

Chapter Five

INDUSTRIAL MUSIC VERSUS THE MUSIC INDUSTRY:

The Dissemination of Industrial

5.0 Introduction: How is industrial disseminated and mediated?

In the last chapters I touched on how industrial fan ideologies interact with the commercial music industry. It was shown how some fans demanded that the music remain unpopular in order to maintain a stable sense of community ('It's not music for the masses, it's music for a handful of people that really care'). I also indicated that some artists sought to maintain their underground integrity by remaining outside the commercial industry ('This is why I want to stay isolated and independent'),²³³ and that some uphold an anti-capitalist ideology.

The interaction between the music and different levels of the production, distribution and consumption process is inevitably affected by the ideological positions of those involved. Many fans are anti-capitalist, but, as Matt Hills points out, many fans are also 'commodity-completists' (2002: 28).²³⁴ In this chapter I will examine how

233 Here 'independent' refers to those labels with no affiliation to a major label.

234 *cf.* Cavicchi (1998:62). By 'commodity completists' is meant those fans that desire to obtain an artist's every release for their collection.

compromises may be reached between ideology and reality in a market economy. In doing so, I examine how the music is produced, marketed, advertised, distributed and sold, all on an independent level largely outside the sphere of the commercial music industry.

I begin the chapter with a (simplified) overview of the distribution chain with the artist. Here I examine how the use of electronic technology has meant that artists are able to produce music without the need for formal training, and are able to record the music within the confines of their homes. Next, I will explore the network of labels, distributors and retail outlets, and the close ties between these forms of distribution that serve to reinforce their collective sense of opposition. I will then look at how fans learn about new artists and how these industrial artists are enveloped in a particular image in order to distinguish themselves and their music from other genres. In discussing the mediation and distribution of the music, I will also show how these boundaries and ideologies are formed and maintained.

5.1 The Dissemination of Industrial Music

One of the primary differentiating factors between the way independent and major label distribution channels work is I will refer to as the ‘locus of control’, which is illustrated in the following diagrams:

5.1.0.0 Major Label Locus of Control

The locus of control for corporate-owned music tends to be the label. The major label artist is likely to have a mediator between themselves and the label, typically a manager hired by the artist. The label then hires a producer for the artist—only occasionally is this someone the artists choose for themselves. The label or the artist's management will work with their own marketing team, which promotes the product to the various media, often literally purchasing space through advertising or through a type of payola system that benefits those working for these media. The label typically works in partnership with or owns the distributor, and the distributor is usually told what product will sell based on how much it has been promoted. The label may partially own the retail store/chain (such as the HMV-EMI connection), or rent prime floor space, sometimes in part-exchange for a cheaper deal on product. The retail store must then sell that product to the consumer in order for the store to make a profit, having given it the store's prime floor space. This selling is usually accomplished through yet more product-placement merchandising.²³⁵

For example, the major label may tell the chain store that they will give the store a low price on the latest Kylie Minogue album so that the store may undercut their

²³⁵ See du Gay and Negus (1994) for more about chain stores.

competitors that month, on the conditions that Kylie be given endcap space,²³⁶ that large quantities are purchased by the store, and that the store also push an artist the label are trying to break, which I will call 'XYZ'. The store may then place both Kylie and XYZ on endcaps, as well as in listening stations, play them in rotation over the store speakers, and place posters advertising both Kylie and XYZ, and the sale prices in store. The store specifically advocating those products may also advertise over radio, television, or print, to ensure there is enough demand for the bulk quantities that the store ordered. The store may even sell the products at a loss in order to bring the customer into the store, thereby further increasing sales.

Meanwhile, Kylie and XYZ has been in heavy rotation on the radio and music television programs. Expensive press packs and interviews with the major magazines have ensured that press coverage is complete. DJs have been informed by the label's marketing group that XYZ will be the 'next big thing', and so they play it to be sure they do not miss the boat. The aim that XYZ will be the next big thing often becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. The customer at the retail chain store, while not in a position of being a 'dupe', is far more likely to purchase XYZ, which he or she could also buy alongside what he or she originally intended to purchase.²³⁷

236 Those racks at the ends of aisles, facing the customer as they walk in and around the store.

237 This is based on my own experience in two chains (Virgin and Future Shop), where staff were expected to sell at least two CDs per customer, and 'add-on' sell any new releases, particularly since the new releases were sold at or below cost price.

5.1.0.1 Independent Label Locus of Control

By contrast, the locus of control in the independent chain of command (like that common to industrial) is much more evenly distributed, but is more likely to be the artists themselves. The independent artist is likely to seek out and work with a label directly,²³⁸ and may even be involved in the promotion of their own music.²³⁹ The label may distribute its own product, use an independent distributor (they are unlikely to use a major distributor, for reasons described below), or ship directly to the consumer (through mail order, internet, etc.). The artists may even sell the product themselves at concerts. They are more likely to use independent retailers, as the chain stores are generally uninterested in buying from independent distributors, or buying product of which they can only sell small quantities (see below). The customer that does not buy directly will likely have to ask the store to special order the product, which the shop requests from the distributor or directly from the label. Since this process involves more of an interaction, rapport is more likely to be built between the customer and the store, creating a stronger bond. The store may order future product

238 Despite advances with MP3 and cheaper production costs, an independent artist is still likely to use a label.

239 Primarily because an independent label has limited money for marketing. Artists are usually responsible for trying to set up a table to sell their own product at gigs, and are trusted to return sales money to the label afterwards. Frequently artists are permitted to print their own T-shirts or other non-musical products to sell, where they may recoup some of their costs for touring.

of the same or similar artists, since that customer will likely come in again to purchase albums, once he/she has established a rapport with the shop.²⁴⁰

The customer who buys the music of artists produced by independent labels is likely to be involved in the entire process, participating in the promotion of the product and spreading it through word of mouth.²⁴¹ The artist is felt to be more ‘authentic’ by fans as the artist is more likely to produce the album in the ways in which the artist wishes it to sound.²⁴² Fans feel they are more ‘authentic’ as a customer, because they have actively sought out the music. The reliance on more direct sales and the avoidance of a star system brings the artist closer to the fan’s level, which involves more egalitarianism and less hierarchy (see Hesmondhalgh 1998). Fans of the independent artists often reject artists when they begin to emerge as stars, thereby excluding those who threaten to disrupt the existing structure. Because consumers feel they have more control over the process—over what they are buying—they get satisfaction from the

240 I have experienced this with independent stores who became familiar with my buying tastes. Encore Records in Kitchener, Ontario, knows their customer well, and, had I asked about an artists, would have it on the shelf the next time I came in, even if I had not ordered it. Working at a chain store, I became familiar with the buying tastes of a few regular customers, however, we were not allowed to pre-order any CDs without a formal ordering form filled in, so the process fell apart.

241 Statistics from the questionnaire indicated 60% of fans were involved in the community in some other way than merely as a consumer (DJ, fanzine writer, artist, label, etc.).

242 Even ignoring musical elements, major labels may even change the artist’s name or album covers to ensure major retailers will stock them and that they will reach the ‘right’ markets.

fact that they are buying from an independent. Consequently, the independent record buyer is more likely perhaps to make further ideological distinctions of commercial versus independent.

Industrial's marketing and distribution as a particular independent network lie nearly completely outside the more commercial channels. Like the major label system, the independent network seems to have a kind of circular reinforcing pattern. For instance, independent stores generally lack SoundScan devices,²⁴³ so sales of industrial music do not usually enter the major charts (e.g. Billboard), even if the albums are selling more than other chart CDs. We can sometimes see this phenomenon by looking at alternative chart systems such as CMJ, or the DACs (Deutsche Alternative Charts), which may have an industrial artist at number one, even though that artist is nowhere to be found in retail sales charts. When I worked in a chain music store and noticed such disparity, upon making orders to head office was told 'we're not shipping that, that's not selling!' Such a reliance on commercial charts thereby keeps even popular independent artists out of stores and sales figures.

243 Soundscan, and other EPOS (Electronic Point of Sale) devices are barcode scanners which report sales to one central agency. These sales reports are then used to compile many of the major sales charts (see [Http://home.soundscan.com](http://home.soundscan.com) 22/07/02). Sometimes charts are even determined based on how many units the distributing warehouse has shipped—so that even if the album is not selling, it will appear in the charts.

Having summarised the basic set-up of independent distribution versus the commercial system, I will now examine how such a set-up affects industrial in terms of production and distribution.

5.1.1 The Artist: Electronic Technology And Industrial

Since industrial music is primarily electronically generated, it is worth engaging in a brief summary of what this has meant for those involved. As I will show, electronic sound generation has a unique position within the sphere of music-making. Technology's effect on genres is often overlooked by genre studies, in terms not only of what sounds musicians might conceive and what musical restraints are generated by the use of the technology, (Moore 1993: 105), but also of what channels of production and distribution are opened up by instrumentation choices.

My intent here is not to provide a history of music technology and its implications for the music industry in general,²⁴⁴ but rather to examine technology as it relates specifically to industrial. I am therefore focusing on the use of music technology for production, not as it relates to consumption.²⁴⁵

244 For such work, see Théberge (1997) or Jones (1992).

245 Although perhaps with the advent of the internet and MP3 technologies, there have been some new avenues in democratising distribution and in increasing the exposure independent music can affordably achieve.

Most industrial music today, as we saw in Chapter One, is created using samplers, synthesisers and sequencers. The use of this technology has meant that ‘musicians have been able to work without certain band members or, in the case of songwriters, to produce fully-arranged demo tapes without the aid of outside collaborators’ (Théberge 1997: 112). In the case of industrial, which has a fairly diluted fan-base geographically, the use of synthesisers has meant that its musical production has been able to thrive in areas where there was a single musician who was unable to find other band members.²⁴⁶

In the early 1980s, synthesisers became cheaper, first enjoying mass popularity with the Yamaha DX7 in 1983. However, as Théberge points out, price barriers were only one of several factors that contributed to the popularity of digital musical instruments in the 1980s. Other factors include a cottage industry of sound patches (like samples), which reduced the need for programming, and MIDI (1997: 74). As the technology developed, industrial developed alongside it.

Essentially, all the elements of a typical industrial song, except for the vocals (synthesizers, percussion, sampling), are all very closely related, and very simple for one person to handle. Computers and sequencers make having other people to play your parts unnecessary, and allow for one person to have a more singular vision of a song [Bogart].

246 Electronic equipment can also make up for the fact that this individual does not necessarily have to be a vocalist either: between distortion effects and other processing technology, vocals can be made passable to fans however poor they are originally.

With synthesisers, particularly with MIDI and internet technology,²⁴⁷ it has been possible to work on projects long-distance with other musicians, and some artists have been involved in collaborative projects without ever meeting each other:

[One] collaboration was done by mailing each other midi files, sample files etc. ... and playing things down to the phone to each other for reactions and input. I'd say a great deal of my work in the last few years has been done by collaborating with people in mainland Europe and the USA and never meeting in person. Takshaka for example: I am based in Cumbria, England, my band mate is in San Diego USA. I get raw audio data from Sharon Maher. She records around San Francisco and we're getting some additional vocals from Nicolle of Neutral and she's in Denver USA. The technology makes it possible [Jonathan Sharp].

Steve Jones (1992: 11) points out the democratising potential offered by new music technology.²⁴⁸ Home recording has meant 'artists [can] capture musical ideas on the spur of the moment in the form of demo tapes' (1992: 167), allowing for more

247 Notably, Distributed Real-time Groove Network, which offers musicians the opportunity to collaborate over the internet.

248 Although technology is frequently presented with an optimistic view of its potential, there have also been several drawbacks. Rather than the computer democratising the musical process for all, it seems to have primarily democratised it for white middle-class Western males. For, while anybody can learn to use the technical aspects of computers, it is typically still such males who can afford to who do so (see Locher 1998, Bradby 1993: 156). Therefore, while relatively affordable in terms of creating a finished product in a home studio, technology has been exclusive to some. Nevertheless, the equipment continues to lower in cost, and the basics one needs to make industrial music could realistically be had by using software synths and samplers downloaded free (either through shareware programs or illegally) off the internet if one has a computer. Despite advances in software synths, most industrial artists continue to use hardware to make the music, although usually sequencing it using software.

experimentation, a vital attribute as seen to the industrial aesthetic. Multitrack recording, too, has meant that music produced in a studio ‘need no longer bear any relationship to anything that can be performed live’ (Frith in Théberge 1997: 76).

Not only do various technological advances offer this democratising potential at the instrumentation level, but also at production levels, as home studios offering near-professional sound at a reasonably affordable price are available for those who can learn to use the equipment. This means there is no need, in theory, for the ‘music industry’, because all aspects from creation, production, mastering and distribution can be achieved from the home PC.²⁴⁹ The proliferation of relatively affordable home studio technology has meant that industrial can exist independent of major label money, thereby not merely surviving, but thriving at an underground level. Musicians are therefore able to produce music *they* want to create and hear, rather than what a record company executive or producer perceives the market does. The need for expensive studio time is eliminated in most cases, and artists can take the time to learn the equipment themselves. Most artists interviewed were in fact self-taught after a minimal amount of musical training.

I am self taught in all the instruments that I actually use. I took a music class in Grade 9, and learned the Double Bass, but that is my only form of formal music training... [I learn by] trial and error, mostly. In going from MOD trackers to hard disk recording and analog synth programming, every step in between had something new to learn that applied to the next

249 Although, due to this very fact, the flooding of the internet with one-person-and-computer artists has meant that mediators are often necessary in order for artists to get their music heard.

step, so there was never really a harsh transition where I had to out and out learn an entire new discipline at once [Bogart].

The idea of independence, while not in practice completely feasible, is perhaps especially important not only for any music with an anti-corporate attitude, but also for music that has no perceived 'market' at which the majors can push product. The music can continue to develop outside the scope of the major music industry, but inside a form of cottage industry which includes independent specialists in different areas of production, and therefore achieve a perceived 'authenticity' by remaining independent of market forces. It becomes a requirement for the continuation of genres such as industrial to maintain these channels of creation and distribution, whether it is through the desktop-published fanzine, the independent designers, composers and producers, or the actual distribution itself (more recently for instance through MP3, although the internet remains primarily a marketing, rather than a distribution tool).

Although perhaps for a large part an idealistic concept, most fans felt that industrial artists are not 'in it for the money'. In fact, a few artists carry on a double musical life of a popular style for the purpose of making money, and an industrial style for enjoyment—or 'authentic' artistic expression.²⁵⁰ Others work elsewhere by day and make the music in their spare time. The fans then perceive this as being more authentic

250 For instance, Delerium has collaborated with popular Canadian vocalist Sarah McLachlan, and appeared on Top of the Pops, while their industrial alter-ego Front Line Assembly has not enjoyed such success. A similar double-life exists in many musical worlds—see for instance Rósz (1982).

music, because the artists are not being forced through contractual or financial obligations to create the music, but because they have a desire to create music.

5.1.2 The Industrial Record Label

The independent artist is more likely to maintain creative control over his or her own music by signing to an independent label. Some recent attempts at re-aligning independent record companies as interdependent on major labels (e.g. Negus 1992: 17-18), has been argued by Hesmondhalgh to be a ‘blanket dismissal ... of all independent cultural production as either petit-bourgeois entrepreneurial capitalism, or as a feeder sector for the major corporations’ (1996: 263). This dismissal has ‘marginalised the role of independent record companies and, in so doing, trivialised the concerns of producers (musicians, mixers, staff, etc.) who seek to make an active difference to the organisational and aesthetic forms of the music business’ (1996: 263). Hesmondhalgh has shown that, in fact, independent companies ‘have continued to act, during a period of intense corporate oligopolisation and conglomeration, as a locus of oppositional activism for those who wish to provide alternatives to the mainstream industry’ (1996: 264).

An examination of an industrial fanzine will likely reveal tens, if not hundreds of independent industrial labels. These labels are most often started by fans of the genre who scrape together enough money to put out their own or a friend’s release, and grow from there. Typically producing between one and five releases a year, such labels most often print between one and ten thousand copies of each release. Many labels do

not last for more than a few years, which is likely due to inexperience and the fact that many labels are created for sheer enjoyment of the music, rather than for profit-making purposes. For example:

Many of us work in the evening to do the extra things, like writing answers for an interview. But it's something we prefer rather than watching TV all night ... We all make a minimum wage, simply because it's enough, and we [would] rather put the money back into Staalplaat and make great packaging than have a swimming pool in the backyard (Staalplaat, in *DLK* #6:19).

I like the fact that we don't run our label as a business. It's very low stress and we don't deal with contracts and lawyers and egos. It's on a very friendly basis and the people who do records with us are very cool (Josh of Alleysweeper in *Sonic Boom* [Http://www.sonic-boom.com](http://www.sonic-boom.com) [12/09/99]).

For these labels the focus is not on money but on artistic integrity, something which the fans appreciate. There is little competition between the smaller labels, as is clearly witnessed through the links pages on their websites. Rather, labels see the promotion of the genre in general as beneficial to their label, and many have co-operated to help with distribution and advertising costs:

The amount of money spent on print adverts really kills the average DIY label. We have found that doing the average print ad runs between \$300 and \$600 [US], while the average recording budget (manufacturing and printing of inserts for the release) is around \$1500 to \$1700 for a release of 1000 units. The payback from said ads may be only a few units. As a label you still have to show the world a presence. This has led Arts Industria to join forces with other like minded labels to form a collective with idea of sharing promotional costs (ours is called The Collective) [Ken, Arts Industria].

It would be difficult to imagine such partnership occurring amongst major labels, and clearly the independents see the advantages of working collectively, in opposition to

the majors. Those people running the labels today maintain an anti-corporate ideology which filters through to fans. There are strong ideals of integrity and authenticity among the labels, artists and fans, tied up with the notion of being independent. Nevertheless, remaining outside the major label system also brings many difficulties, particularly when it comes to distribution.

5.1.3 *The Distributors*²⁵¹

Almost all labels I have spoken with have related problems concerning distributors not paying them on time. One of the larger independents reported that when Cargo (USA/Canada) went out of business in the late 1990s the label was still owed a ‘six-figure amount’ [Michael]. The biggest problem for the independent labels seems to be distributors who can hold the label’s money due to clauses that guarantee stores the ability to return product that does not sell. This obviously ties up much of the label’s money. Label owner Chase, from the now-defunct Reconstruction label, frequently wrote columns of advice in fanzines, and has written ‘there is no such thing as a good music distributor, only different degrees of evil’ (*Industrial Nation* #13: 91). He lists the main problems as finding a distributor who will take industrial music, getting swindled, and paying lawyers to try to get the money back (*Industrial Nation* #13: 91).

251 Of course, such independent or alternative organisations for record production and distribution existed long before the advent of industrial, for instance, MNW (Sweden), Rough Trade (UK), L’Orchestra (Italy).

Mail order (including online) offers an important alternative form of distribution for many industrial fans, especially those in outlying areas without access to independent stores. For many years the traditional distribution channels for the music came primarily through mail-order companies. Typically these distribution channels were labels that had branched out, or retail stores that had begun to operate mail-order services. There is little doubt that the ease and efficiency of the internet ordering system has boosted the mail-order business (and therefore, independent label sales), and many independent record stores have expanded into online sales. Nevertheless, a minority of label owners felt that the internet was detrimental to their business. One label/store owner reported that internet-based piracy had caused his store to close down, and had led to problems with his label's album sales—particularly since independent artists/labels would be much more affected by a loss of ten percent of their sales than a major label artist. In fact, he reported that the ease with which the internet makes piracy possible was threatening the independent community [Trevor Bamford, Nightbreed Recordings]. Nevertheless, most independent labels and distributors spoke of the internet's beneficial potential:

As a matter of fact, the internet has been very helpful in [the] promotion of the genre. Through a network of promoters in larger markets, be it radio, (public or private) online zines and concert promoters, bands have been able to book tours and sell CDs [Ken, Arts Industrial].

Coinciding with the distribution obstacles are the problems with retailers. Retailers in chain stores generally do not sell much industrial music, primarily due to its relatively small fan-base, and it is no surprise then that less than five percent of fans reported

shopping at chain stores.²⁵² Most fans shop at independent stores, and there is a general consensus of a 'coolness' or 'authenticity' of the independent stores not associated with the chain stores. Some fans reported they would gladly drive a few extra miles or pay a few extra dollars to 'help out the mom and pop shops' [Scott].

Independent retailers are more likely to cater to niche markets in order to survive in the face of chain-stores' buying power. The independent retailers are therefore more likely to stock industrial.²⁵³ The fact that the genre has a separate section in several independent music stores I visited during the course of this research, would indicate that these stores have a clientele that are specifically looking for industrial. The fans may perceive having a separate industrial section as meaning the staff are more knowledgeable and 'cool' than those at chain stores. Not only does it require, in such cases, a dedication on the part of the consumer to seek out the music, but the independent stores must work harder than chain stores to keep up with latest releases from a diverse range of styles, rather than relying on charts and distributors to inform them what to order. This knowledge is commonly gained through a series of information sources, which I will now examine.

252 That being said, HMV in Montréal, although not having a section exclusively for industrial had the heading cards marked in a different colour to distinguish the genre in their 'alternative' section. Their offerings of industrial were, however, largely limited to those artists distributed by the one largest US industrial distributor, Metropolis.

253 Encore Records, Kitchener, Ontario for example, or independents can themselves be devoted specifically to such genres (such as Resurrection Records, London, or Nightbreed, Nottingham).

5.2 The Information Process: The Dissemination of Information and Ideology

The independent process of distribution relies for a large part on the fans hearing the music, or at least *about* the music, from a variety of sources. Whereas it is sometimes unavoidable to hear some of the commercially successful artists (when we go out shopping, on television, on the radio at work, etc.), independent artists require more time to discover. Most labels reported a variety of ways the music is distributed (fanzines, radio, internet, club), none of which relies on corporate-run commercial outlets, but many also indicated the single most important way was word of mouth: ‘The music grows in the scene by itself—through word of mouth’ (Hyperium, *MFTEQ* 12/ 13).

Most fans reported that they were introduced to the music through friends or older siblings, usually after hearing and liking a commercially successful industrial artist:

I discovered it almost by accident—I was staying up late with my older brother, watching him play video games, and he had borrowed the CD from a college friend of his. I was immediately caught by the cover art, and when I listened to it on the headphones I completely fell in love with it. That was the first CD I ever bought. I showed the CD to my friend Hayden, who was in High School at the time, and he pretty much properly introduced me to the world of industrial music [Link].

Despite the *initial* introduction through word of mouth, many fans were likely to keep up with new artists through clubs and concerts, radio and television, and print.

5.2.1 Clubs and Concerts

One of the most popular ways of exposing fans to new industrial music is through clubs and concerts. In some areas DJs are sometimes nearly single-handedly responsible for the local popularity of the music.²⁵⁴ Moreover, industrial events typically take place in at least one club per month in each major European and North American city. An example of the dissemination of music and ideology at clubs is better understood if described in some detail.

‘Slimelight’ is probably the most popular regular industrial event in the United Kingdom, and is spoken of by some fans as the quintessential industrial club experience.²⁵⁵ The event takes place at Electrowerks, located in a dark, back alley behind Angel metro station in London. Not sign-posted, from the outside the club looks like an abandoned warehouse, with smashed windows and visible piping rusting on the walls. The doors open late, and many do not arrive until after midnight. Inside is a long corridor leading to concrete stairs covered in galvanised steel. At the top of the stairs are the co-ed toilets: there is a female icon with ‘Gents’ written beneath, and the opposite on the other door. Further down that corridor are a series of rooms where

254 Encore Records in Kitchener, Ontario named a local DJ as the reason why industrial was selling so well in the city. A majority (56%) of fans reported regularly attending industrial club nights.

255 The band Galan Pixs, from Germany, even jokingly changed the name of one of their songs, ‘Use your Flashlight’ to ‘Use your Slimelight’ in dedication to the club. All fans I met in the UK were familiar with the club, and many at the club I spoke to had driven far to attend.

people stand around drinking and talking. Half-way up the stairs is another such room, with a projection that takes up an entire wall. It changes every week: on one visit it read, 'Reality is a false illusion manufactured by state technology'.

Further upstairs the dance-floor is surrounded by and made entirely of concrete, except where there are patches of metal grating on the floor which shake with the beat. The stage for artists is created from welded steel strips that resemble a cage. There are old industrial dust filter vents still stuck to the walls, and iron girders running the length of the ceiling along with exposed wiring and piping. A series of thin white sheets that hang like a canopy over some of the dance floor, while a row of television monitors, each with a different coloured filter, some upside down, show loops of dystopian films like *The Matrix* or *Death Race 2000*. It is a very dark club, not helped by the smoke machine pouring smoke into the room at regular intervals. Some people wave glow-sticks, wear ultra-violet make-up and electric T-shirts that are sound-activated and light up with the beat.

Combined with the fashion styles discussed earlier, the significance of the setting in an old warehouse, the décor and the music all serve to add to the dystopian texture.²⁵⁶

256 Despite the very 'industrial' atmosphere created in Slimelight, industrial club nights take place in a wide variety of locations, the least stereotypically industrial of which I attended was one regular event in Waterloo, Ontario which took place at Sharky's, a local pool-hall consisting largely of pool tables but converted once a week by dimming the lights and using some of the floor space to dance on.

Industrial clubs are also useful for fans to learn about boundaries—one more extreme club in Copenhagen warns that visitors should not request synthpop-EBM acts like VNV Nation or Apoptygm Berzerk.

Many industrial concerts take place at clubs like Electrowerks/Slimelight, and many are combined with regular club events.²⁵⁷ Many fans will travel far to attend a concert which, due to the generally small numbers of fans, are often few and far between in non-metropolitan areas. One fan remarked on driving for several days to attend a particular concert, and I met one who flew to the UK from Russia to see a performance.²⁵⁸

Performing live often poses problems for the electronically-based artists due to the amount of studio-based processing, the speed at which pieces must be played, and the limitations of keyboards in allowing stage movement.²⁵⁹ There are several alternative techniques used by artists to compensate, including the use of live elements that change the sound and presentation, and the use of visuals (slides/films) and theatrics, which I will now discuss in greater detail.

257 This can be seen by watching live videos—I watched a series of Project-X videos recorded on their US American tour and there are many clubs which look similar to the one described.

258 I met this fan at the Mean Fiddler in London, April 14, 2001.

259 As Steve Jones points out, with all the modern technology at the artist's disposal in the studio, for artists in the last few decades there has been an 'importance of keeping performance distinct, as reproducing studio sound is not possible live' (1992: 59).

Many industrial artists have opted for the addition of live drums and guitars, or electronic drum pads at least, thereby creating an altogether different sound for a live performance. However, the norm is still to use a pre-recorded Mini Disc and to either play some elements live, or to just sing overtop of the pre-recorded tracks.

We do play live. We have no desire to make Maruta Kommand a button-pushing EBM live project, so we have two live percussionists playing a scrap metal kit plus the odd drum, all vocals live (of course), and live remixing, looping and processing of the whole sound by Dave at the desk. There is of course a backing CD of the music minus the vocals as a basis for all this... Stalker is 100% live power electronics, with no backing sounds of any kind. Even the drum machine is programmed and manipulated live [Andi, Maruta Kommand].

To compensate for the musical difficulties, most early synthesiser-based industrial artists incorporated visuals into the performance. It was, in fact, an industrial band—Cabaret Voltaire—which started the first UK music video production company. For those who could not afford videos or films, slides were projected onto backdrops, or unique settings were chosen. Test Dept, for example, hired out industrial premises, such as warehouses or depots, under the guise of anonymous charities, and would project Russian revolutionary films onto the stage (see Gill 1995: 161). Attrition introduced slides into their set in about 1981-82:

They were thought of as an excellent way of making the band a bit more visual because a three piece tied down with synth/rhythm settings etc. can become a bit static (*Blam!* 1982).

Unable to move about like guitarists, a visual display is needed by synth-based artists to compensate for stationary performances. At the same time, however, the use of pre-programmed synthesisers allows for more freedom (as often the only really live

element is the singer), meaning more theatrics can take place, while maintaining the illusion that the band is playing their instruments. As such, more elaborate stage settings have occasionally been developed when finances allowed. Some, like Rammstein, have had a complex lighting and flame display reminiscent of some kind of burning *Mad Max* set. Trent Reznor, at least for a time in the early 1990s, took to smashing his keyboard up and throwing parts of it to fans in the crowd or giving his instruments away during the set.²⁶⁰ Some artists are probably as well known for their imagery live as they are for their music. Skinny Puppy's live shows were a bizarre mix of horror theatrics and music, and before the break-up of the band fans had come to expect elaborate stage shows. The band explain,

We said back at the start that if we do play live there was no point in just hammering out the stuff the same old way as before so Ogre got a real incentive to go out there and do something completely different. His shows are still very bizarre and strange and completely the opposite of some of these techno groups that get into the machoism of the whole thing. It is a very disturbed vision of what Ogre is presenting. But his first shows used to freak the shit even out of me standing on the stage ... We are die-hard horror fans and this whole concept for the stage has just been extracts of very intense moments taken from very strange movies and put together rhythmically and in a similar pattern to the way we construct our music, taking random sounds instead taking random images and creating a rhythm, a movement with the whole thing.²⁶¹

260 Throwing his instruments is not without its problems—including a concert I witnessed in London in May 1994 where the drummer was hit by the guitar and knocked out cold, thereby cancelling the rest of the concert.

261 [Http://www.obsolete.com/convulsion/interviews/convulse/1.8.html](http://www.obsolete.com/convulsion/interviews/convulse/1.8.html) (10/09/01).

There are clearly many ways to augment an industrial performance, and the inclusion of some visual aspects is sometimes, but not always, an important one. If there is no 'live' playing, visuals are almost expected:

Musically I am from an industrial, not EBM/Goth background, and 90%+ of bands in the industrial scene proper use visuals, in order to deliver the conceptual ammunition of the band beyond the simple device of lyrics. Maruta Kommand uses a backing film of historical nastiness and surreal death-related material in accordance with the concept of our album [Andi].

Performances and clubs are important sites of dissemination then, of not only information about the latest artists and albums, but also of community ideology.

5.2.2 Radio and Television

It would be rare for industrial to get air-play on any commercial radio stations, although college radio²⁶² often has a slot devoted to it, typically one or two hours a week during the off-peak. Figures for industrial airplay on college radio are impossible to obtain, as they are included within CMJ and RPM's 'Electronica' category amongst techno, ambient, etc.²⁶³

Just recently a low power radio bill was shut down by Congress, so there will be no competition as far as radio programming is concerned and as far as this type of music ever reaching the mainstream in the US, MTV controls much of the output in the monopoly of video music [Ken, Arts Industrial].

262 Including all public radio stations, most typically university stations in North America. These stations however have limited transmission areas.

263 Interview on air with DJ Evil C, WCSB Ohio, 3 Feb 2001.

There is also a lack of interest towards industrial on the part of television music channels or programs. The majority of industrial artists do not make music videos for financial reasons.²⁶⁴ Although there are a few select music video shows that may play industrial artists in Germany or Scandinavia (notably ZTV), it is rare that videos will get played on any major music video television show.²⁶⁵ Industrial artists create videos almost exclusively as accompaniment to albums or for live performances, knowing the television programmers usually will not play them.²⁶⁶

It's great to do videos when you have the money to do them, but for Skinny Puppy's part it's less of a promotional tool ... When a video gets made it's not like ok were going to spend \$50,000 and it's going to sell this many more records. A video, it doesn't sell any more records (Skinny Puppy) (*Convulsion*, April 1991).

264 'I would love to make a video. I have tons and tons of ideas. But they're so expensive to make ... that, and where they would actually get played, it's not worth it. It's not like MTV is going to play stuff from this genre' [Colin Schwen].

265 The purpose of industrial videos then seems to lie outside Goodwin's analysis and contemporary use of most rock/pop music videos as promotional tools (1992: 42). See also Banks (1998: 294), who claims 'video music is often assigned to the [major]label's promotion department since music clips are perceived foremost as an effective way to promote artists'.

266 The reasons for this are several, such as image and music style, but more so through the kind of 'payola' mutual contracts that exist between MTV and major record companies. MTV has been described as 'a powerful promotional tool that is contractually obligated to roll whatever products the major label's A&R departments favour, regardless of whether the audience agrees' (Peter Hall in Banks 1998: 297). There is a strange irony in this fact, as many of the music television shows use industrial-like music for the program logos.

Only about one third of fans reported ever having purchased an industrial music video, and it is likely that part of the reason for this is the difficulty in finding them. Toth points out the reasons for the scarcity of Nine Inch Nails videos, ranging from copyright problems to outright censorship, and quotes Trent Reznor as saying ‘As far as *Happiness in Slavery* [is concerned], I knew when I made that that there was no chance of getting it played’ (1997: 27).²⁶⁷ Likewise, Project-X informed me that ‘there was no way’ their forthcoming video was going to be played on television. Rather, videos were seen as another outlet of expression, created for enjoyment. Music videos are crucial for commercial success in today’s music market (see Banks 1996, 1998: 293) and this is one factor that keeps industrial in the underground. That many videos are too extreme for television—and are often restricted in sales to adults—keeps artists off the air.

5.2.3 Print: Liner Notes, Magazines, Fanzines, E-zines and Internet Newsgroups

As with television or radio, major commercial music magazines (*Rolling Stone*, *Spin*, *NME*, etc) do not usually feature industrial artists. One label explains, ‘Magazines without an electronic bent feel that if they feature KMFDM after each album, then

267 Although *Happiness in Slavery* was released for sale in a limited edition to over-18s in a box set in North America, it remains banned in Britain. Of course, though, as soon as a music video is banned, everybody wants to see it, and there were many debates played out on Canadian music television (Much Music) over the decision not to play that particular video, and therefore bootleg copies circulated and sold well afterwards.

they've done their part in supporting the synthcore scene' (Chase in *Interface* #13: 23).

Fanzines (including internet e-zines) and newsgroups are probably one of the most important ways of promoting the genre, and one of the most common ways of mediating between producer and consumer within the fan community. Information about releases, artists, and labels is usually disseminated in the fanzines or, more recently, on the internet. Fanzines, as well as generally being run not-for-profit,²⁶⁸ are, as Hodgkinson has noted, tools which influence the consumer towards certain tastes:

In spite of the fact that fanzine readers inevitably brought their own experiences, tastes and viewpoints to their interactions with the publications, their general credibility meant they were liable to influence at least a proportion of their readership (2001: 228).

Since more than half of the fans reported reading fanzines, and since many questionnaire participants were from newsgroup postings (in some ways, a form of fanzine), such fan communication is clearly a significant way in which information pertaining to the community is disseminated. Fanzines are undoubtedly a valuable asset to the independent community, as the liner notes to the Cop International compilation, *New Violent Breed* attests:

We would like to take this opportunity to pay our respect to all the talented men and women who have forged one of the most powerful weapons of subversion for the independent-underground music scene: The music fanzines and magazines. Their blood, sweat, tears and ink have supplied us with the most effective form of communication, information and inspiration. Their

268 Fanzines are for the most part run for prestige within the community, for free promotional goods, and for a genuine altruistic purpose of supporting the community.

accomplishment required maximum sacrifices (time + work + money) and brought minimum rewards, an equation, that is only too familiar, to all those who share the same fight in the underground trenches of the music industry!

Ideological notions of fighting against the corporate music industry are reinforced by such statements, indicating clearly to fans they are part of a 'resistance force at war' with the corporate industries. Particularly for fans in outlying areas, fanzines and magazines often reveal an insight into community ideology, and along with the internet are useful in teaching more isolated fans about community boundaries.

For instance, one fanzine included a comic strip whose main recurrent theme was to have fan characters poke fun at artists who were not considered industrial, indicating to fans which artists were not acceptable.²⁶⁹ Fanzines represent an important dissemination not only of music information, but of fashion, community boundaries, attitudes, and ideologies. Despite variations between countries, fanzines help to hold together a sense of community across wide geographic areas.

Liner notes, particularly on early albums, have likewise been used to inform fans of ideological positions. Such liner notes often included reading lists for fans. For instance, the Dystopian Records compilation *Dystopian Visions* includes the following quote from Snog, making clear both a dystopian and anti-capitalist ideology:

269 Or go even further, as the industrial 'superheroes' thrashed the band-members in a clear show of heroism, with phrases suggesting they had 'saved the day' by eliminating unwanted artists. See *Industry* comic in *Effigy*.

I kind of wanted to counter all that futurama, blind worship of technology and "progress" stuff. You know, "in the future everybody will have a jet car and work three hours a year" stuff. It just never works that way does it? Instead what I see is a species increasingly alienated and isolated through technology and media. Awash in a sea of useless information and yet spiritually alone and manipulated. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, I would suggest that this environment is largely deliberately created. Confused and desperate sheep are more pliable and better shoppers for the shepherd (David Thrusell, liner notes to *Dystopian Visions*, 2000).

5.3 The Dissemination of Ideology: Names and Imagery

The names of artists, songs, clubs and albums can also be disseminators or identifiers of genre, or of specific ideological positions. Band names are often reflective of the band's character, their aspirations or their ideology (Cohen 1991: 37, *cf.* Laing 1985: 41-52, Finnegan 1986: 21). The name is often the first mediator between fan and artist, as we see them on T-shirts, in advertising, cover art, conversations, etc. and these also help to define a specific genre aesthetic.

The stereotypical choice of industrial band names has been summarised quite adeptly in the *Industrial 101* 'How to Name your Band' guide:²⁷⁰

Naming your industrial band is simple. In fact, the name is often the most important part of an industrial band. An improper name means your CDs will never be bought and your shows will not be attended-or, worse, attended by the wrong people. Like Mariah Carey fans.

To ensure that you have the most industrial name possible, follow these steps and then sit back and watch.

²⁷⁰ [Http://www.sonic-boom.com](http://www.sonic-boom.com) (10/10/01).

1) Make sure your band name is some sort of reference to science. Not just any science, though—not all of them are industrial. It needs to be a good science, a technological science, a science you can kill people with. Examples of good sciences are chemistry (Lanthanide Series!), biology (Epistasis!), and computer science (Neural Net!). Examples of bad sciences are economics (Bullish Market?), sociology (1990 Census?), and philosophy (Nietzsche Cheese?).²⁷¹

2) Technofy your name even more. Add a version number or make your name correspond to MS-DOS naming conventions. Examples: Lanthanide Series 23, EPISTA.SYS, Neural Net v.4 WARNING: Make sure you choose the right numbers. For instance, a 23 appearing anywhere will make a zillion Illuminati weenies buy your album and insure sales, but they'll also worship you, and think they can talk to you about any random subject. Chances are any prime number will do, though.²⁷² EXTRA WARNING: Do NOT replace words with numbers; you will lose all industrialness and become a rap or R&B group. Do you really want to be confused with All-4-One?

3) Add an adjective somewhere to make your name involve violence, fear, or pain. Good words still out in the open are "sharp", "thermonuclear" and "ten-foot pit with spikes." I recommend perusing Roget's Thesaurus. Change "C" to "K". People will think you're German when you're not, and the common assumption is that industrial music is always better in German. If you're already German, throw in some extra "K"

271 For example *Cybernetic Biodread Transmission*, and the music's affinities with the computer world are reflected in titles such as *The Hacker*, or the bands Data-Bank A or Fat Hacker. Heavy Water Factory, 21st Circuitry, Android Lust, or clubs Electricity (Jyväskylä) and Cyberia (Utrecht).

272 Front 242, Assemblage 23, etc. This has been taken to extreme by artists like 5F_55, who have songs with names such as '4F2D 5261 6E67 65' (2001). Twenty-three is, as one fan put it, 'the universal industrial number'. The obsession with the number was begun by Psychic TV who had fans mysteriously paint the number 23 in cities 'worldwide', much to the confusion of police and 'experts' who mistook it for an occult symbol. See Dwyer (1999: 48-49). The substitution of numbers for names is significant in terms of dystopia, of course, as in *We's* D-503 and later *THX1138*.

somewhere. WARNING: Do NOT double other letters, especially "d" or "g". Again, you will instantly become rap or R&B.²⁷³

Many also draw their names from dystopian texts; Tolchock (from *A Clockwork Orange*), Mark 13 (from *Hardware*), 'Lo-Rez Skyline' (from *Idoru*) (Forma Tadre 1998) 'Soylent Green' (Wumpscut *Born Again*), 'Logan's Run' (Babyland *Decade One* 2002) 'Big Brother' (Snog 1998a), the clubs Clockwork Orange (Hollywood), 1984 (New Orleans) or End-Zeit (Montréal). Some also reflect clearly the anti-capitalist or political aesthetic: Wage Class Slave, 'Class Struggle' (Devolver, *Resist the Command* 2000), *Dear Valued Customer* (Snog 1995), *Kapital* (Laibach 1992), 'Uprising' (Nocturnal Emissions 1992), etc.

The visual imagery associated with the music is also an important source of information and ideological dissemination. The imagery typically comes from five main sources, although to varying degrees depending on the popularity of the artist, and the genre:

- album cover art;
- print—flyers, magazines and internet sites, particularly advertising;

273 For instance, the club Kontrol Factory, bands Klinik, Red Sekta, Klang Abstrackt and the spelling of elektro/elektronik to describe the music. This can be traced back to early synth-pop acts like M's 'Pop Muzik' (1979) and Telex's 'Moskow Diskow' (1979). Many artists, particularly German artists, do not attempt to anglicise their name: Das Ich, Der Liederkranz, Die Maschine. Latin names, a signifier of goth music and associated with the archaic, are generally not used. Military themes are not uncommon to industrial; Funker Vogt, Feindflug, Söldnergeist, etc.

- music television—videos, ‘live’ performances and artist interviews on tape;
- live performances and clubs;
- use of the music as diegetic or non-diegetic music in film and television (diegetic use to be dealt with in Chapter Seven).²⁷⁴

The imagery can be the first visual intermediary between a music and its audience, ‘since it is here that genre is often established’ (Goodwin 1992: 51). In other words, a fan is often likely to see an advertisement, the cover artwork, or otherwise *see* the album, before *hearing* it (at least, hearing it in its entirety in a listening environment), particularly in the case of industrial, which as we saw receives almost no television or radio coverage. This means the imagery sets a mood which is likely to influence fans’ interpretation of the text. Often the imagery reflects an aesthetic identifiable by fans, many of whom can typically distinguish an ‘industrial looking’ CD from a ‘non-industrial looking’ CD.²⁷⁵ For many independently signed artists, album cover art or even advertising is often left up to the artists themselves, who are then responsible for designing the cover or finding designers, as few independent labels can afford in-house

274 Use of industrial as non-diegetic music has been quite limited: usually it is restricted to club scenes in horror or science fiction films such as *The Crow* (1994). As this usage is limited, I will not discuss it further here.

275 Although I have no figures for this, it was discovered while working with fellow staff during many long hours in music retail from 1996 to 1999. We would pick artists unknown to us, and try to guess what the music would sound like. Most styles did have an identifiable design style. This was corroborated by conversations with another postgraduate, Lee Ann Fullington, who had also worked in a music store and experienced the same phenomenon.

designers. Independently produced artists—including therefore most industrial artists—are especially likely to choose artwork they feel shares a mood with their work.²⁷⁶

The point is to make the art accompany the music ... I always want the music and artwork to create emotions—that is the most important thing! (Brighter Death Now, *Esoterra* : 4-5).

The sound and the image are total complements (Die Form, *MFTEQ* #12: 43).

Obviously we want the artwork of an album or single to transport the feelings and emotions created by our music (Project Pitchfork, *Side-Line* #34:6)

Although abstract imagery is popular in industrial artwork, there are trends in those images chosen to represent the music, notably political imagery, dystopian imagery and horror imagery.

In Chapter Four I touched on the fact that fascist imagery has been used by some industrial artists for ironic purposes. The majority of imagery in industrial with any political bent is, however, socialist or working-class, and it is not inflected with the same degree of irony. For instance, the cogwheel is the most important symbol for industrial, used as a logo for countless labels and artists (e.g. Cop Int'l, 21st Circuitry, Snog), and even included as a necklace with several compilations (e.g. *Industrial*

276 As opposed to major labels which often dictate what will go on the cover, in a decision on how best to 'market' the music, rather than based on the musical artist's interpretation.

Revolution 3). The cogwheel is also a symbol commonly used by labour unions—such as Industriegewerkschaft Metall (IG Metal), and is included in the Chinese National Emblem as a symbol of the working class movement.



Figure 5.3. Laibach, 'Free Yugoslavia' 1984. The Laibach cogwheel logo is in the background, which also uses Russian Suprematist Kassimir Malevich's *Black Cross*.

Industrial also uses other working-class iconography associated with the factory and clearly referencing the type of social realist art common in the Soviet Union. For instance, an advertisement for a Canadian industrial distributor on the back of a fanzine appropriates a Russian sculpture, which was also used as the Mosfilm Soviet state film productions logo:

Like political iconography, dystopian imagery is also very common, as can be seen clearly by the recent Frontline Assembly album, *Epitaph* (2001), a steel heart amongst a landscape of mechanical decay, and the suggestion of death by the title.



Figure 5.9 Front Line Assembly, 'Epitaph'

Project-X's *The System is Dead* video, the most recent industrial video at the time of writing, offers us a more detailed example of using dystopian imagery.²⁷⁷

277 2000, director Mattias Werdenskog. The video has been shown on Germany's *Tape TV*, Sweden's *ZTV*, Germany's *VIVAA2*, and the *Crazy Clip Show*, and won video awards in Sweden. According to Gottberg, the video should have cost about £25000 to make, but the band paid a mere £100 to Werdenskog, who works for Swedish television and was able to use the equipment free of charge. The video took six months to make, and involved two lighting people, one make-up person, one camera person, two actors (TV hosts in Sweden) and the director to make. Information on the equipment was

Thematically, *The System is Dead* is in line with the song's lyrics 'We feed society with technology, but the system is dead'. Throughout runs the central theme of an attempted revival of the dying singer, Gottberg. All attempts by the de-humanised doctors (in dark glasses, ties and facemasks without show of emotion) to save him fail. Despite the fact that he is in a stylised electric chair, the doctors are attempting to revive him—one could argue this perhaps signifies the hopelessness of the situation.



Figure 5.10 Project-X 'The System is Dead' video stills.

This imagery of being strapped in to a chair while probed by machinery clearly references dystopian films: below left, *Brazil* and below right, *Twelve Monkeys*.²⁷⁸

gathered from Holmsten (2000), and Gottberg. The video is available on *All Systems Dead* 2000.

²⁷⁸ Although also a common experience at the dentist, particularly with the scientists in lab coats. Regardless of the actual meaning, it seems to indicate a very unpleasant and inescapable situation.

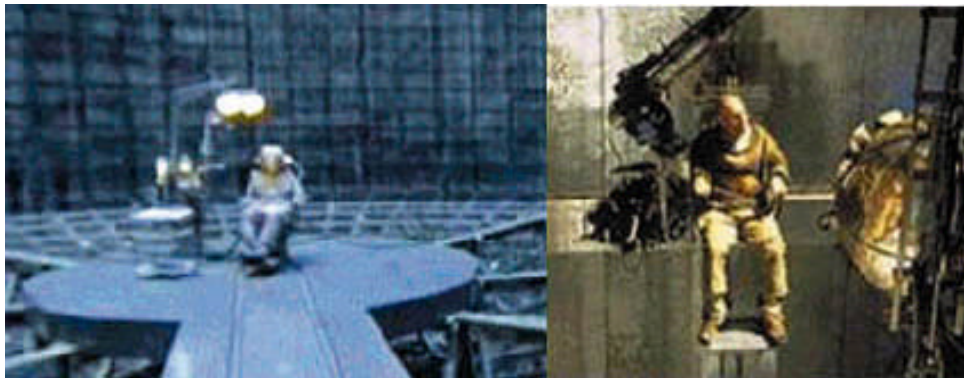


Figure 1.11 *Brazil*, film still (left): *12 Monkeys* film still (right)

Media images rapidly flash in the goggles of the vocalist (similar to Gilliam's floating ball, above right), ranging from computer-screen text to pictures of the band, cartoons and television images. Notice also the decaying teeth, added to create a post-mortem look. The head-gear and goggles also clearly reference dystopian imagery:

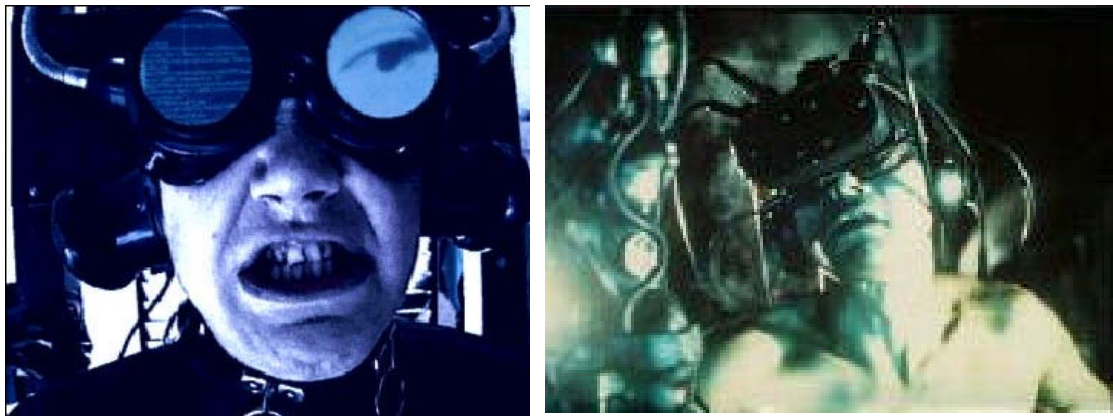


Figure 5.12: *Project-X* video still (left). *Tetsuo II: Body Hammer* film still (right).

Shots of the band show apathetic and bored-looking members in absence of emotion, apart from the singer, though even he seems incredibly restrained, only lifting his arms for occasional emphasis. They stand around with arms folded, only once each being

shown in front of musical equipment. Together with the cyberpunk dress of the band and the blue-filter skin, this lack of emotion gives the members an inhuman quality.



Figure 5.13. Project-X 'The System is Dead' video stills.

Perhaps the most striking elements of the video are the editing effects. Opposing flashes of dark with overexposed imagery adds to the high-tech look, while the flashing lights of the stroboscope and the rapidly montaged images are unstable and disorientating. The pixelation technique disturbs and disrupts the time sequencing of the piece, adding to the disorientating effect, and the push-pull camera on Gottberg's face creates a lurching, uneasy feeling. The many jump cuts and the jittery editing is unsettling, nervous and tense.

The video was entirely shot through a blue-filter, a common trait in dystopian films. The video also bears slight resemblance to horror films—the decayed teeth of the singer, the medical laboratory, etc. Horror images are much less common than political or dystopian iconography, however several artists in particular use such images. The horror imagery is often tied to images of the media or to real-life drama, rather than

fictional horror. For instance, the cover to Skinny Puppy's *Rabies* (1989) shows several news clippings, including that of Hitler and Charles Manson, though their cover to *Dig It* (1986) shows a fictional horror etching.

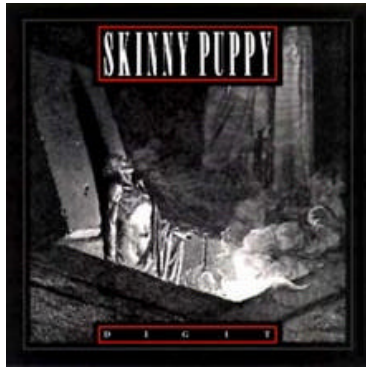


Figure 5.14: Skinny Puppy, *Dig It*.

Wumpscut in particular use photographic horror, as in the cover to *Bunkertor Seiben* (1995) or *Boeses Junges Fleisch* (1999).

5.4 Conclusion

David Hesmondhalgh has asked whether post-punk and punk have offered a democratisation of the music industry through several aspects: decentralisation of media technologies and organisations, tied with a collectivism, collaboration and co-operation, and more equal patterns of rewards and status (1998). As Hesmondhalgh points out, regarding the 1980s post-punk labels like Rough Trade and Mute, there is a certain attraction to the aesthetic of the indie label for artists: 'In choosing to work with a post-punk independent like Rough Trade rather than a major record company, musicians were effectively trading in short-term financial security for a sense of

collaboration and co-operation, and the feeling of a shared musical culture' (1998: 262).

Democratisation however means that the music is open to all—which contradicts the idea of exclusivity. The process of seeking out artists in the independent locus of control model requires time and effort (leading to credibility), participation (in collecting and reading fanzines), knowledge (because reviews often make comparisons to other obscure artists), money (most independent product costs more to order, and sometimes the fan may have to order it without hearing it first, costing even more money if it does not live up to fan expectations), and friendship. This system then is in part dependent on recommendations, and therefore a development of groups based on mutual likes and dislikes is often maintained to reduce the need for so much involvement of time and money.

The music listener who listens to chart/major label music will have his or her listening preference reinforced as 'correct' by advertising, the charts, the press and the heavy rotation on television or radio. The desire to react against the commercial mainstream, meanwhile, requires more of a dependence on a community of fellow fans for confirmation of their convictions. Fans need to develop an attachment, a resonance to the music to explain a reason for adopting their stance against the chart music. For industrial, this involves the adoption of its ideological system and the position of industrial against the capitalist system. If industrial is struggling against this system, it is necessary that it creates and maintains a sustainable alternative in which it can

survive. This necessity becomes closely tied to the fan ideologies. For instance, the ideology of the 'discerning independent music shopper' requires a musical style that distinguishes itself from commercially successful music. For the independent label or artist, part of making this distinction involves breaking those taboos that the majors will not—such as the production of videos that cannot be shown on music television, ensuring a sense of artistic 'authenticity'. Likewise, I have shown, the music itself must break mainstream taboos to differentiate itself from major artists in order to maintain that sense of distinction. Such an anti-music stance, as shown, is clearly linked to the ideologies and to the distribution and dissemination of industrial. Industrial artists consciously avoid major label systems in order to maintain a feeling of individualism. But in order to stay independent, industrial musicians must also differentiate their sound from that of major label music. Thus, we now turn our attention to the music.