the case of dance, unequal field positions—which intersect with racial and socio-economic inequalities—were at play *within* the Anglo-American context, determining who was (not) in the privileged position to legitimate and popularize this genre in Western cultural markets.

In this regard, dance shares a history with hip hop. Both genre communities originally consisted of more marginalized people in the US (most notably African-Americans, but also Latinos, among others; see Lena, 2012), however their initial introduction to the mainstream music market was importantly facilitated by actors inside the established music industry, using a decentralized system of production, as discussed above. This “unequal cultural production system,” as we could term it, was also pivotal in the introduction of hip hop to its domestic and foreign markets, and dance to foreign markets (I refer here to Appendix IV in Chapter 2, or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019, which explains the different development of hip hop and dance using a field theoretic lens). In other words, the institutionalization of dance is also a story of persisting inequalities and power differences that shape the operations of transnational cultural fields

49 For the sake of simplicity, I refer here to “scene-to-industry” trajectories, while contrasting these with “industry-to-scene” trajectories. Yet, it should be noted that the avant garde and traditionalist genre forms can also be part of these trajectories, as specified in Lena and Peterson’s (2008; Lena, 2012) work.

(Velthuis and Brandellero, 2018), structuring who can(not) facilitate the wider popularity of new cultural genres. In this study, I hope to have shown how this process—which started with the invention of dance in the US, and was followed by its cultivation in Europe—can be explained by investigating how the fields involved are nested in vast, transnational webs of fields.

### *Limitations and avenues for new research*

Integrating the micro- or small group level in field analyses  
The studies in this dissertation investigated the case of dance at different levels of analysis, from a specific genre community in one country, such as the US genre community, to the higher-order fields in which they are embedded, such as the US mainstream music market. However, there is less attention for the micro-level—what is sometimes called the “micro-situational reality” (Collins, 1998; Collins, 2004)—or the small group level in, for instance, art or science (Farrell, 2001; Parker and Corte, 2019). This forms a direction in which the approach taken here could advance.

There are some exceptions: Chapter 2 (or see Wilderom and Van Venrooij, 2019) discusses the motivations of Rocky Jones to cooperate with major labels in the UK rather than the US, and Chapter 4 considers why individual actors, such as Tijs Verwest aka Tiësto, and Ferry Corsten, at one point broke away from the hardcore community and began producing trance; however, such an analysis does not provide the detail that interview-based and/or ethnographic studies can provide. At this point it is useful to ask how a micro- or small group approaches and a field theoretic approach could be integrated.

According to Fligstein (2001: 112), the microfoundation of fields is formed by individual actors’ social skills, that is, their “ability to induce cooperation among others.” Cooperation is a fundamental form of social action within and beyond artistic communities, which allows for the emergence of new fields as well as the reproduction of existing ones (Becker, 1982; Baumann, 2007; Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein and McAdam, 2012; Padgett and Powell, 2011). Various tactics can be used to gain cooperation, such as framing (Fligstein, 2001), as explained in the Introduction, or “robust action” (Padgett and Ansell, 1993), where strategic actors convey that they do not want to bring about collective action for personal gain, but, instead, for a common goal.

A small group perspective, such as the one posited in collaborative circles theory, can, in addition to such cooperation-inducing tactics, sensitize analysts to common small group dynamics, stages in a groups’

development, and group members' informal roles, about which field theory says little (Parker and Corte, 2017). It can, for example, unveil how “hot moments,” such as retreats—where members of a scientific collaborative circle have intense contact—fuel such groups with emotional energy, which can lead to creativity and innovation. Or, how people take up certain roles in small groups, such as the “lightning rod,” who is “someone particularly adroit at expressing the group’s alternative vision and emotional grievances vis-à-vis the mainstream” (Parker and Corte, 2017: 266).

Note that this perspective on collaboration is very close to a field theoretic approach, which, in a similar vein, is concerned with mobilization processes, movement leaders, and how movement adherents construct an “oppositional” perspective (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012; King and Pearce, 2010).<sup>50</sup> The difference between collaborative circles theory and field theory is generally the size of the group that is studied, and often, but not necessarily, the methods that are used to do so. What both approaches share is their concern for how and why individuals engage in collaboration to develop innovative lines of action, and both perspectives are thus concerned with the question of how institutional change comes about. Hence, the angles that both approaches take can complement each other.<sup>51</sup> As Parker and Corte (2017: 268) put it, “[s]ituating circles within strategic action fields renders the theory more articulate with respect to explaining empirical variation among circles operating in different fields, providing a more encompassing understanding of small group creativity and insights as to when a circle might emerge or disintegrate.” This assertion resonates with the argument that I have made in several chapters of this dissertation about how and why field-centric studies could benefit from analyzing fields as part of a larger web. At the same time, small group analyses can unveil dynamics relevant

50 While Fligstein and McAdam (2012) give, in contrast to collaborative circles theory (Farrell, 2001; Parker and Corte, 2019), little-to-no attention to the role of emotions, other researchers on social movement (e.g., Duyvendak and Jasper, 2015) and social movements in markets (Rao, 2009) have incorporated them into their theory and empirical research.

51 The argument that small group and field perspectives add to each other parallels the discussion on how network and field perspectives are distinct from, and can complement, one another (e.g., see Bottero and Crossley, 2011).

for collaboration and innovation, which field studies tend to overlook.<sup>52</sup>

Future research on the institutionalization of genres (or other types of innovations) could attend to such small group dynamics in more detail, while at the same time also considering the field environment in which they occur. At this point, I would also like to push Parker and Corte's (2017) argument further, by not only focusing on how a collaborative circle is affected by the dimensions of a *single field* (its attention space, degree of consensus, social control, resources, and geographical and organizational contexts), but to take more fully advantage of the web of fields concept and treat collaborative circles, and other kinds of small groups, as fields, too, which interact with *multiple, interlinked fields*. I anticipate that a modern field theory, as developed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), has the capacity to be even more "multilevel" than it is commonly used (including the way that it is used in this dissertation). It allows for what I have called "unrestricted multilevel analyses," in which analysts zoom in and out from the micro- or small group level—including collaborative circles (Farrell, 2001; Parker and Corte, 2019), avant garde or scene-based genre communities (Lena, 2012), schools (Bourdieu, 1996), camps (Sgourev, 2013), and so on—to various higher-order fields, and back.

So, what would such multilevel field research look like? Consistent with studies drawing on collaborative circles theory (Farrell, 2001; Parker and Corte, 2019), analysts are likely to use ethnographies and interviews to concentrate on the dynamics, stages, and roles within small groups. Following field researchers, they may combine this lens with (qualitative or quantitative) historical methods to defocalize to a wider web of fields in which small groups are nested. For instance, a community of "nontradi-

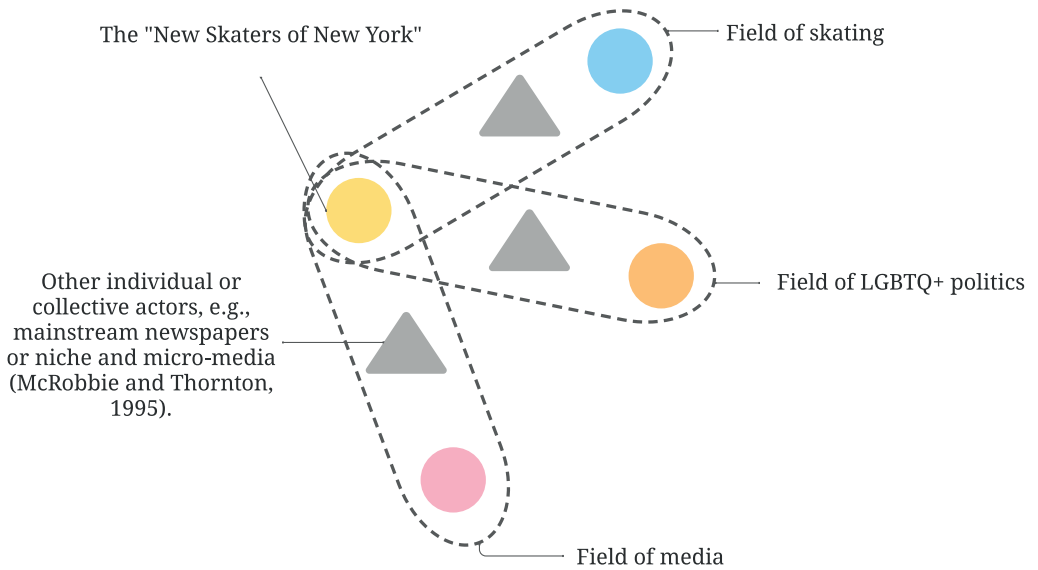
52 Exceptions are, for instance, provided by the work of Bourdieu (1996) and Sgourev (2013), who consider the individual level, by focusing on the creative innovation by people such as Flaubert and Braque, an intermediate level, consisting of different "schools" and "camps," and the wider field level, formed by the French literary and art fields. A limitation of such approaches, as I highlighted in the Introduction with respect to Bourdieu, is that their (field theoretical) model does not specify how an analysis can potentially branch out and include other fields, such as transnational fields. A web of fields approach, in contrast, can potentially be more inclusive, and thus more extensively multilevel. A critical step for analysts to consider is, as Fligstein and McAdam (2012) assert, which fields are interacting with, and are thus relevant for, a given focal field. While it is likely that Bourdieu (1996) and Sgourev (2013) included all the relevant fields in their analyses, it may be problematic to extend their models to other cases.

tional” (e.g., female, queer, or transexual) skaters recently emerged in New York.<sup>53</sup> At least some of the participants within this community, as well as the journalists writing about them, perceive them(selves) as a distinct group within the larger skater community, as was emphasized in a *New York Times* article: “[s]kating has been so male-dominated for so many years, so to see this change in the landscape has been so amazing, and I wanted to be able to capture that with my camera.”<sup>54</sup>

To understand the emergence and potential institutionalization of this community and the category to which they adhere, analysts could conduct ethnographies and interviews to investigate this skater community’s formation, growth, development, and decline (Parker and Corte, 2017). Simultaneously, they could inquire how the New Skaters of New York are, for instance, nested in the field of skating, the field of LGBTQ+ politics, and the field of media, among others (see Figure 2, for a representation of how such a web of fields might look). By shifting their focus between the New Skaters of New York and at least some of these higher-order fields, studies could help us to unpack how the rise of this cultural category was tied to local interactions that sparked creative innovation as well as historical and ongoing developments within and between other fields.

53 “The New Skaters of New York,” *New York Times*, August 9, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/08/04/nyregion/new-york-skaters.html>

54 Such frames of the “New Skater of New York” as a distinct, innovative community should of course be understood in “constructionist” rather than “realist” terms. In other words, the newspaper article that introduces this community to larger audiences can be understood as part of a cultural project (Roy, 2010), as discussed in the Introduction.



**Figure 2.** A web of fields centering on the “New Skaters of New York”

#### Other avenues for new research

While the above section concerning the integration of micro- or small group and field perspectives could be understood as an outline for a larger research program, the chapters in this dissertation also inform more concrete opportunities for new research. I will discuss two of these below.

Chapter 3 motivates us to think about how collective actors are (not) embedded in, and shaped by, particular markets or fields. Future research could draw on similar theories, methods, and logics, as used in this chapter, to measure how market information regimes (Anand and Peterson, 2000), sensegiving devices (Maitlis and Christianson, 2014), or market devices (Velthuis, 2020) affect social action. A basic question that can be asked is: *Who responds to which regimes or devices?* This, for instance, opens up an opportunity to better our understanding of how the sphere of influence of fields changes with time due to processes of field differentiation or consolidation. Noting the continuous process of field formation in modern societies (Fligstein and McAdam 2012), we could ask whether this leads to the creation of many new and specialized market information regimes or sensegiving/market devices, each catering to their own subfield or niche (think, for example, of how niche and micro-media may play a role in the

development of new communities, such as the New Skater of New York).<sup>55</sup> Or, conversely, can we observe the erosion of old specialized regimes or devices, as they are being overtaken by newer, powerful agents who control the streams of information that vast groups of people consume? (For an interesting example, see Couldry and Mejias, 2019, on how a small number of firms, such as Amazon, Apple, and Facebook, “colonize” user-data, giving them unprecedented opportunities to affect behavior.)

Chapter 5 may inspire another strand of research. The chapter shows how a moral panic helped to catalyze the institutionalization of dance in the wider British society. The study also formulates a number of counterfactual scenarios (related to different field conditions), which could be investigated in a comparative framework. For instance, when do we observe moral panics that do not lead to the successful legitimation and institutionalization of a new field? And, when do we observe that moral panics do not erupt, whilst we would have expected them to do so due to the controversial character of a given field that is, at least in the eyes of some, morally flawed. Uber taxis, as mentioned in Chapter 5, constitute an interesting case in this regard. A comparative study could focus on how the legitimation and institutionalization of Uber (which, as we know, differs considerably across the world; Adler, 2021; Leighton, 2016; Pelzer, Frenken, and Boon, 2019) was affected by the potentially moral-panic-like responses that the novel taxi app evoked (which, as we also know, differed considerably across the world). Investigating the role of different proximate fields in such research—e.g., the state, media, and the existing organizational field of taxis—could then help us to better understand when new fields trigger moral panics, and how this impacts their incorporation into established fields and by established actors.

55 For instance, the online magazine and “platform” *Quell Skateboarding* (<https://quellskate.com/>) and its associated Instagram account are known to function as a micro-media outlet for the New Skaters of New York.

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# Appendices

## *Appendices Chapter 2*

### Appendix I

#### *Coding label ownership, licensing and distribution*

We collected data about record label ownership relations, licensing and distribution deals to construct the variables ‘market concentration’ and ‘decentralization’. Both reflect variation in the popular music field’s structure. Ownership relationships are relatively long term, but ever-changing engagements between recording companies where one parent company may own multiple daughter companies, also referred to as subsidiaries. Within the time window of this study many developments took place as a result of the continuous process of acquisition, merging and consolidation, characteristic of the modern music field since the mid-1950s (Krasilovsky & Shemel 2007; Wueller 2012; Dowd 2004). Some ownership relations last for less than a year, others for several decades. Following Dowd (2004), we used information provided by the music charts to note the label of every hit and, subsequently, we identified the firm owning the releasing label at the time of each hit.

These coded data allowed us to calculate the relative share of each firm in the popular music field and to construct the Herfindahl-Hirschman index. The Herfindahl-Hirschman index’s runs from 0-10000, where 0 implies perfect competition, and 10000 a perfect monopoly. It is given by

$$\text{Herfindahl – Hirschman Index} = \sum_{i=1}^n S_i^2$$

where S refers to a label’s share, which is based on its number of hits per quarter, including hits by its subsidiary labels, as well as those for which the copyrights or distribution rights have been acquired. Since the mid-1960s, recording firms increasingly (re)gained market control through strategic collaborations with subsidiary labels, profiting from their artistic input

(Peterson 1990; Lopes 1992; Dowd 2004). The degree for decentralization captures the occurrence of these partnerships by dividing the number of labels through the number of firms.

The Discogs database provides a wealth of information about ownership relations and acquisitions of record labels, often also specifying the year this took place. These data were complemented and crosschecked with *Billboard* and newspaper articles, record label websites, Wikipedia pages, industry year reports, and in some cases the liner notes of releases also provided information about parent companies. Based on this information we developed a schema where every recording label with chart notation is linked to its appropriate owner and, if applicable, changing owners over-time.

In addition to ownership relations, recording companies may engage in temporal partnerships through licensing and distribution deals. We assumed that releases of labels owned by majors were also distributed by these majors and they were not cross-checked for alternative distributors. All other releases were checked individually for distribution deals with other firms, or that the copyrights of the single have been licensed (whilst the original independent label was incorrectly credited in the charts). Information about the distribution and licensing deals for releases in the UK was in most cases retrievable from the Discogs database, which came in the form of detailed photographs of the liner notes and the sound carrier itself. When these indicated involvement of another firm, the single was coded accordingly, while also noting the original recording label. Releases can also be distributed through independent distribution companies such as Pinnacle or 3MV. Rather than ascribing the hit to the independent distributor, we decided to credit the record to the original label in order to not underestimate the number of labels that enter the market. Independent distributors such as Pinnacle or 3MV only played a facilitating role in the distribution of various labels, enabling them to enter the market, but crediting independent distributors as firm would strongly underestimate the number of (independent) labels that could enter the market. For example, British independents such as Vinyl Solution or Junior Boy's Own, receive credits for their own releases with chart notations, even though they received support from independent distributors such as Pinnacle or 3MV. Other independent distributors in the UK include Vital, The Entertainment Network, Precision Records and Tapes, Rough Trade Marketing and Distribution, The Cartel, Revolver, The Total Record Company, Mo's Music Machine, Plastic Head Music Distribution, Jetstar, and Spartan.



When (clear) photographs were absent, it was in many cases still possible to rely on liner notes information copied by contributors into the Discogs release-page of that record. However, for those cases where this information was also incomplete, the original record label was kept as the releasing label, which may result in a small underestimation of distribution or licensing deals with firms.

Information on distribution and licensing in the US was since July the 25th 1970 available in the *Billboard* charts itself (Dowd 2004), which made the distribution/licensing coding process in the US substantially faster.

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## Appendix II

### *Coding genre*

The ± 15.000 chart entries were coded for genre using two independent sources. First, we searched for the Allmusic profile for charted artists and recorded their genre classifications. These thus consisted of genre classifications of artists. Second, we coded genre classifications on the level of individual records using the Discogs database. If Allmusic coded an act as ‘electronic’ in one of the main genre classifications and Discogs also coded the release as belonging to one of the ‘core’ electronic dance music genres,

we considered this chart entry as ‘electronic’. The Discogs classification system has main genres and more specific style categories, which allowed us to use a more narrow conception of electronic/dance music. If the main genre designation was ‘electronic’ selected by database contributors, then the record is also classified using one or more of the 77 styles (or subgenre) designations. Drawing upon earlier work we selected 44 styles that could be considered as ‘core’ electronic/dance music styles which emerged out of, and historically after, the emergence of house and techno music. Well known, but excluded electronic genres are, among others, disco, synthpop, electro, and krautrock. Prior analysis of the evolving definition of electronic/dance music has shown that the electronic/dance music field indeed coalesced and in the long run was defined by these house and post-house genres that emerged from 1986 onwards, and much less by earlier forms of electronic music. In other words, our definition follows a field internal and historical understanding of ‘electronic/dance music’. The table 1 below shows the 44 selected electronic styles from Discogs included in this definition.

The Discogs classification system allows users to attribute multiple genre and (sub)style designations to a particular record. As a result, charted record could belong both to one or more of the 44 selected electronic/dance music styles, as well as to music styles not fitting with our definition. We dealt with the problem of ‘multiple category membership’ (Hannan 2010) by using a consensus measure based on the genre/style designations used by Discogs contributors for the various releases of one and the same song (e.g. releases on 7” or 12” vinyl, maxi, or single CDs, et cetera). Sub-styles were selected if they were used in more than a quarter of the total number of appropriated style designations for that single.

Contributor consensus provided a practical way to gauge whether a song was leaning more towards the one or more of the core electronic/dance music styles (e.g. jazzy house) or away from them (e.g. electronic jazz). The algorithm used to determine contributor consensus could be altered to varying levels of inclusivity and we tested its effectivity by comparing the output of different consensus measures over five year periods of charted records. These tests resulted in an algorithm ‘critical’ enough to filter out songs not belonging (predominantly) to one or more of core of electronic/dance music styles (‘true negatives’), while being ‘open’ enough to include records fitting with our definition (‘true positives’). Nonetheless, a small fraction of ‘noise’ still occurred in both the included (‘false positives’) and excluded selection (‘false negatives’) of charted electronic/dance music records. The contributor consensus measure classified records as having a particular electronic style

$$S_i = \frac{s_i}{d} > .25$$

(S) if the number of designations for that electronic style (s) makes up more than a quarter of the total number of appropriated style designations (d).

Formally given as

For example, Prince's *Batdance* charted in 1989 with a number two position in *The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart*. Our contributor consensus measure defined it as 'synthpop', by which it is excluded from our definition of the electronic/dance music. We used four different releases of *Batdance* in the Discogs database to determine its style: four times it is classified as 'synthpop' and once also as 'funk'. Hence, it received five style designations in total. Since synthpop appeared in four out of five style designations, the hit is classified as such ( $4/5 > .25$ ). In contrast, Technotronic & Felly's *Pump Up The Jam*, also a number two hit in the UK in 1989, is by the consensus measure identified as 'Euro house', one of the core electronic/dance music styles. Based on eight Discogs releases, the hit received seven classifications as 'Euro house', one as 'downtempo', five as 'hip house', two as 'house', and one as 'new beat', resulting in 16 style designations in total. Hence, we included *Pump Up The Jam* in the selection of electronic/dance music hits, since Euro house was used in more than a quarter of the total style designations ( $7/16 > .25$ ).

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Appendix III: variables on market structures and commercialization

(a) *Index of market concentration* is used to measure the degree of competition in a given market. Traditionally it is measured as the proportion of the market controlled by the leading four or eight companies in a given year (cf. Peterson and Berger 1975). We follow Dowd (2004) in using the Herfindahl-Hirschman index as a single metric of market concentration which accounts for the relative share of each record label that enters the mainstream market. It is computed by summing each label's squared market share.

(b) *The share of independent hits in general* is measured by classifying labels as either independent or major. Hits are considered as independent when their label at the time of the hit is not part of a major label group that existed between 1985 and 2005 (i.e. BMG, CBS, EMI, MCA, Polygram, RCA, Sony, Universal, Warner). Nor are they part of one of the major's daughter labels. Moreover, we assessed for every hit released on an independent label whether it relied on major distribution. If records were distributed by a major they were coded accordingly as "major" hits. This measure gives insight into market entry barriers/opportunities for independent record labels.

(c) Ratio of decentralized production is measured as the ratio of labels to firms in each quarter (Lopes 1992; Dowd 2004). Firms are credited with a chart entry when they distributed or owned the label on which the single was released. We also take into account multiple layers of ownership. The label *Aftermath* is, for example, owned by Interscope, which is owned by Universal – which is then credited as the firm. In the process of assessing ownership relationships, we accounted for changing ownership overtime, mergers, and name changes (see Appendix II).

(d) The number of debuting artists is used as a measure of innovation in the recording industry. We consider as debutants those artists without earlier chart entries within the top 40 of their respective charts (Peterson and Berger 1975; Lopes 1992; Dowd 2004). To avoid left truncation, we tracked whether acts had an earlier charted hit from 1979 onwards. We also tracked whether artists had earlier hit songs in collaboration with other acts and defined their earliest entry – alone or in collaboration with others – as their debut. Chart access for artists without established careers may create opportunities – or an 'innovation potential' – for the commercialization of new music genres.

(e) Dance music's market share measures the proportion of electronic/dance music hits in each quarter. Since the total number of charted records differs between countries and over time, we use the number of electronic/dance music hits relative to the total number of charted records to measure variation in the genre's commercial success. (f) The share of independent dance music hits is constructed using the same procedure to calculate the share of independent hits in general, but then capturing the proportion of independently released dance music hits relative to the total number of dance music hits.

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### Appendix IV: the commercialization of hip hop in the US

With a market share of approximately 17% in the period 1985-2005, hip hop's mainstream success almost paralleled the success of dance music in the UK (with a market share of approximately 20%). Like dance music, it started as an urban, African American "scene-based" music genre (Lena 2012). Yet, hip hop did make the transition as an industry-based genre, which, as Lopes puts it, "depended on decisions made within the label divisions of major label companies" (1992: 67).<sup>1</sup> Our data show that between 1985 and 2005, 84,45% of the charting rap artists in the US were affiliated with a major label, which can be understood as a more "mediated pathway" to the mainstream, as opposed to a more "direct pathway," as observed in the cases of UK (post)punk and dance music. Innovations transitioning through mediated pathways are less "radical" forms of institutional change, since incumbents' hegemony remains rather intact, yet exchange relations with new parties are formed in order to diversify a market's content. Turning to the hip hop artist and labels, we can understand their willingness to form "coalitions" as strategic actions informed by their "conception of control," i.e. their interpretation of what it takes to survive in the US mainstream music field (Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

What this brief comparison to hip hop music indicates is that the mainstream music field's structures, in themselves, are insufficient to understand why some sociocultural <sup>1</sup> Those independent artists that did make it to the charts were often released by large independent labels, such as Chrysalis and Arista (see Lopes 1992: 67). Two labels that were eventually also absorbed by majors. innovations fail and others succeed. Rather, the mainstream music field should be understood as part of a wider "web of

fields,” potentially a very important one, whose effects depend on historical and ongoing interactions with associated fields. While this is not the place to extensively discuss hip hop’s transition into the mainstream, we can consider at least three stimulating factors that lie outside the mainstream music field. First, there appears to have been a high willingness among several leading hip hop artists and labels to commercialize the genre by partnering with major labels and large brands. Lena (2012) notes as an early and telling example Run D.M.C.’s single “My Adidas,” an overt advertisement for the sneaker and athletic apparel brand, which also cosponsored Run D.M.C.’s My Adidas tour in 1988. Secondly, hip hop music received extensive media coverage, including several “moral panics,” controversies around lyrics glorifying violence and/or containing sexual language, that can also enhance a genre’s appeal among youngsters (Lena 2012; Binder 1993; Thornton 1995). Finally, renowned hip hop artists and labels emerged in New York, such as Def Jam Recordings, and were later also prominent in Los Angeles, such as Death Row Records, two cities where also most major label headquarters were located, and centers of creative production that were geographically and socially more distant from—for example—dance music communities in Chicago and Detroit (cf. Scott 1999).

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## Appendices Chapter 3

### Appendix I: Analysis of founding rates within genres

To analyze founding rates at the level of particular subgenres, we identified labels that had their first release in one of the 44 styles from Discogs that could be considered “core” dance music genres (see table A1). We thus excluded labels that had prior releases in other genres. We also only included labels that had primarily (i.e. more than 80%) released records in their respective country, in order to, for example, not count British labels that also released material in the Netherlands as Dutch “domestic” labels. We also decided to focus on genres with a substantial number of labels. So we excluded genres with less than 100 labels in the UK and the US and (considering the smaller overall size) 25 labels in the Netherlands. This left 27 genres in the UK, 19 genres in the Netherlands, and 20 genres in the US. To measure the possible mutualism and competition between genres, we grouped these genres together using cluster analysis on a similarity matrix of genres, which measured the correlation between genres based on their co-occurrence at the level of the first-year label releases. For the UK, we grouped the 27 genres in 6 clusters, in the Netherlands we grouped 19 genres into 5 clusters, and in the US we grouped 20 genres into 4 clusters. Tables 1a-c below lists the membership of clusters in each country. Figures 1a-o show the founding rates over time per cluster in the UK, NL and US.

**Table 1a:** Genre clusters in the UK. *Source:* analysis of own data

<b>Techno</b>	Acid	<b>House</b>	AcidHouse
	Techno		EuroHouse
	GoaTrance		DeepHouse
	Trance		House
	HardHouse		GarageHouse
	HardTrance		
<b>Progressive House</b>	ProgressiveHouse	<b>Triphop</b>	BigBeat
	ProgressiveTrance		Breaks
	TechHouse		TripHop
	TribalHouse		IDM
<b>Breakbeat</b>	Breakbeat	<b>UK Garage</b>	UKGarage
	Hardcore		SpeedGarage
	HappyHardcore		Grime
	DrumBass		
	Jungle		

**Table 1b:** Genre clusters in the Netherlands

<b>Techno</b>	Acid Techno DeepHouse TechHouse
<b>Breakbeat</b>	Breakbeat IDM DrumnBass Breaks
<b>Gabber</b>	Gabber Hardcore HappyHardcore
<b>House</b>	EuroHouse House ProgressiveHouse ProgressiveTrance Trance
<b>Hardhouse</b>	HardHouse HardTrance Hardstyle

**Table 1c:** Genre clusters in the US. *Source:* analysis of own data.

<b>House</b>	AcidHouse EuroHouse DeepHouse House GarageHouse
<b>Progressive House</b>	ProgressiveHouse ProgressiveTrance TechHouse TribalHouse
<b>DrumnBass</b>	DrumnBass Jungle IDM TripHop
<b>Techno</b>	Acid Techno Trance Breakbeat Breaks HardHouse Hardcore



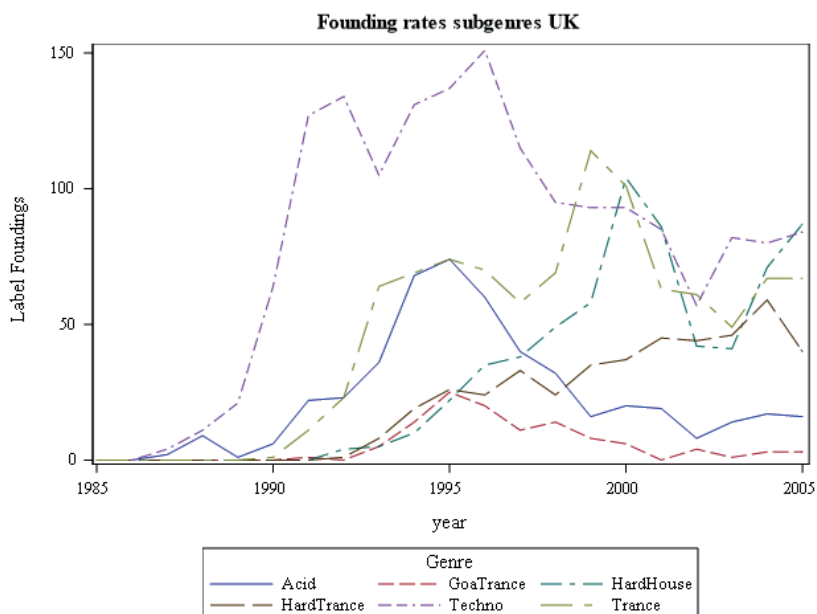


Figure 1a: UK Techno cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

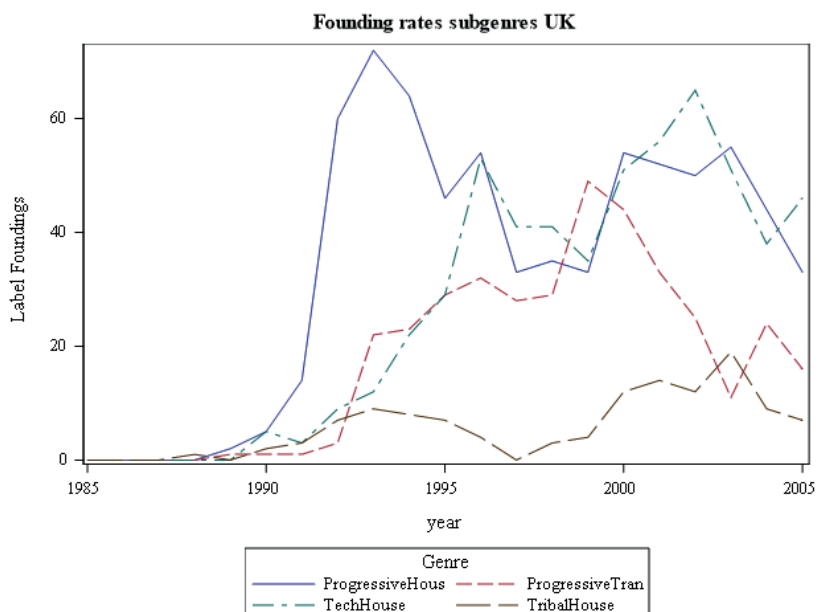


Figure 1b: UK Progressive House cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

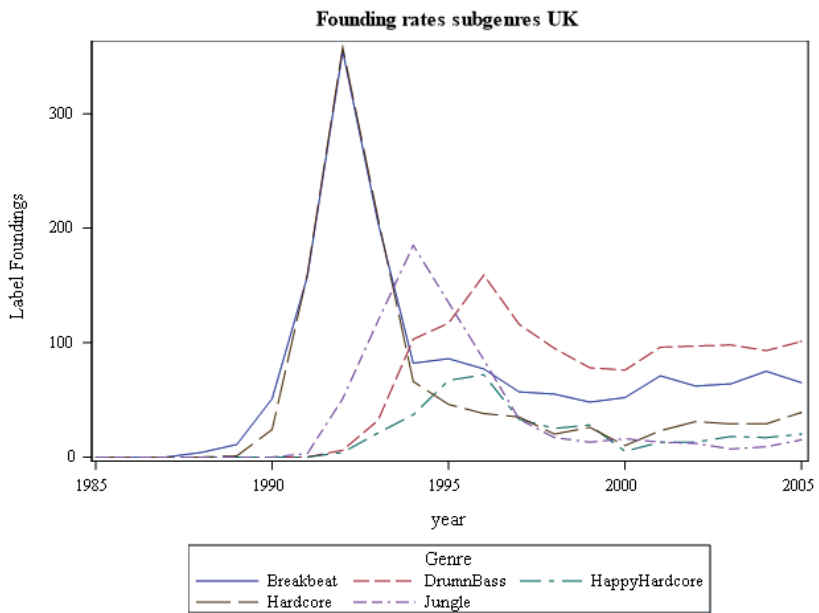


Figure 1c: UK Breakbeat cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

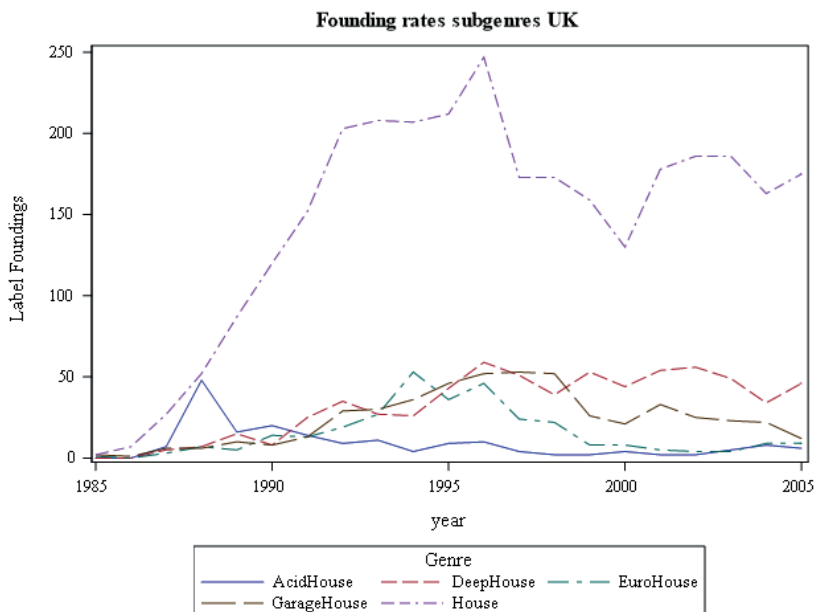


Figure 1c: UK House cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

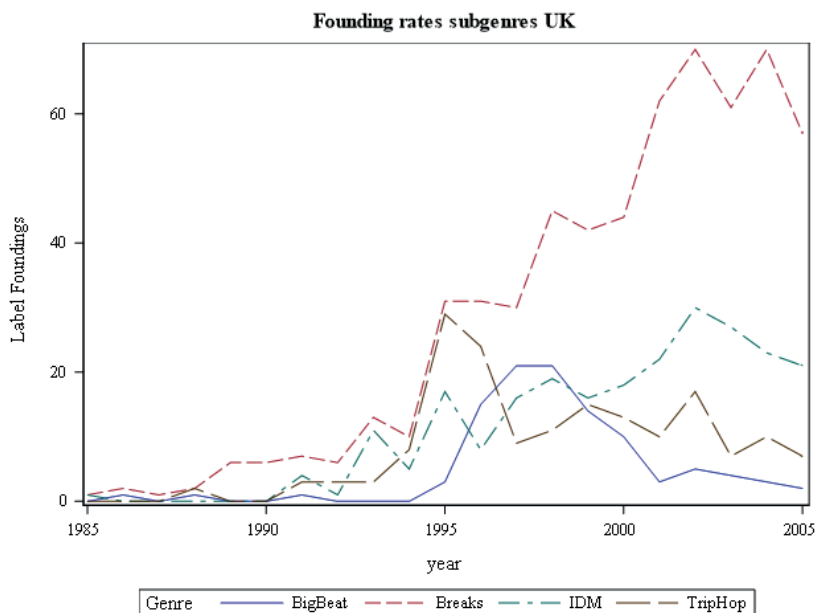


Figure 1d: UK Triphop cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data

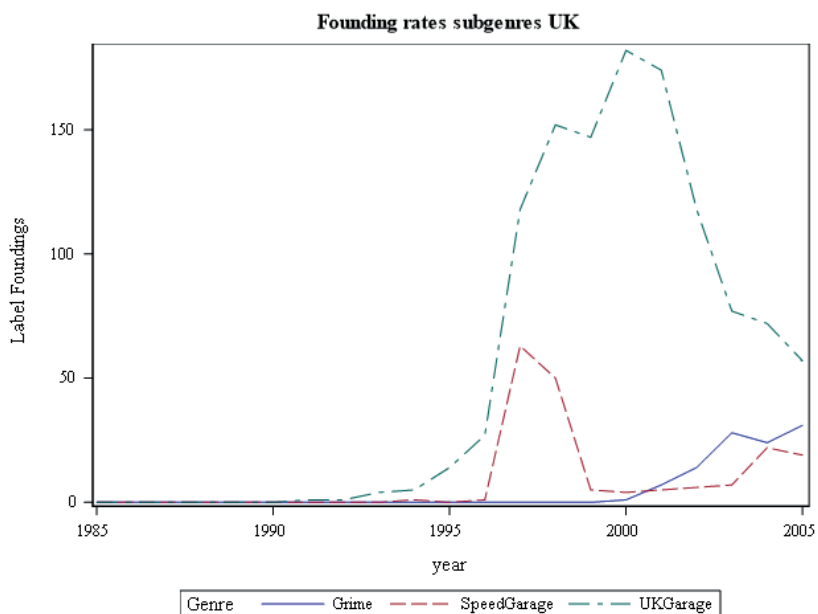


Figure 1e: UK Garage cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data..

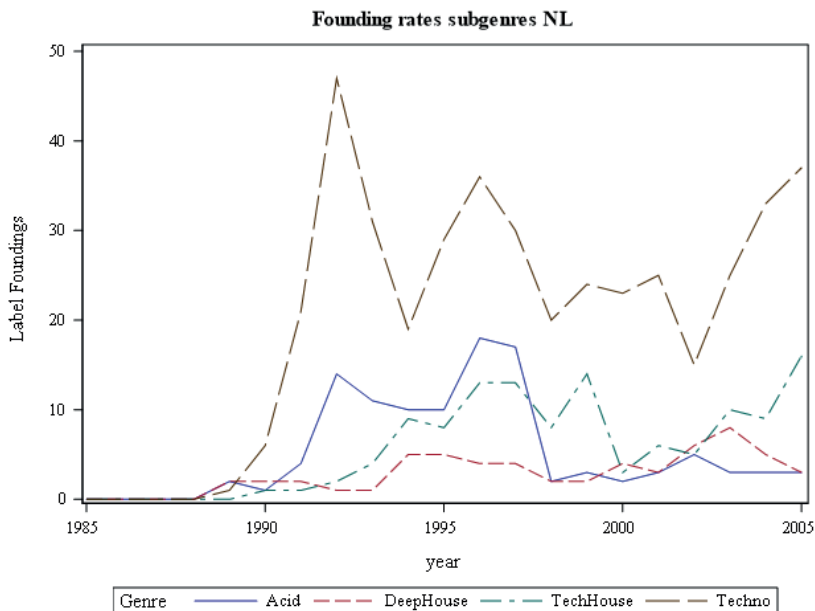


Figure 1f: NL Techno cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

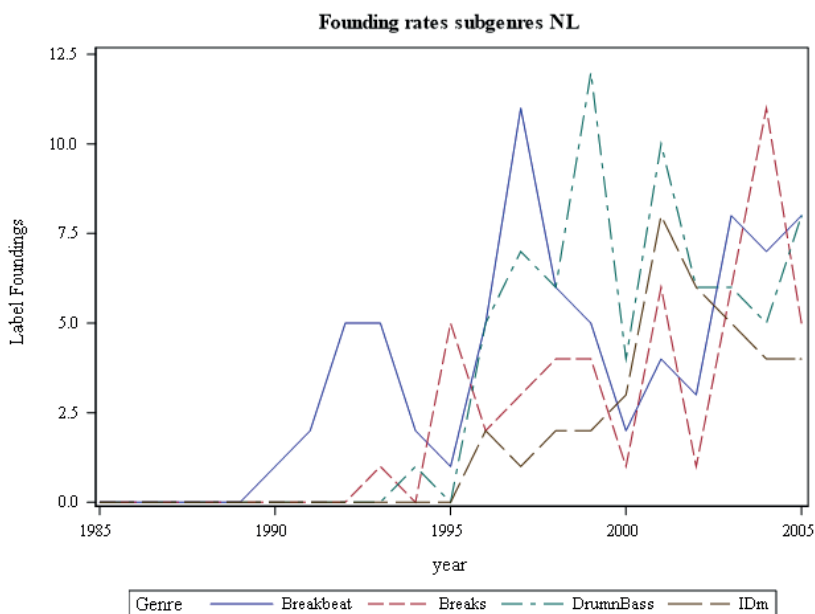


Figure 1g: NL Breatbeat cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

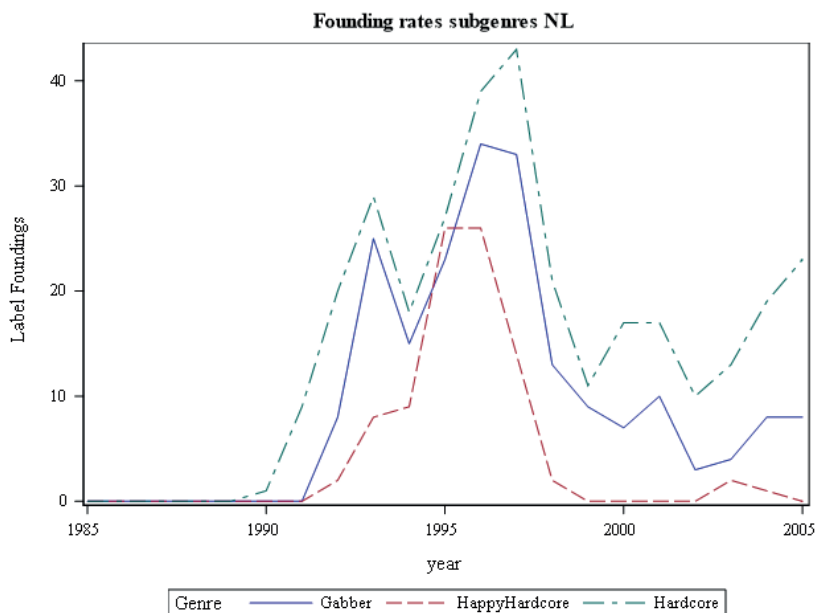


Figure 1h: NL Gabber cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

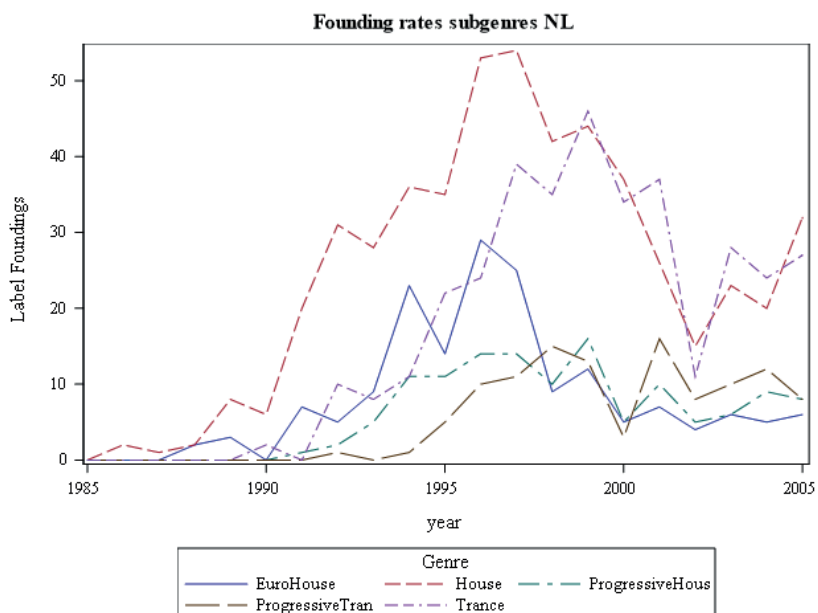


Figure 1i: NL House cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

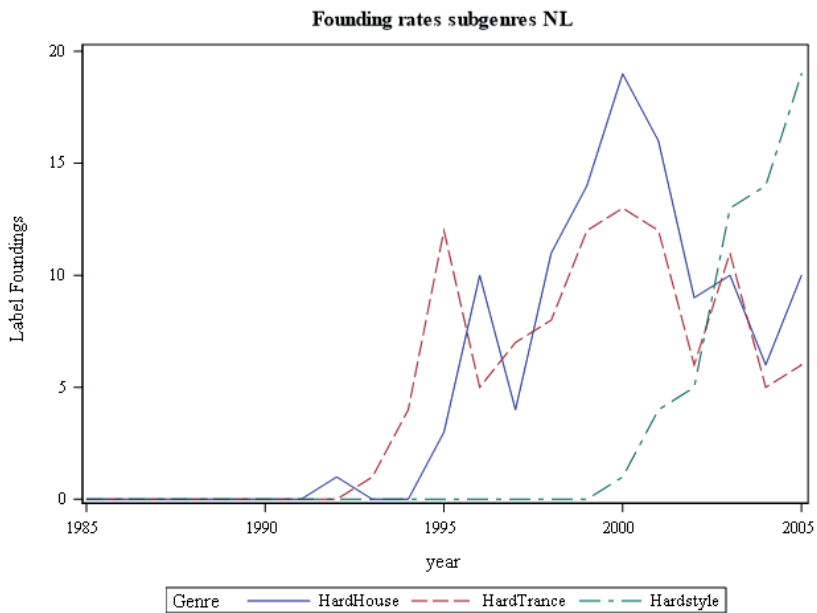


Figure 1j: NL Hardhouse cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

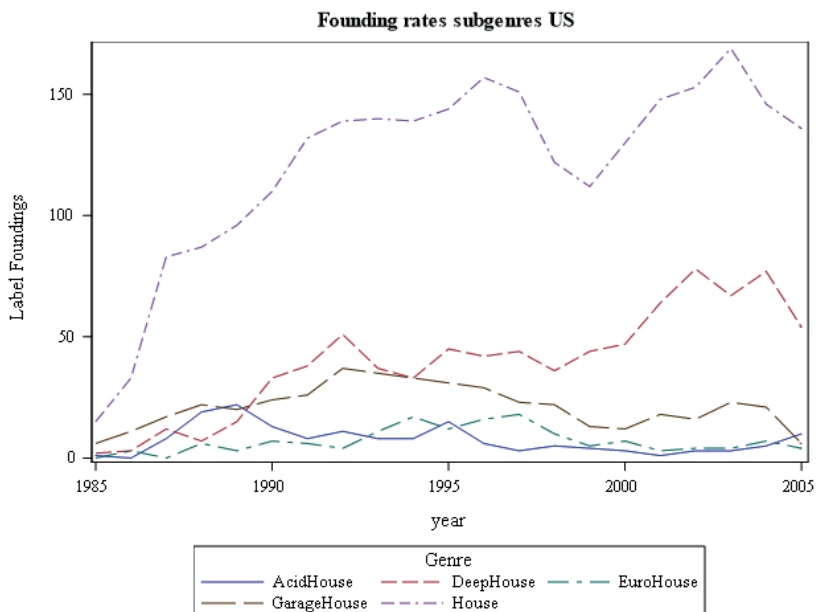
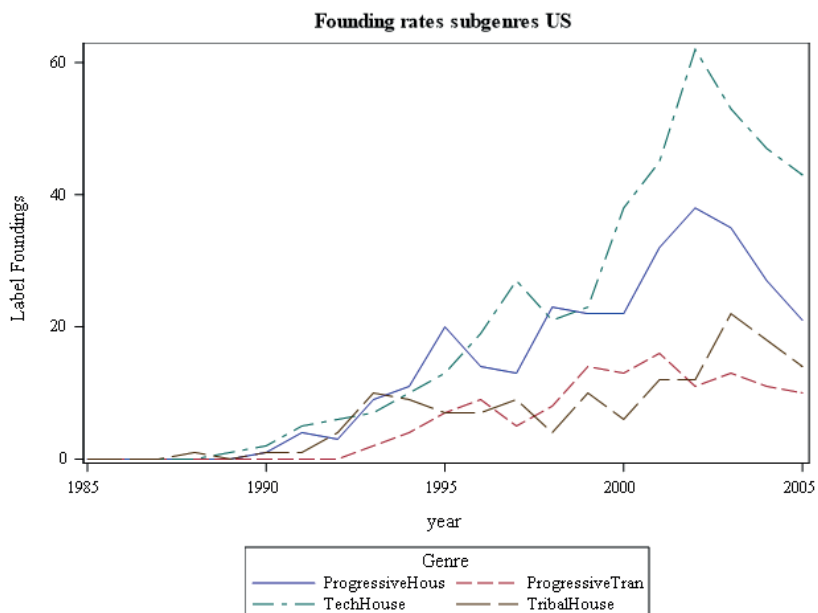
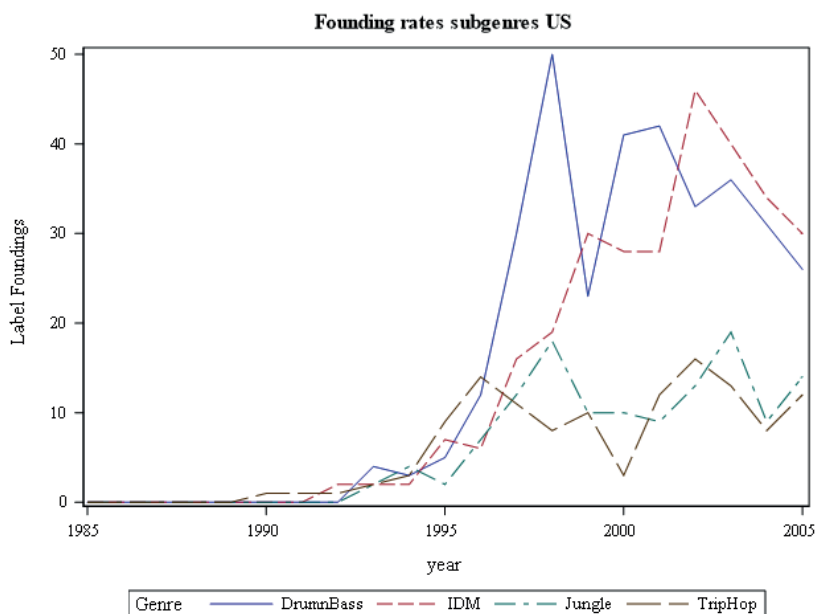


Figure 1k: US House cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.



**Figure 1l:** US Progressive House cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.



**Figure 1m:** US Drum'n' Bass cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

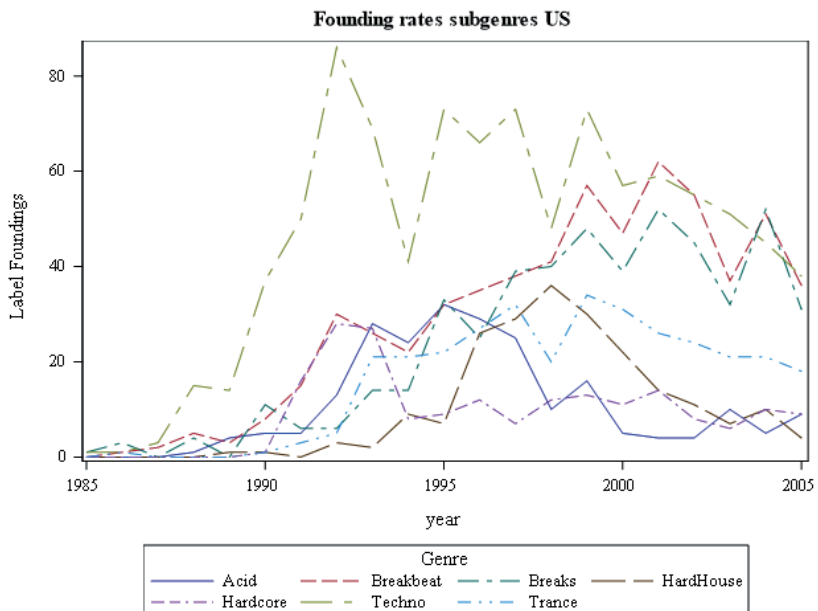


Figure 1n: US Techno cluster. *Source:* analysis of own data.

#### Appendix II: Granger causality tests

A Granger causality test considers influences between two variables in both directions, and can be used in situations where the causal relationship between two variables is contested. It is said that a variable “Granger causes” a second variable, if its past values have more predictive power than past values of that second variable alone (Pevhouse and Brozek, 2008). To assess the null hypothesis that one series does not Granger causes the other, analysts use a F-test ( p-values within the 0.05 significance level allow one to reject the null hypothesis). The following two equations give symmetrical Granger time series models with one year lagged independent variables:

$$\text{Share of dance hits}_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Share of dance hits}_{t-1} + \beta_2 \text{Dance label foundings}_{t-1} + \epsilon_t \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Dance label foundings}_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Dance label foundings}_{t-1} + \beta_2 \text{Share of dance hits}_{t-1} + \epsilon_t \quad (2)$$

Like most time series models, the Granger causality test requires stationary data, i.e., data characterized by a constant mean over time. This condition can be met by “differencing,” the data, i.e. working with the differences



between successive values in a time series (Yanovitzky & VanLear, 2008). A Dickey Fuller test confirms that first-order differencing yields a data structure that complies with the stationary condition. As for the lag-length selection, we compared the fit of independent variables with a two-year lag, a one-year lag, and the possibility of no delay. The model fit statistics, most importantly the Aiken Information Criterion, indicate that models with one-year lags best suit the time series dynamics of the data. Using Portmanteau tests, we checked whether the one-year lagged models had residual correlation, or so called “white noise.” The Portmanteau tests indicate that there is no residual correlation, reconfirming that one-year lagged models are appropriate for our data.

## *Appendices Chapter 5*

Appendix I: Data collection, pre-processing,  
and document classification

### *Collecting “dance music” newspaper articles*

Collecting newspaper articles for a broad-genre category such as dance music was not a straightforward task, and we finally used two strategies, that were applied side-by-side. The first strategy was to collect articles using the general term “DJ,” a word that can have ambiguous meanings. Apart from ambiguity in the realm of music (e.g. the word DJ can be used to refer to a radio DJ, a hip hop DJ, or a dance music DJ), DJ can also refer to the Dow Jones stock market index. As a result, the “DJ corpus” contains a considerable degree of ‘false-positive’ articles. Topic modeling, then, was used for document classification, i.e. inductively identifying which newspaper articles in each corpus relate more and less to the dance music genre category. A second strategy was to compile an extensive “dance music” query, including 77 specific substyles, which were identified in earlier studies (Van Venrooij, 2015) as being part of the “core” dance music genres (e.g. techno, drum ‘n’ bass, jungle, et cetera), as well as more general terms, such as “elec-

tronic music” and “dance music.”<sup>56</sup> Some of these words, especially when considered over an extended period of time also have ambiguous meanings. Here, too, topic modeling provided an efficient technique for document classification and selecting subsets of relevant articles for follow-up analyses.

### *Pre-processing the data*

The quality and interpretability of topic models largely depends on how well data are cleaned and preprocessed. These preprocessing steps, as well as topic modeling itself, were conducted in Python (mostly using Scikit-learn, an extensive Python machine learning library). Stop words (very common words such as ‘and,’ or ‘that’), digits, and words of less than three characters were removed. Words occurring in more than 50% of the documents per corpus (so-called corpus-specific stop words), and words occurring in less than 10 documents per corpus were omitted to improve a topic’s quality.

### *Document classification and coding topics for follow-up analysis*

After running topic models for the “DJ corpus” (articles containing the word “DJ”), and the “dance corpus” (i.e. articles containing one of the terms from the extensive query), we manually coded each model’s output. The

56 The following “dance music” query has been used to retrieve articles from The Guardian: (“acid house” OR acidhouse OR “big beat” OR bigbeat OR “break beat” OR breakbeat OR “break core” OR breakcore OR “chip tune” OR chiptune OR “dark ambient” OR darkambient OR “deep house” OR deephouse OR “drum ’n’ bass” OR “dub techno” OR dubtechno OR “dub step” OR dubstep OR “euro house” OR eurohouse OR gabber OR “garage house” OR garagehouse OR “goa trance” OR goatrance OR “happy hardcore” OR happyhardcore OR “hard house” OR hardhouse OR “hard trance” OR hardtrance OR “hard style” OR hardstyle OR “hip house” OR hiphouse OR IDM OR “intelligent dance music” OR illbient OR “italo dance” OR italo dance OR “jump style” OR jumpstyle OR makina OR “progressive house” OR progressivehouse OR “progressive trance” OR progressivetrance OR “psy trance” OR pytrance OR “speed garage” OR speedgarage OR “speed core” OR speedcore OR “tech house” OR techhouse OR “tribal house” OR tribalhouse OR “trip hop” OR triphop OR (techno W/10 music) OR (tekno W/10 music) OR (trance W/10 music) OR (acid w/10 music) OR (breaks w/10 music) OR (drone w/10 music) OR (drone w/10 house) OR (ghetto w/10 music) OR (ghetto w/10 house) OR (glitch w/10 music) OR (glitch w/10 house) OR (grime w/10 music) OR (grime w10 house) OR (hardcore w/10 house) OR (house w/10 music) OR (jungle w/10 music) OR (jungle w/10 house) OR (dance w/10 music) OR (electronic w/10 music) OR (rave w/10 music) OR (rave w/10 party)) publication(guardian)

notion of contextual polysemy, where terms derive meanings depending on their use context (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei 2013), became very apparent when coding topics. The word “house” may refer to a music genre, but when appearing next to words like “book,” “reading,” or “writing,” it is more likely to refer to a publishing house than a genre of music. In contrast, when the term “house” appears besides the words “club” and “party,” it is likely to be referring to a specific strain of dance music. Guided by the principle of polysemy, we coded topics as “dance music” topics when at least three words in a topic’s top-30 words were associated with the broad dance music genre category. To illustrate this, within the topic model output of the Guardian DJ corpus, topic 9 was selected to compile a sub-corpus. While words such as “dance,” “club,” and “house” are associated with dance music, the topic also contains multiple references to a wider musical spectrum, consisting of “rock,” “bands,” and “pop”:

Topic #9: music dance club people band record house night time clubs  
records london guide big djs rock sound play live going good bands got  
really scene playing old pop love set

The ‘document-topic matrix’ produced by the topic models shows each document’s probability of belonging to a topic, which is based on the overlap between each word in the document (stop words not included) and the words that comprise a topic (DiMaggio, Nag, and Blei 2013). This metric can be used to gauge how strongly or weakly individual documents (newspaper articles in this case) are associated with each topic. A dummy variable in the original document-topic matrix was added indicating for each newspaper article whether its probability of belonging to a topic was higher than one standard deviation above the mean. A list of ‘positive’ document titles with a relatively strong relationship with the selected topic(s) was then used to create a ‘DJ’ sub-corpus, a ‘dance’ sub-corpus. These were merged into a ‘combined sub-corpus’ (duplicate articles were removed), which formed the main primary dataset in the analysis (see Table 1. Separate topic models were run for each of the three corpora, and the models’ output can be found in Appendix III.).

Table 1. Overview of the corpora. *Source:* own data.

	<b>N articles</b>	<b>Topic selected for sub-corpora</b>	<b>N articles sub-corpus</b>
DJ corpus	5,244	Topic #9	917
Dance corpus	10,197	Topic #18	797
Main primary dataset (the combined sub-corpora)	1,595 (119 duplicates)	N/A	N/A

Our initial ‘wider’ search strategy allowed us to collect newspaper data on the various, and also evolving, dimensions of the field of electronic/dance music, rather than limiting the data priori to certain aspects of this field. Within the final topic model that was based on the combined Guardian sub-corpora some topics appeared as a theme of interest, namely a ‘moral panic’ topic (topic 4), a ‘festival’ topic (topic 11), and a ‘club’ topic (topic 10). These topics were selected to create subsets of newspaper articles, consisting of the top-100 articles associated with the topic under consideration. Along with the policy and legal documents, these were manually coded in Atlas.ti.

Appendix II: topics’ 30 top-words.

Content:

1. DJ corpus the Guardian
2. Dance corpus the Guardian
3. Combined sub-corpora the Guardian  
(i.e. the ‘main primary dataset’)

1) DJ corpus the Guardian:

Topic #0: people home time world night old way week young good  
work police going place make local city away pages got children  
head come big left school street best end days

Topic #1: radio station bbc music breakfast audience listeners  
media capital news programme evans stations chris london virgin  
channel presenter commercial live television million broadcasting  
week broadcast programmes air itv listening shows

Topic #2: otis dido estelle redding harvest stax renault replica  
funereal maid kit market menus engine gmtv lab chris way markets

information reporter aloof cent neptunes week rates street pounds  
washington magic

Topic #3: album music hop hip pop rap songs sound soul band  
rock artists musical song reggae track singer record lyrics albums  
records tracks debut york sounds label single guitar black style

Topic #4: dollars baker bush german germany franz alex budget  
house gold white germans taxes washington president deficit rapist  
reagan karl west tighter democratic election administration gramm  
rudman ounce rush festivities relieve

Topic #5: pour elle martine endemol mccutcheon dont dis sabrina  
plus nous etre deja nom higher cent market street rates newsdesk  
nouvelle radio london dollar share week prices rate index high  
growth

Topic #6: jazz john peel music festival classical musicians playing  
piece composer contemporary players davis pages free pianist quar-  
tet peterson musician concert pine saxophonist drummer marsalis  
london player bass sax walters avant

Topic #7: gay labour minister election political john prime party  
tony lord tory leader government dvd conservative nigel editor mi-  
chael politics secretary campaign director peter kennedy folk actor  
thatcher president murdoch david

Topic #8: life time people man think know world really did way  
good love book got old work thing little film pages make great  
going things called women long didn kind want

Topic #9: music dance club people band record house night time  
clubs records london guide big djs rock sound play live going good  
bands got really scene playing old pop love set

Topic #10: london england jones manchester smith west south  
north birmingham total league belfast david lee east season martin  
ian williams cup john captain davies leeds flintoff connell hill rob  
ball green

Topic #11: ftse early high close low share change index yield city  
dow markets hang nikkei seng euro pages shares key million cac  
dax aim closed nasdaq eurotop points kong hong quarter

Topic #12: market cent street wall rates points yesterday prices  
jones dow markets stock index dollar economy rate financial trad-  
ing fall share london economic bank york mark rise billion figures  
news industrial

Topic #13: jaxx elastica blondie ratcliffe inches timbaland por-  
tishead royksopp gum flavoured market president markets taste  
points bluetones stock chewing dollar cent york dollars wall good  
lauryn prices american lower world street

Topic #14: apex oak conservatives voted rates markets speaker  
vote yesterday market rise prices cent street week world share dol-  
lar wall saint government labour trading early toe cornwall division  
commons index points

Topic #15: company business group money industry companies  
government internet case market public use law marketing pay le-  
gal pounds time director british court online management number  
work people service make chief deal

Topic #16: black rock white best african elvis africa roll south blues  
britney spears nme brits jackson week presley racial singer oxide  
brown whites billie america country memphis jive video piper  
apartheid

Topic #17: pounds million price lloyd market kim extras matthew  
geldof watkiss lyons tickets ran plus gardner oil ringtones insur-  
ance bpi sugar sven cent saudi sales syndicate annual mars ghana  
accommodation prices

Topic #18: lab poll change green plaid minor alliance party work-  
ers byelection loony caused jour independent gain nus roberts wall  
people midsummer price forth bull peak dre slack burden jones  
reagan social

Topic #19: caruso shiver cushion lab switching poll wall street trading cent points market dollar lower jones change dow faint scandals west index mark yesterday federal rise growth early party london point

2) Dance corpus the Guardian:

Topic #0: carnival dst hill close brazilian alexis rio brazil sky notting parade sports shipping alex samba morrison caribbean world wild golf jaxx aerobics christina trinidad doherthy sao outlook dancing floats surf

Topic #1: city house pounds town street place hotel night bar local road park home food travel room island old water building beach open centre small built houses sea great restaurant best

Topic #2: uni sony japanese japan london tokyo business wolverhampton management central bertelsmann yen electronics nokia warner met european westminster studies goldfrapp childs nana teesside universal german finance electronic bank mary keegan

Topic #3: pounds sound cds eno recording flamenco disc spanish record tape emi gypsy recordings vinyl philips discs recorded spain audio electronic compact del madrid price player cassette midi polygram sounds tapes

Topic #4: record black pop british people hip records artists culture hop london success early rap rock young york way britain popular label american career world single industry white soul best mainstream

Topic #5: pounds company arts million money business government people public director council house group cent companies national week yesterday market industry opera british make chief executive work london management labour pay

Topic #6: wilson berlin church fred coleman portsmouth oliver stockhausen henderson brian deller adams sonny die meek ornette numan german lesley walter rollins bishop astaire coltrane saints roth gary irving reid dali

Topic #7: opera work musical orchestra classical performance  
piece composer piano hall london works concert festival symphony  
world century pages pieces great audience composers leader con-  
temporary performances ensemble playing musicians played early

Topic #8: film theatre films story best play movie drama produc-  
tion comedy novel star hollywood characters director cinema actors  
television movies life plays american actor series screen stage shows  
video love west

Topic #9: john news england bbc world david services michael  
radio today peter richard james taylor george paul director robert  
scottish jones service mary lord charles alan william night football  
morning strauss

Topic #10: radio world station pages way sound make people  
mobile big live week media space buy different stations channel use  
magazine number used cable electronic tracks web design audience  
want play

Topic #11: world black war culture country british south african  
french political britain cultural africa europe white american euro-  
pean indian paris people western france state english west america  
international history foreign women

Topic #12: ballet dancers company royal dancing choreography  
stage theatre dancer work london choreographer judith mackrell  
wells morris score danced dances sadler opera programme office  
ballets box season piece steps balanchine cunningham

Topic #13: people life way did think know work man old make got  
things really didn't good thought went want children going family  
come came great long left school mother told little

Topic #14: internet digital online computer apple software  
technology video player ipod download phone media games users  
industry microsoft market service site players net company use  
sony audio sales available napster companies



Topic #15: pounds school london children art arts festival education university schools theatre centre national community students manchester services museum guide work college free young gallery events south edinburgh exhibition teachers street

Topic #16: good night big look really bit got old thing little way man men white girls know house boys going sex love women black stage doesn't girl hair come best people

Topic #17: band album jazz songs rock pop sound song guitar bass singer playing albums sounds bands musical track love soul john funk live drum musicians set best blues play folk voice

Topic #18: people police club house party drugs drug night clubs home parties rave ecstasy acid djs london young court prison yesterday crime ibiza weekend event law manchester clubbing officers scene garage

Topic #19: russian asian soviet moscow russia union petersburg western pakistan bhangra stalin russians shostakovich boris couture sawhney vladimir punjabi iran taliban dior malik mylo yuri pol sinclair nitin rostropovich casino mcburney

### 3) Combined sub-corpora the Guardian:

Topic #0: bbc film surrey request application newspapers producer spokeswoman pat incidents cover tested succeeded covering ability occurred riot requests automatic subsequent proceedings rare ulster feature funeral counties charged staff fashion prevention

Topic #1: carnival notting hill goa seizures cent customs cocaine pounds value increase cannabis holland million seized synthetic tourism heroin lsd abroad continuing doses total rise rose increasingly massive ecstasy minister compared

Topic #2: city manchester centre hacienda radio glasgow community london belfast local station town street area pounds project stations parade pirate guns wilson miami million gangs northern young brixton victims capital building

Topic #3: trance van die dyk man paul berlin hat german den war  
hypnotic psychedelic energy latest steam fans techno let art hit ed-  
ucation send mag bay atmospheric hardcore aggression effects beat

Topic #4: police drugs drug home party ecstasy yesterday rave  
young parties court told officers pounds government prison night  
local public men use time law taken death london man crime crim-  
inal acid

Topic #5: noise asian jackson notice nuisance singer johnny loud  
limit pollution time kitchen acts western served birmingham tour  
preparing period effect sony applied nottingham required continu-  
ing noisy require address abandon national

Topic #6: gay crash ghetto alternative fears swept rumours news-  
papers liberation issues lifestyle discuss black ended lifestyles  
embarrassing markets legitimate group approach market emi post  
understood led publishing fall surge hiv known

Topic #7: festival glastonbury dance event festivals gathering  
pounds tribal tent weekend events weatherall park tickets rock  
stage mean fiddler chemical brothers universe primal scream  
creamfields summer reading site outdoor union andrew

Topic #8: like time club record good got going band really dance  
old think way know night records make rock want come thing  
london pop big lot album play did world life

Topic #9: noel oasis liam gallagher manchester graffiti thomas  
graham stone roses guitar beatles band mark recalls london didn  
went boys gig took home scene songs football worked city later  
soon drums

Topic #10: dublin ireland irish children aged panel bomb brazil  
patric told john court home jordan switch allegations crown collins  
continues christmas guilty foster alleged member baird trial acts  
peter return letter

Topic #11: acid parties drug drugs police party hangar dance

pounds events young yesterday got night regulations white time  
amphetamine anarchic blocks court public told like law street club  
organisers mysterious produced

Topic #12: johnson village horn district victims burning dominated  
simultaneously deep pistols pick positively familiar selected remote  
hysterical area witnesses merchants fled division violence occurred  
heavily backs yesterday hail time shot automatic

Topic #13: twins ron birthday rock parties celebrations police party  
organisers sentences yesterday like eddie correspondent concert  
recommended know really group moscow ronnie authorities asked  
hat fines boxing big acid didn folk

Topic #14: black like winston noel acid drugs police dance party  
club records white drug scene went sheffield youth kids london lot  
make pop organisers started record young came set did going

Topic #15: night police pounds opera cent english london pulled  
killing half tickets ibiza pint performance tourists arena men can-  
nabis customs riot britain like staged seizures rose going football  
outside antonio white

Topic #16: acid ira brief party news hayter colston injunction  
arrests fined pounds lines tony yesterday parties magistrates aged  
bombing buckinghamshire warwickshire leeds jailed coventry  
staging impression brick fines admitted invite fresh

Topic #17: vocal jaunty considerably personalities alexander lets  
stripped rumour speech rumoured hugely palace rock moscow  
yesterday party continues want reputation rap like tone altogether  
birthday source acid know chat struggle police

Topic #18: chinese china kong hong economy rights political an-  
drew economic strategy foreign introduce cultural transition prison  
pro dance expand ministry video working information latest review  
serving poet charge hundreds tickets dancers

Topic #19: guide dance club clubs night london sound djs hip ibiza

hop techno preview live bass big party set jazz street like soul disco  
album scene bar funk garage nights john

### Appendix III: A moral panic in Daily Mail coverage

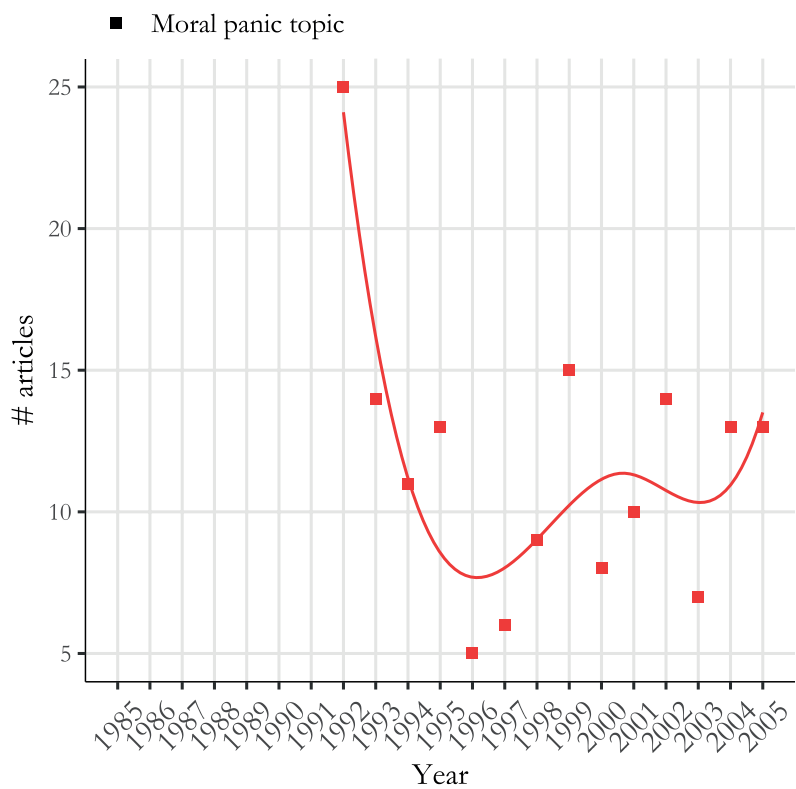
While the main analysis demonstrated that moral panic articles associated with dance music dissipated in *The Guardian*, it may have been possible that this type of coverage persisted in British tabloid newspapers, which initiated the moral panic in the first place. To test this, we examined whether the course of the moral panic manifested itself differently in *The Guardian* from the *Daily Mail*, a tabloid known for its more sensationalist style of writing. Newspaper articles from the *Daily Mail* were unfortunately only available from 1992 onwards in LexisNexis.<sup>57</sup> However, this still allowed us to examine whether the prevalence of moral panic-related articles, such as those in *The Guardian*, decreased over time. Figure 1 shows the number of articles associated with a “moral panic” topic in the *Daily Mail* (Topic #27).<sup>58</sup> During the period for which data were available, the highest number of moral panic-related articles occurred in 1992, whilst by 1996 they were at their lowest point, after which there was a slight increase, as can be seen in *The Guardian* data. Interestingly, the top-30 key words for the moral panic topics in both the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* are also strikingly similar. Whilst the style of both newspaper titles may have been notably different, this suggests that the actors and events on which both newspapers focused were rather similar.

#### Topic #27 (*Daily Mail* corpus):

drugs police drug ecstasy yesterday parents night taken taking told hospital home died friends court young death rave mrs club family girl cocaine tablets party heard mother house took cannabis

57 For other tabloid titles, there was an even more limited availability of newspaper articles in the LexisNexis database.

58 This analysis is based on a 30-topic model using *Daily Mail* articles (N 1798) published from 1992 to 2005. They were retrieved using the “dance music” query (see Appendix I).



**Figure 1.** A moral panic topic in the *Daily Mail* corpus. *Source:* analysis of own data.

