

## “GOD IS A DJ”

Girls, Music, Performance, and Negotiating Space

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DJs instill musical greatness. They select a series of exceptional recordings and use them to create a unique performance, improvised to precisely suit the time, the place and the people in front of them ... A DJ's job is to channel the vast ocean of recorded sound into a single unforgettable evening.

—Bill Brewster and Frank Broughton, *Last Night a DJ Saved My Life*

When I DJ it takes me away from the real life and gives me power of the crowd (helping control their emotions @ that time), like god has the power of the universe and it's a fantastic feeling to see what me as an individual can actually create with a few fantastic songs.

—DJ Tuesday, email message to author

### Female DJs and Gender Equity

Over the past two decades, two major and interrelated developments have had considerable impact on popular music practices: the development and accessibility of affordable, easy-to-use new digital technologies and the blurring of traditional boundaries between production and consumption, musicians and fans (Théberge 2004; Prior 2008, 2010). At the heart of these protean developments, we find the DJ often a self-sufficient amateur artist, musician, performer (Prior 2008, 2010), with the demonstrated ability to control and influence his experiential music community through his skills, knowledge, taste, and enthusiasm (Prior 2008; Herman 2006; Montano 2010). Yet the role that girls and young women can play in this world is still fraught with difficulties (Velosa 2012).<sup>1</sup> Male DJs still dominate the dance charts and appear as headline acts at music festivals (Gates 2013a). A March 2013 report on the status of women in the global music industries by Female Pressure, an international collective of female artists, noted that “in the past year only 10 percent of performers at music festivals around the world were female, and women comprised only 9.3 percent of artists listed on music label rosters” (Gates 2013a: n.p.).<sup>2</sup>

This chapter draws on two of my longitudinal ethnographic projects, *Girl Making* (Bloustien 2003) and *Playing for Life* (Bloustien and Peters 2011), as well as some more recent interviews (2012–2013) with several young female DJs from Australia, the U.K., the United States, and Germany. In all of these studies I have explored the processes of gendered selfhood, and particularly the seriousness of play (see Schechner 1995) that occurs particularly in the transition stage when girls move from childhood to adulthood. Using participatory video methodology that offers all the girls a video camera with which they can record their everyday lives, the resulting personal narratives have located the main sites where girls explore their developing sense of gendered self, including their engagement with popular music as consumers and, for some, as creators.

Here, I am focusing specifically on the significance of DJing, which for teenage girls, as Tuesday's comments above indicate, can be a powerful, transformative form of self-making. My investigation included the particular challenges girls face to become DJs and importantly, where these challenges take place, for "behavior and space are mutually dependent" (Ardener 1993: 2; see also Massey 1994). Because physical environments are always contradictory and gendered, "a sense of one's place" refers to both material and symbolic boundaries (Bourdieu 1991: 235). They shape the (self-)perception of which behaviors are considered appropriate or not in particular spaces (Massey 1994; Bloustien and Peters 2011). DJing has increasingly enabled girls to negotiate a variety of previously problematic spaces successfully so it is valuable to understand how girls learn to manage their experiential environments creatively and confidently.

### *Girls as "Producers"*

Music is now experienced through a multiple range of mobile devices iPods, computers, phone ringtones. In the process, it seems that more and more girls are becoming "producers," (Bruns 2006) blurring the lines not only between places but also between consumer and creator. As musicologist Christopher Small reminds us, all music activities are participatory and interactive: "To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing ... all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance (2011: 23)." Extending Small's understanding of "musicking" as a participatory activity, I focus here specifically on the role and skills of the Disc Jockey (deejay or DJ). Being

an effective DJ is fundamentally about control and acquiring cultural capital (Herman 2006), for a DJ seeks to create and manage the mood of the audience on the dance floor (Brewster and Broughton 2006). A DJ demonstrates this power through musical knowledge, technical expertise, and networking skills (Poschardt 1998).

Tuesday epitomizes this determination and struggle in her own musical achievements. I first met Tuesday in 2001 when she was a teenage participant in my first international project *Girl Making* (Bloustien 2003). The study focused on how gendered subjectivity is negotiated and constituted through everyday social practices, including the main sites where girls explored their developing womanhood: through their bodies, through private and public spaces, and through their friendship groups. During the years, from the project's beginning in 2001 to today, Tuesday has pursued determinedly her earlier aspiration to be a DJ.<sup>3</sup>

The determination of young women to become DJs, across a range of musical genres and through a range of associated roles, strategizes a move "from bathrooms and dance floors to stages and studios" (Farrugia 2012: 5) that takes place in spite of significant embedded historical, material, and social barriers to their full participation (Rowley 2009; Hutchinson 2012; Wilson 2013). These barriers exist even though women have been influential throughout the history of electronic music, "as consumers and users of audio technologies" (Rodgers 2012: 482). As Farrugia noted, referring to Electronic Dance Music (EDM) in 1990s Detroit, "women were often distanced physically, and at times even aurally from the music and the technology so central to dance music and culture. For the most part they were relegated to the sidelines, encouraged to participate primarily as patrons on the dance floor" (2012: 17).

To understand the implication and significance of this struggle for many young female DJs today, it is useful to revisit briefly how the (gendered) meanings and status of DJ have evolved.

## **(Re)defining "DJ"**

It is commonly argued that the term Disc Jockey was coined in 1935 by American radio commentator Walter Winchell to describe the ways radio announcer Martin Block simultaneously played the discs or vinyl records and operated the broadcasting equipment (Brewster and Broughton 2006). Because the records were used to create the illusion of live performances, the term Disc Jockey originally carried with it connotations of mistrust, disparagement, and manipulation—one who

"rides over the music with his voice" jockeying or hustling his place in the world (37).<sup>4</sup> A DJ was certainly regarded with suspicion by musicians, by advertisers, by the broader music industry, and even by the government, particularly in the United States (Fisher 2007).

As digital technology has developed, DJs have used different equipment and techniques for their music, often supplementing or replacing the use of vinyl records, traditional turntables, and record stores with CDs, laptop computers, and the internet, respectively, for sourcing, composing, and playing original music. These changes have, subsequently, generated shifts in the understandings and perceptions of DJ skills, essentially redefining the nature, production, and distribution platforms of the work (Farrugia 2012; Katz 2012; Montano 2010).

Today, a successful DJ might employ a range of composing and playback equipment, regardless of the medium or genre (Brewster and Broughton 2006; Katz 2012). She also needs to show that she is an archivist, demonstrating a thorough and intimate knowledge of her favorite genres, individual artists, and tracks, through her personal record collection. A DJ must also be a mentor, passing on this knowledge to others within her experiential community. Finally, a DJ must possess the requisite cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1993), or street cred (credibility), through a form of reflexive, embodied practice. Chris Shilling termed this "physical capital in situated action" (2004: 473; see, also, Shilling 2013). Paul Willis (1990) refers to such practice as symbolic creativity for it involves the collecting and archiving, sharing and reconstituting of music, clothing, and artwork. In other words, as Brewster and Broughton affirm, a DJ is part shaman, technician, collector, mentor, musician, and artist (2006: 19–20). The greatest DJs, they note, are "evangelists about music ... driven by a burning need to share" (219).

Yet despite these developments, DJing is still seen predominantly as a male practice, as evidenced in the most recent report from the Australia Arts Council and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007).<sup>5</sup>

## DJing as a Masculine Construct

On 28 October 2011, an article posted to *The Guardian* newspaper by British DJ Hanna Hanra asked "Why are there no female DJs on DJ Mag's top 100 list?" She went on to say, "As a female DJ I've had guys telling me how to use the decks and even changing the speed of my records for me so perhaps it's no surprise we've been left out of a list of best DJs" (Hanra 2011: n.p.; see also Hutchinson 2012). Mark Katz's study of the DJ battle cites the sociologist Michael Kimmel, in arguing

that much of DJing, especially in hip hop, replicated “the structure of many broader institutions ... organized around attaining and demonstrating certain ideals of masculinity.” Such practices thereby promote gender inequity by producing “a heroic model of masculinity” (2004: 583) which automatically marginalizes women. It has become, he argues, a cultural environment shaped by male technophilia.

Even the young people themselves frequently assume that women are not as interested, competent, or knowledgeable in the area of technology as men. One established male DJ suggested to me recently that this was because “more men than women listen to electronic music in their bedrooms.” Even the skills necessary for record sourcing and collecting are seen as a marker of predominantly male strength, expertise, and connoisseurship (Belk and Wallendorf 1994; Straw 1997). Girls, it is argued, do not have the physical stamina to be DJs since such activity requires diving into huge bins to find, collect, and carry large numbers of records, as well as having to transport heavy equipment.

Significantly, girls often lack the opportunities for learning the necessary DJ skills in the first place. Young men usually acquire and hone their technical skills of turntabling/drumming, guitar-playing/break-dancing through their informal networks. They practice their art with their friends in bedrooms or in youth clubs where, again, the space is assumed to be a masculine terrain. As Katz points out, “While these networks are not necessarily discriminatory, they tend to perpetuate the underrepresentation of women, who might not feel comfortable spending time alone with groups of male DJs in the bedrooms and basements where they usually gather” (2006: 585). Those women who have learned these skills typically have had to develop them outside these networks, and thus without the considerable benefits they provide. The unwritten masculine culture of some clubs or workshops can result in the boys dominating the time, equipment, or the physical space even when the written policies of these institutions assert they are equally welcoming to girls and boys (Cohen and Baker 2007; Bloustien and Peters 2011).

### *Technophilia as a Masculine Attribute*

Such restricted access is sometimes further justified by the active construction of technological expertise as a masculine attribute (Cockburn 1985; Farrugia 2004, 2012). Posts online by many female DJs, singers, and musicians often highlight the assumptions by male sound technicians, fellow band members, and even audience members that women know nothing about the technical equipment.

Magda Albrecht (see Bloustien and Peters 2011) is the lead singer of German-based band Totally Stressed. On her Facebook page, she posted a link to a website called Dick Party,<sup>6</sup> forwarded from the Riot Grrrl community in Berlin. Here young women collect and post examples of the sexist things said to them when they are performing on stage, including references to their assumed technological incompetence, their supposed lack of musical talent, and their status as little more than decorative or sexy objects on stage, girlfriends, or groupies. In her own response to the link Magda affirmed that she too had experienced such comments, stating, "Sadly it's all true."

Although many men in the music community, including some male DJs, express a wish to see more female DJs participate in the scene, it has been argued that this can also be a strategy to reinforce the appearance of normative heterosexuality. As Katz notes, "[H]omosociality is often thought to suggest homosexuality," so that many male DJs feel that having a few token women included in the scene demonstrates that the group is not exclusively a male zone. It helps to normalize their male friendships and emphasize the fact that the men are "not, in fact, queer" (2006: 282).

Posts on YouTube in response to videos of female DJs often mitigate any praise for their musical skills with crude comments about their anatomy. For example, typical responses to the duo performance of Killa-Jewel, a female Canadian DJ, producer, and composer, and well-known male DJ D-Styles cutting at *Soul Mechanics DJ School*, were sexist and patronizing:

Both Sctrach Djs [*sic*] did real well, Killa Jewels stabs were nice! D-Styles kuts were real clean and I love how he's technical and rides with the music at the same time. He's got soul on his scratches. Real awesome record handle movement. I liked Killa jewels tearz. IMO [in my opinion] she may need to work on more patters, but she did real well. (DJ A- Bzzy, posted 9 July 2012).

Her boobs are so big she doesn't have to be good at anything. (pmely88, posted 10 June 2012).<sup>7</sup>

## Times, They Are A-Changin'

However, certain strategies and developments seem to be gradually mitigating the discriminatory hurdles that young women face in becoming performers, producers, and creators in their chosen musical field. The following section examines three of these: the greater visibility of female role models and mentors, the effect of technological

developments, and the increase of alternative spaces for learning, networking, and distribution for female musical artists and performers.

### *Noisy Girls: Mentors, Role Models, and Activists*

Originating in the world of business, professional mentoring is now widely recognized as vital to successful career development in many professional workplace contexts (Allen 2003; Ambrosetti and Dekkers 2010). Described as “both a relationship and a process” (Kwan and Lopez-Real 2005: 276) successful mentoring is based on vital and authentic interconnectedness, underpinned by the explicit discourse of support, collaboration, and inclusivity. Traditionally, and sometimes problematically, the literature describes mentors as being older and more experienced persons than their younger, less experienced, protégés or mentees (Allen and Elby 2007; Cox 2005). However, a more contemporary view of successful mentoring notes the importance of peers, someone equal in status or age (Parker, Kram, and Hall 2014). Role models, who may also be mentors, provide the inspiration to young people, demonstrating that such ambitions are both legitimate and possible. The power of mentoring and role modeling cannot be underestimated, both being considered essential discourses underpinning the music industry. For example, *Music Industry Inside Out*, an Australian membership-based online music industry professional development education resource, features in-depth video tutorials with successful working music industry professionals, as both mentors and role models.<sup>8</sup> Today, there are demonstrably far more successful women in the music industry who, as active mentors, are supporting emerging artists. With this increase in numbers they are gaining new levels of visibility via social networking sites. Several high-profile female rap artists and DJs, especially those from Indigenous and African-American backgrounds, have been among the first groups to break through some of the gender, ethnic, and class stereotypes.

Sydney-based artist Rachel Phillips, aka DJ Minx, was winner of the inaugural She Can DJ competition, which highlights and introduces the best top Australian female DJs to a wider audience (Halliwell 2012), while Sharline Bezzina (aka Spice), of Maltese descent, was “the first woman to record a hip hop track in Australia in 1988 and is still active as a graffiti artist and youth worker at the age of 41” (Mitchell 2013: n.p.). DJ Kuttin Kandi from Queens, one of the most respected DJs in the world of hip hop, is also a well-respected community activist. The aforementioned DJ Killa-Jewel, another successful DJ, producer, com-

poser, and actress, has performed as a hip hop DJ in a range of musical genres across Canada, the United States, Europe, Asia, and Australia.

The work and knowledge of these feminist activists is easily accessible to young aspiring female DJs, musicians, and other cultural artists, and is deliberately and thoughtfully disseminated through social network sites. Such role models, as Los Angeles-based DJ and producer Jack (Jacqueline) Novak explains, "inspire other women and girls to go out and realize they can DJ without having to DJ in their bra. That they can go out and make their own music and make their own beats and don't have to have anyone do it for them" (cited in Gates 2013b: n.p.). All the participants in my own research gratefully acknowledged their own local mentors and role models, who are not always female. DJ Tuesday, for example, talks of the support she gained from her uncle, who was a professional musician ("He played with Sting"). He provided her first set of decks, on which she honed her skills under his guidance. Then when she started to venture into local venues, especially in the early stages of her career, her uncle was her *minder* (keeping the rougher element of her audience at bay as she performed). He also acted as her crew and gave technical support; he helped to carry the record collection, and fixed the microphone or the decks if they broke down mid-set, as they often did. He helped to guide her music choices as she scoured the local record shops for appropriate tracks until she felt confident enough to make her own decisions.

DJ Tuesday reflected that apart from her uncle, and her followers, her greatest female inspirations were singers Ms Dynamite<sup>9</sup> and Lily Allen<sup>10</sup>: "I loved there stuff so I would mix a lot of there stuff and hope one day I could of been up there with them. I did play in the same venue as Ms Dynamite many times."<sup>11</sup> In contrast to Tuesday's experience, the female DJs I interviewed who entered the industry during the past decade considered themselves lucky to have acquired their skills in a relatively supportive climate for women. DJ Betty (twenty-seven) from Adelaide, for example, started learning turntablism only six years ago. While acquiring skills at home on the turntable borrowed from a male friend, she said she immediately received requests to perform in public because people "wanted to see how well a girl could DJ." Like Betty, Lauren Rose, also from Adelaide, got her first opportunity to DJ through a male friend; she said, "[He] gave me the initial opportunity, and [from] the owner of Sugar [night club] who let me practice on the club's equipment." Another Australian DJ, DeeJay Sheba (twenty-four), has been DJing only since late 2010. She said that her mentors, both locally and internationally, have been "people who have put their faith

in me over the years and allowed me to play at their venues and their events and given me the experience and opportunity to grow as an artist." Australian DJ Alley Oop (twenty-four), now working in Berlin, also got her first opportunity through a male friend, "who couldn't make it to a gig at short notice and [she] covered for him."

All the female DJs in their twenties also acknowledged that, ironically, it was their sex that played a major part in their initial success. As DJ Lauren put it: "I am not oblivious to the fact that I have scored a lot of gigs purely because I am a woman. This may not seem like a hurdle at first glance but it really makes it harder to be taken seriously by your peers when you are offered a job because of your looks rather than your merit." DJ Alley Oop put it similarly: "Women get great opportunities to play shows, because we are still in the minority and people like that balance of having a woman on the bill of a party." DJ Flynn's (thirty-two) observations are even more concerning: "I know there have been a couple of big-name commercial clubs in Adelaide who have picked out some girls from modeling agencies and 'taught' them how to DJ which seems an unusual way to go about things!"

### *New Technologies*

As indicated above, a second development has been the new technological advances that have produced lighter and less expensive digital equipment. One example is the creation of a digital turntable that uses CDs as opposed to the traditional vinyl records for scratching and mixing. It allows DJs to manipulate sound through a simulated record deck. The advantages to DJs more generally are the lower cost of sourcing music (through downloads from the internet as opposed to physically sourcing vinyl records) and the easier maintenance of the players.

Another technological development is an interface that links laptops to a traditional player. This means that instead of using commercially released vinyl records, the DJ can use two specially made discs. As Katz points out, these two new types of technologies are not only "bringing turntablism into the digital era," but hold some promise to effect women's access to public performance since "these technologies have the potential to reduce the importance of two activities connected with turntablism that have long been seen as stereotypically masculine: record collecting and equipment repair" (2006: 593–594).<sup>12</sup>

Tuesday has made use of both of these technological developments: "I sold my old turntables and bought new turntables which were cd run rather than records and a program called Serato that works through your laptop into your mixer, from your mixer into your cd decks (pio-

neer 1000s) from your cd decks back into your mixer and then through your speakers. That was so much easier than carrying 100s of records around as all you needed was your lap top as most clubs would have the relevant equipment:) so life became easier and I made up for the money I spent. But to be fair it cost me around £2000 for everything."

While the younger female DJs all state their preference for CDs' flexibility and ease of use (some having only learned initially to mix using new digital forms of technology), all note the need to adjust the platform to the particular venue and audience. As DJ Alley Oop put it, "Being able to take a mix of vinyl and digital saves time, the back ache from lugging around a heavy bag, not to mention the excess baggage on flights. It also gives me more freedom and ability to react to the crowd better as I can have so much more music at my fingertips." In line with the views of many others, DJ Betty also notes that while she appreciates being able to access her music from the internet far less expensively, she also feels vinyl still connotes authenticity and superior knowledge of music (see also Kozinn 2013). She therefore uses vinyl when she wants to demonstrate her knowledge (as an archivist) and skills to an audience that appreciates a particular track or technique. DJ Alley Oop, too, is pleased that she has "access to both old and new technologies," but notes what she uses depends on the venue and the system: she says, "Some places have beautifully tuned systems where vinyl sounds amazing, to these I'd take more records, where as other places only have CDs." However, as a younger DJ, DeeJay Sheba has only ever used CDs: "I have personally never learnt vinyl as it is quite a hard skill to master... CDJ's are a little easier, [though] you have to be able to count music, know your music and understand the trends."

### *Alternative Spaces for Learning and Networking*

As noted above, a number of key female DJs are not only role models through their performances but also because they create new opportunities to help aspiring female musicians acquire the necessary skills. Over the past decade, more schools and organizations have opened up around the world to teach these skills, particularly the arts of DJing, rapping, and breakdancing in environments more conducive to women's needs. Scratch Academy, which opened in New York in 2002, is arguably one of the best known. Here, workshops are public and therefore seen by many as a more appropriate option for girls than private bedrooms.<sup>13</sup>

In the United States in 1997, DJ Kuttin Kandi, mentioned above, formed Anomalies, a collective of female DJs to support and mentor

women. It represents women throughout hip hop, its mission being feminist and activist. Other initiatives, such as Females Wit Funk,<sup>14</sup> established in 2005, and Female Pressure,<sup>15</sup> are virtual communities, using social networking sites to demonstrate female solidarity and offering support, education, and training, generating exposure, business, and respect for women performers around the globe.

Several of the young DJs I met in London found their local support at community-based, not-for-profit organizations like WAC,<sup>16</sup> or Bigga fish.<sup>17</sup> Many of their mentors were professional female musicians who demanded high standards of their pupils in rehearsal and performance. All the classes were deliberately structured to be welcoming to girls, providing access to production and recording equipment with excellent free or heavily subsidized tuition and also ongoing career opportunities through networking, workshops, and public performance.

Of course, it is not simply the spaces for learning that can be concerning for girls and young women but the perceived safety and the appropriateness of performance venues. DJ Betty reflected on the difficulties of performing in certain clubs or pubs: “A lot of people expected me to be a party girl—drinking, hanging out, taking drugs rather than focusing on the music. They didn’t take my music seriously.” DJ Lauren also reflected on the issue: “Off the top of my head I can think of at least four instances where I have been asked to deejay at a venue, sometimes permanently and other times as part of a one-off ‘girls’ night,’ purely because I am a woman. Venue owners have said to me ‘I only want girls deejaying at my club’ or, ‘[O]n this night we’re only going to have girls deejaying.’ I can only assume that this is either because women look good behind a deejay booth, or because club owners are genuinely trying to create a gender balance in the field. Sadly, I think it is the former.”

## Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have outlined some of the hurdles that young female DJs face and how the increasing move towards what is becoming known as *produsage* in all areas of life (Bruns 2006) is providing opportunities for success, through new sites for collaborative learning, higher visibility of female role models, and new forms of technology for creation and distribution of music. All of these factors have opened up new possibilities for girls, providing “greater access to all aspects of DJ culture” (Farrugia and Swiss 2005: 36), while enhancing distribution and exposure of their art.

From my earliest work on developing girlhood (Bloustien 2003) to later, though related, work on constituting subjectivities in other communities, both real and virtual (Bloustien and Peters 2011; Bloustien 2012; Bloustien and Wood 2013), I have argued that music is central to both the materiality of social context and the symbolism of the self. It is powerful because it brings together the experience of the intensively subjective and personal with the external, cultural, and collective. Now ten years on from that original study, we can see new ways in which girls and young women are taking up the challenges of being active and being seen through their music in greater numbers. The problems are still there, but girls and young women are clearly gaining the confidence and opportunities to take a greater role in creating, managing, and controlling spaces in the public sphere. How delightful to have it confirmed that "God is a DJ," and she is increasingly spreading her influence around the globe!<sup>18</sup>

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## Notes

1. I am using the terms girls and young women interchangeably in this chapter to refer to both age and attitude. My 2014 female research participants are now in their early twenties to early thirties.
2. For a full report see [www.femalepressure.net/PDFs/fempresreport-03-2013.pdf](http://www.femalepressure.net/PDFs/fempresreport-03-2013.pdf).
3. One of the privileges of my research being deliberately participatory is that most of the young people I work with continue to voluntarily correspond with me (via email and Facebook) years after the projects officially finish.
4. Block called his popular radio show *Make Believe Ballroom*.

5. *The Survey of Work in Selected Culture and Leisure Activities 2007* was conducted throughout Australia as part of the Monthly Population Survey (MPS) of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). It was previously conducted in 1993, 1997, 2001, and 2004. The report found that while 24 percent of women and 19 percent of men aged fifteen years and over worked in a culture or leisure field, the participation rates for paid involvement were similar for males and females (7 percent). Brown (1996) learned that in 1993 women still had a higher rate of unpaid involvement than their male counterparts with 17 percent of females (1.4 million) having unpaid involvement only, compared with 12 percent of males (1 million). On the ground, anecdotally and discursively, similar figures are confirmed by both male and female DJs I interviewed in Australia, U.K., Europe, and the United States in 2013.
6. dickparty.tumblr.com
7. <http://youtube/ZCCAyxowIwQ>
8. See [www.musicindustryinsideout.com.au](http://www.musicindustryinsideout.com.au)
9. <http://www.theguardian.com/music/ms-dynamite>
10. <http://www.lilyallenmusic.com>.
11. All the quoted extracts from here on in this chapter have been taken from emails received in 2013 from my own research participants. As with earlier extracts, I have left all these unedited.
12. The smaller amount of disposable income available to women globally because of personal and social factors is well-documented. It inevitably affects their ability to succeed here, too, since women are expected to be able to have access to a large music collection and maintain their equipment, either by themselves or by paying for technical assistance.
13. See [www.scratch.com/](http://www.scratch.com/) Although no records seem to have been published on the relative number of female to male enrolments, the website itself seems to highlight increasingly the names and biographies of successful female DJs alongside their male counterparts.
14. [www.femaleswitfunk.com](http://www.femaleswitfunk.com)
15. [www.femalepressure.net](http://www.femalepressure.net)
16. [www.wacarts.co.uk](http://www.wacarts.co.uk)
17. [www.biggafish.com](http://www.biggafish.com)
18. This chapter was inspired by the lyrics of “God is a DJ,” a song by the popular singer, Pink.

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