NOVA

University of Newcastle Research Online

nova.newcastle.edu.au

Sharp, Megan; Nilan, Pam "Queer punx: young women in the Newcastle hardcore space".
Originally published in Journal of Youth Studies Vol. 18, Issue 4, p. 451-467 (2015)

Available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.963540>

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis Group in Journal of Youth Studies on 13/10/2014, available online:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/13676261.2014.963540>

Accessed from: <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/1325982>

Queer punx: young women in the Newcastle hardcore space

Journal:	<i>Journal of Youth Studies</i>
Manuscript ID:	CJYS-2014-0108.R1
Manuscript Type:	Article
Keywords:	Gender, Identity, Music, Sexuality

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Queer punx: young women in the Newcastle hardcore space

Introduction

In our discussion below we look at queer-identified young women involved in the hardcore music scene in the regional city of Newcastle, Australia. We propose they construct a viable identity in this masculine space through the liberating subversive discourse of punk. They find commonality in disengagement from mainstream youth culture through the Newcastle hardcore music scene, which somehow authorizes them to be queer punx. Below we explore how this happens through interviews with twelve women aged 20-30. The angry music of hardcore – operating as a ‘capacity’ for reinvention of self (De Nora 2000: 124) – would seem to empower their queer identity. The young women described the way they manifest queer within hardcore as a kind of ‘becoming’. This matches well with Deleuze and Guattari’s claim (1987: 307) that sexuality may be thought of as a diversity of conjugated becomings. However, their subversive identity within local hardcore is also clearly tied to punk as a kind of becoming; the evolution of personal style and practice that expresses rebuttal of both commodified youth culture and heteronormative femininity (see Taylor 2009). De Nora (2000: 9-18) argues that music and art are embodied discourses in the creative function of self-making. For these young women, making a tangible representation of queer punk in the form of a fashion statement or a zine, allowed them to practice their corporeal female identity autonomously within the masculinized space of hardcore. The findings here may shed light upon the question of whether there are other spaces that young women can participate in or create for themselves in which they influence the culture of the scene.

In terms of locating this paper in reference to some wider scholarship in the field of youth studies, we propose that the creative and subversive energy of female queer punx approximates what Maffesoli (1996: 1) called *puissance* – the ‘energy and vital force of the people’, that can unexpectedly intervene in hegemonic structures exercising *pouvoir*, the formal channels of power. To understand how this might be so, we first look at the influential discourses of queer, punk and hardcore before describing the methodology. We then discuss some data excerpts under the themes

of: Queering hardcore, hard-femme, kitsch femme and the creative praxis of queer in hardcore. Finally we synthesise a discussion of our findings under the heading: Becoming queer punx.

Queer

Queer often functions as an umbrella term for GLBTIQ minorities. Yet queer has also been used more and more to describe sexual identities that are not heteronormative or gender-binary, even within GLBTIQ discourse. So it is a fluid term (Halperin 1995; Levy and Johnson 2011; Kemp 2009; Ruffolo 2009) extending well beyond physiology and considerations of sexual preference. Jagose (1995: 98) asserts that queer ‘challenges’ heteronormativity precisely because its boundaries are not defined. It shakes the ground on which foundations of identities are constructed, reconceptualising what it means to be gay, straight, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and so on. Queer is radical and progressive because of its ‘ambiguity’ (Valocchi 2005: 754). Ruffolo (2009) claims queer invokes critical thought in those who experience it subjectively, questioning the heteronormativity of bodies and culture. However, avoiding a distinct set of ascriptive criteria, queer can be something of a rolling stone, gathering momentum and volume as it travels through various times and spaces to land on a diversity of bodies.

The young women we interviewed expressed their female queerness (broadly defined) in and through the local hardcore music scene. As corporeal females who were not ‘hard’, they were subversively ‘doing’ gender (see West and Zimmerman 1987) in the masculinist space of hardcore as conscious practice. They were also ‘doing’ queer. In writing about homosexuality, Foucault (1997: 138) describes this as a ‘slantwise’ subject position that lays out ‘diagonal lines’ in the social fabric. In other words it works against the grain of the heteronormative, but not in a right angle configuration. In principle, the queer subject position fractures the norm at oblique angles, producing anomalies. This process is both discursive and performative; a constant ‘becoming’ in conjugation with others (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 304) rather than a fixed state. The lived experience of queerness is through corporeal acts of ‘doing’ (West and Zimmerman 1987), and performativity (Butler 1990), just as is punk. Since queer is both a ‘radical’ politics of self (Valocchi 2005: 754) and a

discursive practice, the experience of the young women does seem aptly described as a kind of queer punk 'becoming' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) - constituted in a space of marginality: the hardcore scene.

As Halberstam's (2003) study demonstrated, some spaces either explicitly or implicitly authorize the expression of queer. Hammers' (2008: 161) work on women's queer bathhouses in Canada found that the queer space itself directly facilitated participants to act out certain sexual performances. By collectively authorising what heteronormative culture would consider deviant, queer-identifying people can operationalize a radical politics of identity that builds the size of the peer group. Yet while queer-allocated spaces explicitly authorize queer performance, queer can also be implicitly authorized in other spaces through a slantwise process that accesses an iconoclastic discourse. The hardcore music scene offers the possibility of authorising queer because of the confronting anti-authoritarian nature of the music itself, and the embedded DIY ethos of punk. We propose that in this way the Newcastle hardcore scene implicitly authorizes female queer punk self-invention.

To grasp how hardcore sound itself – 'an infectious blend of ultra-fast music, thought-provoking lyrics, and "fuck-you" attitude' (Blush 2010: 9) might appeal to young queer women in Newcastle, we acknowledge the relationship between music, imagination and modes of corporeal conduct. De Nora (2000: 124) points out that within social spaces, 'music may allude to modes of aesthetic agency – feeling, being, moving, acting – and so may place near-to-hand certain aesthetic styles that can be used as referents for configuring agency'. So, entrained by the physical patterns of the music, bodies gain the empowering capacity of self-invention. In this case, it is queer becoming that emerges as an empowering capacity for young women. And it is not a new phenomenon.

Queercore is already a distinctive sub-genre of punk (Schwandt 2009; Du Plessis and Chapman 1997; Cooper 1996; DeChaine 1997). It first emerged in the 1980s; 'queercore as a musical form takes as its primary inspiration a path blazed by a second wave of punks (...) queercore music favors an ethic of raw, "do it yourself" performance and production hearkening to the original punk rock' (DeChaine 1997: 19). It is here that the radical politics of punk DIY and queer come together. In

1
2
3 'queercore' a musico-sexual coalition is directly signalled: the prefix 'queer' meaning
4 'not straight' and the suffix 'core', indicative of the genre's punk rock extraction
5 (Taylor 2012: 606). However, while occasionally a gender-subversive hardcore
6 (queercore) band does come to play in Newcastle, this is rare. The women we
7 interviewed usually attend gigs where only hard male hardcore bands perform.
8
9
10

11
12
13 **Punk ethos and the hardcore music scene**
14

15
16 Some studies have considered the engagement of women with 'heavy' music genres
17 including hardcore (for example, Dawes 2012; Purchla 2011; Ryan 2008; Krenske
18 and McKay 2000; Leblanc 1999; Jacques 2001; Tsitsos 1999). Other studies have
19 either directly or indirectly addressed the interface of queer and punk (for example,
20 Taylor 2008, 2012, 2013; Halberstam 2003; du Plessis and Chapman 1997; Brett,
21 Wood and Thomas 1994; Cooper 1996; DeChaine 1997; Fuchs 1998; Peters 2010;
22 Schwandt 2009; Shoemaker 2010; Wiedlack 2011; Wilson 2008; Griffin 2012;
23 Ensminger 2010). However, none of the latter set of studies has specifically
24 addressed the question of how young women might actually 'become' queer punx
25 within the male-dominated hardcore music scene. It seems that they summon the
26 collective resources to configure the discursive space differently.
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35

36 As a musical genre, hardcore comes from punk. Punk emerged when 1970s
37 governments in England and America were focused on restoring traditional values
38 and morality to youth. Historically, the punk movement was a music-driven
39 subculture of marginalized youth discoursing on a range of issues: class, left wing
40 politics, unequal distribution of wealth, religion, conservatism and 'alienation'
41 (Sabin 1999: 3). The attraction of punk lay in its radical positioning and rebellious
42 stance. Punk promised emancipatory ideals such as separation from parental values
43 and ownership over the trajectory into selfhood (Langman 2008). Embracing
44 otherness in terms of punk required rejection of the boundaries of traditional youth
45 culture. This alignment manifested in blasting sound, confrontational lyrics and
46 stripped back venues. Punk was performed through the visible; denim vests with
47 hand-sewn patches, ripped black jeans, black band shirts and tattoos (Bennett 2006:
48 225).
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Griffin (2012) discusses the importance of fashion and visibility in her work on gendered performance in UK punk spaces. The concept of fashion as artefact is implicitly relevant when considering collective identities and embodiment in punk subculture since bodies become 'sites of resistance' (Griffin 2012: 69). Mapping bodies and adornment makes embodied identities inherently visible, creating spaces and times through a DIY ethos. DIY signifies collective resistance to commodified culture (Gartside 1998: 59). For example, the principle was held that a creative amateur can make music as readily and effectively as a professional (McKay 1998; Strachan 2007; Dale 2008; Baker and Huber 2013). Ideally, a DIY music scene stresses 'values based on equality, communalism, political awareness and action, and doing things for passion and not profit' (Culton and Holtzman 2010: 274). To a certain extent those same DIY values live on in punk today, especially in the live performance-oriented genre of hardcore, where the music is rarely commodified or commercialized.

Punk diverged into subsets of musical style during the 1980s, including commercialization of the sound. Resistance to this trend produced the 'angry' music of hardcore, stripping away the commercial conventions to which punk had begun to subscribe (Fox 1987). Hardcore is an offshoot of punk and often claims to be the 'authentic' punk sound; raw, unrefined and resistant to commodification. As both a genre of music and a subcultural scene, hardcore has been strongly identified as a site for the reproduction of corporeally 'hard' masculinities (Driver 2011: 988). 1980s hardcore bands played a distinctive amplified fast and dense sound with aggressively-delivered lyrics and guitar distortion (Blush 2010). As *Crass*, an English anarcho-punk band (1977- 1984), once wrote, 'CBS promote the *Clash* / but it ain't for revolution, it's just for cash / Punk became a fashion just like hippy used to be / and it ain't got a thing to do with you or me'. Adherence to the punk ideal of DIY encoded as a sharp, simple sound justifies the claim by those in hardcore to be the essence of punk (Fox 1987). The point was (and still is) to create an 'authentic' sound,

By the mid-1980s the ferocity and tempo of certain branches of hardcore punk became even less melodic and began to liberally employ a sonic aesthetic known as 'breakdowns' (...) This sonic shift was integral to facilitate the

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

hypermasculinity of crew scene performance (...) The sound of many bands became harder (Purchla 2011: 201).

Blush describes early US hardcore as ‘stark and uncompromising. Hardcore generated a lifestyle stripped down to the bare bones. Its intensity exposed raw nerves. Everyone was edgy and aggressive’ (2010: 9). Lyrics were anti-authority, but also often sexist (Purchla 2011; Griffin 2012). Moreover, the hardcore moshpit was (and still is) an emphatically male space in which physical injury is expected (Driver 2011). Women have tended to avoid it (Tsitsos 1999) – and still do. Describing some of the rhetoric of hardcore spaces, the women who participated in this study used the phrase ‘no clit in the pit’. Gendered language highlights their exclusion from taking a central position in these spaces and scenes. This exclusion signals becomes a space segregated into groups of those who are serious and those who are not (Fox 1987: 352; Bennett 2006: 225). The constant (re)production of men’s power in keeping the hardcore scene hard (authentic) can be what relegates women to the fringes. However, this relegation does not necessarily manifest unwillingness to participate, rather young women can disrupt heteronormative ideas of gender norms and female performance as a result of being excluded. As Halberstam notes,

The recent explosion of dyke punk bands such as Bitch and Animal, The Butchies, Le Tigre, The Need, The Haggard and Tribe 8 also challenges conventional understandings of punk as male-dominated and of queercore as a largely gay male phenomenon. This explosion also makes visible the queerness that energized the riot grrrl movement, even as it was assiduously ignored by mainstream media. The hardcore styles of many of these bands reminds us that punk in general, contrary to the usual accounts of the subculture, has always been a place for young girls to remake their genders (Halberstam 2003: 323).

Halberstam uses punk as an example of how the rejected (those removed from societal norms) create their own community through exclusion. This is the intersection between punk and queer; the idea that one can simultaneously be included and excluded based on non-normative values and beliefs. The notion that women use this intersection as a discursive pathway to manipulate gender norms

and presentations of femininity as part of their 'becoming' queer is the focus of this research.

While hardcore represented one direction of the punk trajectory, there were others where gender issues were aired. By the early 1990s some female punks and musicians had shifted their focus to issues of gender and sexism (O'Brien 2012; Guarrancino 2012). Riot Grrrl was one manifestation of this trend, placing docile femininity and the marginalization of women at the forefront of critical expression in alternative music scenes (Marcus 2010). For example, bands such as *Bikini Kill* and *Bratmobile* challenged how women in punk were typically represented; as sexualized and passive participants (Jacques 2001: 47). However, the hardcore scene remained separate from such trends. Writing about the US hardcore scene, Blush (2010: 36) finds he is 'hard pressed to remember many women present (...) most hardcore boys saw girls as distractions, even interlopers'. Although the scene in Australia was not exactly the same as in the UK and the USA, anecdotal evidence suggests that typical gender relations were not dissimilar.

Thus, given the emphatically masculine nature of the hardcore music scene even today, it might seem curious that contemporary queer-identified young women find a place within it. Yet they do (Taylor 2009). For example, Halberstam's study (2003) found that queer women were not put off by the strong male overtones of punk and hardcore. In fact, the traditionally iconoclastic ethos of punk/hardcore was found to provide a space and time where young queer women developed 'strategies of resistance to gender norms' (Halberstam 2003: 324). In Taylor's (2012) work on Australian queer youth participation, where research was undertaken at a Brisbane queer youth festival, Taylor found young people (aged 12 to 24) to be engaging with sexual self-making. While this research is not specifically within the field of queer punk identity construction, some of the events held at the *Queerious Youth* festival were in line with DIY and punk ethos and therefore Taylor's research has greatly informed this study. Reference to collective subcultural identity formation through visual markers such as fashion is highlighted in Taylor's research,

On the day of the festival too, a number of subcultural cohorts were visible. A group of queer teenage women who presented themselves as goth (or

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

possibly emo) spent much of their time together, as did young people who presented as alternative/punk in their dress (Taylor 2012: 295).

However, being a DIY queer female punk in hardcore is hardly an easy path to follow. It is one paved with marginalization and the threat of irrelevance. And herein lies an important distinction between punk and hardcore. In punk the seriousness of political and social issues may be expressed playfully and ironically; you can make punk your own – Do-It-Yourself. Hardcore discourse however, permits only the serious ('hard') theme of punk to be performed, implicitly rejecting the playful irony of the original punks.

In principle and practice hardcore as a form of punk constitutes an exclusionary space segregated into those who are serious and those who are not (Fox 1987; Bennett 2006). Likewise, the hardcore moshpit physically authorizes only hard male bodies as competent to perform. The constant (re)production of men's power in keeping the hardcore scene 'hard' – thus authentic (Driver 2011) is what relegates women to the fringes. For example, Blush notes that on the periphery of the US hardcore scene 'lurked plenty of stereotypical Punk chicks that guys mistreated and/or sponged off' (2010: 36). Blush's observation encodes the way women are seen by men in hardcore; as objects of scorn, as resources to be exploited, but in the end relegated to the margins. Yet even so, women have continued to construct viable identities for themselves at this hard edge of punk.

A defining feature of punk is that it 'gives itself to be read' (Hebdige 2002: 101) as an embodiment of chaos. Punk stylistics include 'dissonance, distortions, decomposition, clashes of disparate elements, destruction and vulgarity'. So music scene punx routinely signal these subversive elements through modifying their appearance. Thus they 'embody a conscious rejection of the norm and signal active dissent through clothing and performance' (Cherry and Mellins 2012: 13). As stated above, here we investigate the 'becoming' of queer female punx in the contemporary hardcore scene in a regional Australian city. We propose that queer female subjectivity as an expression of Newcastle punk is playfully subversive against the rather rigid purist authenticity of hardcore. The next section describes the

methodology of the project, with due attention paid to the 'insider' perspective and the limitations of the project.

Methodology

The data was collected by the first author for an honours thesis project. The aim was to conduct an in-depth exploration of gendered identity construction among young women from the city of Newcastle who identify as queer within an alternative music scene. Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants aged 20-30. They were recruited using a 'snowballing' approach at the local university campus and in the local arts scene. This approach to recruitment and data collection was approved by the Human Ethics Council at the University of Newcastle as part of the first author's honours project. Once the interviews had been conducted, interpretive themes were established and transcripts were coded accordingly. Comparisons were drawn based on the incidence and prevalence of a particular feeling or experience. The identities of participants have been protected by pseudonym.

It was necessary to gather data in a manner which represented how queer identity is constructed, such as introspective retellings and personal lived experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2003: 73). The interview format provided a space where reflection could take place; anecdotal evidence of the self being constructed could be expanded on and analysed in depth. Semi-structured interviews offered elasticity during the interview process; providing valuable data relating to concepts of structure and agency, the importance of labelling sexuality and the construction of identity. The interview could bend and move as the participant and the researcher engaged in discussion (Kothari 2004: 98). Importantly, respondents were able to provide examples of various situational experiences to create a depth of data that would not have been possible through other methodological approaches.

Reflexive considerations of the self and other were contextualized through considering insider-outsider interactions (Denzin and Lincoln 2003: 211). As a member of the local punk and hardcore scenes in Newcastle, the first author was known to most participants prior to their involvement. In that respect this study is

similar to that conducted by Driver (2011) on the Gold Coast hardcore scene in Australia. The first author's position as an insider in terms of music participation was critical to her ability to successfully recruit participants, without which the process would have been significantly more difficult. An insider position in the research afforded both benefits and challenges to the interpretation of data. Where the collection of data and understanding of situational performances were made easier, a constant re-evaluation of the insider position was undertaken. Considerations of subject/object relationality were made to understand the complexities of privileged knowledge and knowledge distortion (Taylor 2012: 7). Analysis of data concentrated on personal narratives and linkages between experiences of participants in order to highlight the self-defined nature of a queer(ed) lived experience as a female punk.

The research provided a snapshot of the queer(ed) experiences of a group of young women in the Newcastle hardcore scene. The sample size of 12 participants yielded considerable data with which to thematically analyse these experiences. However, the research is not generalisable to the experiences of all women (queer or otherwise) in this localised music scene. The sample size of 12, while a considerable representation of queer women in the rather small Newcastle hardcore music scene, does limit the research in that the possibility of varying perspectives of the queer punx intersection could not be included. It must also be noted that the participants of this research identified as white, cisgendered¹ Western women and therefore other intersections of queerness, race and privilege are not analysed in this paper.

All participants had involvement with the small but active Newcastle hardcore music scene. The port city of Newcastle has historically been known for its industrial practices, exporting coal and assembling infrastructure, and therefore is often considered rough and masculine as a result. However, Newcastle is also a university city. A thriving underground music, arts and cultural scene exists. For example, the Cambridge Hotel offers a regular line up of punk, folk, indie and hardcore bands and solo artists. There is also a small but active gay, lesbian and transgendered

¹ Cisgendered refers to an individual whose constructed gender aligns with physical or biological sex. That is, a female sexed person identified as a woman and a male sexed person identifies as a man. Largely a queer(ed) term, cisgender is used in the queer community.

community of all ages, with a few dedicated venues, but none offer live music. There is no significant set queer youth scene or subculture in Newcastle as would be found in Sydney or Melbourne where spaces and times in popular venues are regularly designated queer. So young queer people depend upon a variety of music scenes and night venues for socialising. The study participants actively engaged in the local hardcore music scene by going to shows and discussing existing and upcoming bands in their interactions with others. At gigs they dance together in a small group on the outskirts of the mosh pit. As such, they represent the small community of queer women that has become visible in local hardcore.

Themes in the data

The most common reasons the young women gave for attachment to hardcore were: rebellion against social norms, distrust of authority, and the sense that they did not fit into mainstream youth culture. Rather, they expressed their female queerness as punx² in and through the hardcore space. Attraction to both the hardcore scene and a queer identity at the same time might at first appear to constitute two mutually exclusive socio-cultural worlds. However, that was clearly not the case for the young women interviewed. They admitted it was a difficult path to tread but they felt they belonged with other queer women in the local hardcore music scene. The curiosity then, comes from the fact that a queer female gender identity is collectively accomplished in a music scene that encodes 'hard' masculinity. It is acknowledged that these women are not the majority within the hardcore scene in Newcastle. Some women who participate in punk and hardcore identify as straight. The relationships that queer and straight women have with each other in these spaces have not been mapped in detail for the project. They will however, be explored in a larger forthcoming study. From the insider perspective it is suggested that forming kinship between groups of women is important regardless of sexuality or identity labels, particularly within hardcore spaces because they are such intensely masculinised sites. Moreover, we not intend to imply that young women seeking male partners within punk and hardcore should be negatively judged for heterosexual desire. Here we consider only the pockets of young women who identity as queer punx; manifesting the intersection between a punk ethos and a queer identity. Below we

² Some scholars of punk spell the plural as punx to recognise common practice in the subculture (for example Vensel 2008).

offer an interpretation of the young women becoming interviewed queer punx as embodied subjectivity in hardcore through fashion and aesthetics, visibility and creative self-making.

Queering hardcore

All interviewees felt a strong connection with hardcore music, thus bearing out not only the theoretical arguments of De Nora (2000) but the more recent empirical research of Taylor (2010) in Australia. They were attracted to the hardcore music scene because it seemed to promise a distinctive identity transition to strong and punk, for example,

I remember when I first found hardcore and I thought ‘Wow, I have found this space and this bunch of people that just don’t fit in’. And I thought it would be this community that would embrace different people, especially women (Katy, 28, 1 August 2013).

However, the challenging experience of being female and queer in the hardcore music scene was also emphasized by the informants on a number of occasions, for example,

Hardcore is such a male scene, you know? For me, my queerness is most noticeable there because it stands out; it’s different. I mean, the men in the bands or in the crowd have no idea. They are too busy like, adoring each other or something. The music is loud, the space is small, there’s a mosh pit. Why would they start questioning sexuality when they are the bosses of that space? It’s the women that pay attention to queer in hardcore (Helena, 24, 21 July 2013).

Helena emphasized the heteronormative maleness of the scene that contrasts with her female queerness. The men are claimed even to be unaware that she and her friends are queer. Her impression is of intense homosociality; the men are so focused on each other they don’t pay much attention to the women present. The physical conditions of a hardcore gig mean that men are corporeally engaged with each other, with the women positioned as marginal, and assumed heterosexual.

1
2
3 Finally she makes the pertinent point that it is other women who pay attention to
4 queer women in hardcore. It is possible that the extreme homosociality of men in the
5 hardcore scene facilitates intensification of interaction between women, so that the
6 two gendered scenes operate side by side, without the necessity for much contact.
7
8
9

10
11 There were several comments that indicated how much women in the hardcore
12 music scene notice each other. Another interviewee commented,
13

14
15 I think the thing for me, being young and seeing these badass, feminist women
16 who called themselves queer and really stood up for themselves and what they
17 believed in, I really admired them (Tegan, 27, 14 July 2013).
18
19
20
21

22
23 Another comment conveyed the sense in which the queer young women in the
24 hardcore scene observe and evaluate each other,
25
26

27
28 The women in the hardcore scene, you know, if they were feminine we were
29 like 'I bet they just want boyfriends' or they were just using their femininity
30 which later we realized is totally fine. Like what else are you gonna use! It's like
31 its own patriarchal society (Ellen, 27, 7 July 2013).
32
33
34
35

36 To pinpoint the meaning here, Ellen is talking about when she and her friends began
37 to perform their gender subversively as queer in venues showcasing hardcore bands
38 and events. Like her friends, she was searching for a scene against the grain of
39 traditional female gender roles. However, through her own admission, initially she
40 still reproduced gender stereotypes in her judgments of apparently feminine women
41 she encountered in the hardcore scene. Yet it seems that a kind of feminist journey
42 has been undertaken towards a more engaged understanding. Ellen's comments
43 imply she and her friends at first believed feminine women were not serious about
44 engaging with the hardcore scene in any meaningful sense, unlike them. However,
45 later they came to acknowledge the limited expressive space any woman was
46 permitted in the male-dominated hardcore scene. They were then able to distinguish
47 between feminine-looking women seeking or attached to boyfriends and those who
48 were performing femininity in a queer way within the scene.
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Helena's story was also illustrative of the journey towards queer through the hardcore music scene. She said that when she began to attend hardcore gigs, it was not for the music nor for connection to the scene itself, rather she enjoyed the attention from men. However, later she formed relationships with queer women in the scene. It was only then she began to really appreciate the music and align herself with a punk ethos. Helena seems to have experienced both the becoming of queer and the becoming of punk/hardcore, since she was not initially attracted by the music or the scene. Her account demonstrates the importance of radical authorization of self that queer punk facilitates. This was regarded by all the women interviewed as a fundamental praxis of queer selfhood as punx.

Quite a few of the interviewees spoke about their queerness in hardcore as a form of becoming, for example,

I think queer encompasses the fluidity and the changing aspects of sexuality. The fact that you're always becoming and you're always changing and you're always moving towards a different version of yourself (Ellen, 27, 7 July 2013).

Ellen implies that queerness produces, and is produced by, notions of evolving towards an identity without boundaries and no fixed destination. The metaphor of 'becoming' here echoes the point made by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) above. Queer is a constant process of becoming rather than a static identity organized bimorphically. Some of the women were scathing about the old-fashioned label 'bisexual', for example,

They [young women] have that thing to come out as you know. Like I am queer and I am open to other possibilities and [in the past] all I had to come out as was bisexual. And bisexual meant that you were 50/50. Or that you had sex with women for fun (Emma, 29, 23 July 2013).

Emma scorned the term bisexuality and felt it did not fit the way she experienced her sexual desire as a young punk. It seems female queer and hardcore is one of those 'conjugated becomings' where the powerful masculine rigidity of hardcore music pushes the development of a queer female aesthetic in unexpected directions.

Hard-femme

As explained above, the matter of authenticity in hardcore hinges on being male. It is the first criteria of what Driver (2011: 981) calls 'the embodiment of knowledge in-context' necessary for legitimacy in the scene. So, because they are not corporeally male and therefore not 'hard', young women in the hardcore music scene are already inauthentic. Therefore their behaviour and choice of appearance does not affect their status very much within the internal power hierarchies that operate in this subcultural music scene. The fact that they are marginal by definition perhaps facilitates the diverse oppositional queering of their female appearance. The queer women we interviewed were not trying to be accepted. They were pleasing themselves and each other. The most common visual marker of female queer punk was 'hard-femme'.

Hard-femme is a term used in punk and queer circles to describe a style comparable to 1950s 'bad' girl fashion. It includes, but is certainly not limited to, batwing eyeliner, black fitted dresses, leather skirts and jackets and stiletto heels. Hair may be long or short. The hard-femme 'looks more feminine than masculine (...) embraces the empowerment that comes with a feminine identity (...) [the hard-femme] does not equate her femininity with relinquishment of power and independence' (Storti 2013: 4). Kiki gave the example of hard-femme as both presentation and performance of hardcore queer female,

One of the presentations of queerness for me that isn't as prevalent in lesbianism or bi-sexuality is the idea of hard-femme. And hard-femme is so punk, it's a way to express your femininity while still being like – 'fuck you' and that's really queer for me and it's also really punk like, women who get dressed up still wanna have their punk, they still wanna have that edge. And that's really visible in a lot of queer femme presentations (Kiki, aged 30, 25 June 2013).

As Kiki implies, hard-femme not only signifies aesthetic differences between queer and lesbian visibility but constitutes an iconic expression of female punk. Through subversive style, these queer women 'play around with femininity' (McRobbie 1991: 36) on their bodies, which consequently disrupts the masculine hegemony of local

hardcore. Their subcultural practice refutes the putative claim in the introduction to *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in a Boys' Subculture*, that women must 'become virtual boys' to even try and be accepted into the hardcore community (LeBlanc 1998: 13). Hard-femme style locates them definably as queer female punx, with the 'hard', yet visually sexual edge that hard-femme gives.

Kitsch femme

Punk 'fashion' has always been playfully ironic (see Cherry and Mellins 2012). The young women we interviewed made specific use of fashion and aesthetic style on their female bodies as visual markers for queering the hardcore space. Like Ari Up, lead singer of the *Slits* who often performed with her underwear outside her clothes to challenge naturalized female sexuality (Cogan 2012: 125), they reconceptualized their female sexuality through corporeal strategies such as hard-femme. In ironic contrast though, Katy displayed an ultra-feminine appearance, wearing pastels and frilly dresses. She consciously developed this style as she came to realize 'it [hardcore] was just really hard work'. She continued,

It's a scene that's seen as built by men. I like the idea of my fashion testing people, making them feel uncomfortable in this testosterone-fuelled environment (Katy, aged 28, 1 August 2013).

Katy manifests her challenge in ultra-feminine, pastel-coloured hair and dresses, teamed with bright accessories and lots of make-up. Her chosen visual appearance represents a conscious desire to stand out in a virtual sea of male hardcore black and denim on one hand, and hard-femme black on the other. This not only declares her unwillingness to ascribe to the masculinist discourse of hardcore but may also stand as a refusal of 'homonormativity' (Jeppesen 2010) in favour of a possibly even more unsettling version of female queer punk. Katy admits that her adornment has garnered both positive and negative reactions. A typical criticism is that she is 'less serious about hardcore' (her words) than those who present visibly as authentic members. Other interviewees spoke about Katy as an example of subversive queerness in the hardcore space. She was implied as an outsider's outsider,

1
2
3 She [Katy] has queered that femme-ness and that scene. It is a very queered
4 understanding because she is very playful about punk and hardcore, like she's
5 very engaged in it but also just fucking with everything all the time (Kiki, aged
6 30, 25 June 2013).
7
8
9

10
11 In the interviews both Katy and Kiki deplored the naturalized male kinship of
12 hardcore spaces. They said nothing happens in the hardcore space for women. The
13 lyrics and music are written by men, for men and played to men. This is not to say
14 that men in the scene are unhappy when women engage with the music, but they felt
15 everything is based on male kinship. So when queer women challenge the
16 heteronormative straightness of the scene they do so through a reconstitution of the
17 subversive and playful punk ethos. Katy might look as though she is available to
18 men, but she is not. In that sense she re-works herself ironically through
19 exaggeration of the feminine to queer the male gaze in hardcore.
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27

28 The presentation of full kitsch ultra-femme style by women like Katy is quite rare in
29 the hardcore scene, although hints of stylised kitsch do sometimes appear ironically
30 in clothes and accessories. It was noted that the quirkiness of such a fashion choice
31 created a sort of ice-breaker among young women, particularly at hardcore shows
32 and events. Katy mentioned that some young women commented positively on her
33 choice of aesthetic and were interested in getting to know her: perhaps seeking to
34 create kinship bonds with someone who overtly challenged the hegemonic
35 masculine space. The project informants strongly emphasised that no ascriptive
36 criteria for acceptance, such as dress, should be applied to queer women. Rather,
37 young women became accepted by queer others in the scene through collective
38 authorisation. This could occur as repeated acknowledgement of each other in
39 hardcore arenas, or spontaneously, such as through a chance interaction at an event
40 or in an online space.
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 *Creative praxis of queer in hardcore*

52 As indicated above, men dominate hardcore gigs. Women either dance in small
53 groups at the margins of the moshpit or stand at the back until breaks between
54 bands or the end of the show (Dunn and Farnsworth 2012). When the live music
55 stops they can make themselves visible, and potentially attract the attention of men if
56
57
58
59
60

they want to. However, the respondents in our study indicated it was not important to them whether they were noticed by men or not. It should be noted that this perspective is probably not exclusive to those young women in the scene who identify as queer. While straight-identifying women were not interviewed as part of this study, it cannot be assumed they were interested in attracting men within the space. They might be there due to their attraction to the musical style and the environment of punk self-expression. It was evident though, that the queer women had established a like-minded community within the scene. They were engaging with the music and making their own space and time at gigs. They were also expressing themselves creatively.

Most of the young women we interviewed expressed their queerness in hardcore through creative outlets such as writing, designing clothes and making zines and music. This desire to create can be perceived through a larger discourse of creating the self - one who is constantly becoming and evolving may also be drawn to externalising this process of self-making. For example, Heidi explained how forging her own path towards a female, queer identity (and community) within hardcore was through DIY publications – zines,

I wanted to be more involved, but I didn't have the guts or really, the ability to be in a band or be on stage. I didn't want to be in the pit either. So when I found DIY zines, I could kinda make a place for myself (Heidi, aged 24, 21 July 2013).

Heidi began to craft handmade zines to distribute alongside hardcore band merchandise at shows or through independent distros. Her zine issues covered topics such as women in punk, rape culture, sexuality and mental illness. Through making the zines Heidi creatively engaged with the genre of hardcore in a meaningful way while actively queering it at the same time through choice of topic (see Fenster 1993). Here we can see the resonance between a DIY ethos of punk and queer praxis that resides in the creative, self-defining characteristics of both (Du Plessis and Chapman 1997). For example the content and production of hardcore zines by women relies heavily on lived experience and the internalization of what it means to be a woman in a space not designed for women, in this case with a sexuality that is neither heteronormatively or homonormatively determined. Kiki's

1
2
3 zines represent a visible component of the praxis of queer female hardcore. She
4 described the effect of her zines in corporeal terms; giving the example of performing
5 queer in the mirror,
6
7

8
9
10 You can have a little read in your bedroom and try it out in front of your mirror.

11 You can go home and be like, you know maybe now I'm queer. It gives you that
12 space (Kiki, aged 30, 25 June 2013).
13
14

15
16 Kiki alluded to how zines construct a queer sexuality and identity through their
17 alignment with feminist iconography and grrrl power rhetoric. She implied that
18 without medium for expression, the way she navigates and takes ownership of her
19 sexuality in the inherently male space of the hardcore music scene would be
20 significantly restricted. This finding matches that of Du Plessis and Chapman (1997).
21 They also found queer zines were a popular vehicle for opposing the seemingly
22 heterosexual values of hardcore. Subversively gendered zines expressing DIY
23 culture create a space in hardcore that empowers the female reader to engage and
24 perform queer. The example shows it is not necessary to make hardcore music to be
25 strongly affected by it, and to start shaping the discourse around it. As De Nora
26 notes, the influence of music transcends performance within a set space,
27 punctuating the composition of bodies and passages of time. Music is then a
28 soundtrack to embodied social action (De Nora 2000: 17). The nexus of hardcore
29 music and female queer punk is thereby made visible.
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 **Becoming queer punx**

42

43
44 In reference to key themes in the interview data as discussed above, we now offer a
45 wider interpretation of how some young women engaged in the becoming of queer
46 female punk in Newcastle hardcore, given that the city is rarely visited by queercore
47 bands. We address the question of how they configure the discursive space of
48 hardcore differently.
49
50
51
52

53
54 Firstly, they found the local hardcore scene intensely focused on the authenticity of
55 the hard punk sound, and therefore, as Driver (2011) argues, the men were intensely
56 focused on each other at the gig, on stage and in the moshpit. It may well be
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 therefore that the very marginal position of women in the Newcastle hardcore space
4 drives and authorizes the attention women pay to each other. Helena's account
5 shows how from this marginal position she formed relationships with queer women in
6 the scene and thereby gained a sense of herself as not only queer but punk. This
7 was described as a process of becoming, of evolving towards an identity without
8 boundaries and with no fixed destination. The label bisexual, for example, made no
9 sense for the women in this radical punk context. Overall, these female queer punx
10 were already marginal by definition and were not trying to be accepted by men in the
11 scene. They were reflexively constituting queer punk in relation to self and other.
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

19
20 Secondly, they drew upon the ironic playfulness of punk fashion in developing their
21 visual performance of queer identity at gigs. Notably, neither hard-femme nor kitsch-
22 femme represents an attempt to fit into hardcore by making the girl a 'virtual boy' in
23 LeBlanc's terms (1999). Through their appearance they were visually queering the
24 local hardcore scene. Even though they claim the men ignore them, this does not
25 matter because it is the whole scene – the music, the bands, the venue, the dancing,
26 and so on – that is being queered.
27
28
29
30
31
32

33 Finally, among other creative practices, the young women accessed the long-
34 established punk practice of hand-producing zines as a further way to re-configure
35 the masculinist space of local hardcore. Thus a space was created which
36 empowered women in the scene to engage and perform queer punk. If we take the
37 loud, hard driving sound of hardcore to be the soundtrack to embodied social action
38 as De Nora (2000: 17) suggests, then this illuminates the interwoven becoming of
39 hardcore music and female queer punk in a city where opportunities to express a
40 queer punk ethos and aesthetic are quite limited.
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

48 It has been argued that male-dominated hardcore supports dominant culture, since it
49 adheres to strict rules and traditions in the same vein as heteronormativity, even
50 while ostensibly embracing anti-establishment values (Fox 1987). At the same time
51 the homonormativity of some contemporary GLBTIQ conservatism means young
52 queer radicals cannot find readily themselves in that discourse. If this is so then for
53 these women 'to identify as both queer and punk is to simultaneously resist the
54 cultural norms of gender, sexuality and musicality associated with both queer and
55
56
57
58
59
60

punk rock cultures' (Taylor 2009: 222). That is, they collectively reconfigure the masculine discursive landscape of hardcore through positioning themselves as women within the counter-normative discourses of queer and punk.

We propose that the findings reported above demonstrate the creative and subversive energy of female queer punx. They are exercising what Maffesoli (1996: 1) called *puissance* - the 'energy and vital force of the people', a collective force that is both inventive and unexpected. By forming bonds of affirmation and acceptance between themselves – 'being ourselves' – as queer female punx they intervene in the hegemonically masculine space of hardcore. As Halberstam (2005: 174) points out, 'queer subcultures offer us a perfect opportunity to depart from a normative model of youth cultures'. The insight here for other studies of youth cultures is that they are never fixed. They always engage the possibility of a different kind of becoming.

Conclusion

We note that the young women interviewed for this study identified themselves as 'becoming' queer female punx, not just becoming queer. The data presented in this article indicate the enduring strength of the subversive punk DIY discourse, given that it can be seen operating reflexively in a quite rigidly defined hardcore (punk) space. Here punk undermines punk. The example also demonstrates that while queer-allocated spaces directly authorize the performance of queer, queer can also be authorized in other spaces through a slantwise process that accesses an iconoclastic discourse like punk. This punk queering manifests corporeally in the confronting aesthetic performativity of hard-femme and kitsch-femme, and textually in zines that highlight feminist themes. We conclude that these young women 'become' queer punx within the male-dominated Newcastle hardcore music scene through collectively summoning and synthesising the subversive resources of queer and punk discourses to configure the space of hardcore differently.

Bibliography

Baker, S. and Huber, A. (2013), 'Notes Towards a Typology of the DIY Institution: Identifying Do-it-yourself Places of Popular Music Preservation', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16:5, pp. 513-530.

- Bennett, A. (2006), 'Punk's not Dead: The Continuing Significance of Punk Rock for an Older Generation of Fans', *Sociology*, 40:2, pp. 219-235.
- Blush, S. (2010), *American Hardcore: A Tribal History*, 2nd edition. Washington: Feral House.
- Brett, P., Wood, E. and Thomas, G. (eds.), (1994), *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge.
- Cherry, B. and Mellins, M. (2012), Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk: Subculture, Fashion and Performative Identity, *Punk & Post-Punk*, 1 :1, pp. 5-25.
- Cogan, B. (2012), 'Typical Girls?: Fuck Off You Wanker! Re-Evaluating the Slits and Gender Relations in Early British Punk and Post-Punk', *Women's Studies: An interdisciplinary journal*, 41 :2, pp. 121-135.
- Cooper, D. (1996), 'Queercore', in D. Morton (ed.), *The Material Queer*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 292-296.
- Culton, K. and Holtzman, B. (2010), 'The Growth and Disruption of a "Free Space": Examining a Suburban Do It Yourself (DIY) Punk Scene', *Space and Culture*, 13:3, pp. 270- 284.
- Dale P. (2008), 'It was Easy, it was Cheap, So What? Reconsidering the DIY Principle of Punk and Indie Music', *Popular Music History*, 3:2, pp. 171-193.
- Dawes, L. (2012), *What are You Doing Here? A Black Woman's Life and Liberation in Heavy Metal*, New York : Bazillion Points.
- DeChaine, D. R. (1997), 'Mapping Subversion: Queercore Music's Playful Discourse of Resistance', *Popular Music and Society*, 21 :4, pp. 7-37.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987), *A Thousand Plateaus*, London and New York: Continuum.
- De Nora, T. (2000), *Music in Everyday Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denzin, K. and Lincoln, Y. (2003), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Driver, C. (2011), 'Embodying Hardcore: Rethinking 'Subcultural' Authenticities', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14: 8, pp. 975-990.
- Dunn, K. and Farnsworth, M. (2012), "'We ARE the Revolution": Riot Grrrl Press, Girl Empowerment, and DIY Self-Publishing', *Women's Studies*, 41:2, pp. 136-157.
- Du Plessis, M. and Chapman, K. (1997), 'Queercore: The Distinct Identities of Subculture', *Collage Literature*, 24:1, pp. 45-58.
- Ensminger, D. (2010), 'Redefining the Body Electric: Queering Punk and Hardcore', *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, 22:1, pp. 50-67.
- Fenster, M. (1993), 'Queer Punk Fanzines: Identity, Community, and the Articulation of Homosexuality and Hardcore', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 17:1, pp. 73-94.
- Foucault, M. (1997), 'Friendship as a Way of Life', in P. Rabinow (ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, New York: New Press, pp. 135-41.
- Fox, K. J. (1987), 'Real Punks and Pretenders: The Social Organisation of a Counterculture', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 16:4, pp. 344-370.

- Fuchs, C. (1998), '“If I had a Dick”: Queers, Punks, and Alternative Acts,' in T. Swiss, J. Sloop and A. Herman (eds.), *Mapping the Beat: Popular Music and Contemporary Theory*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 101–120.
- Gartside, P. (1998), 'Bypassing Politics? A Critical Look at DIY Culture', in J. Rutherford (ed.), *Young Britain: Politics, Pleasures and Predicaments*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 58-73.
- Griffin, N. (2012), 'Gendered Performance, Performing Gender in the DIY Punk and Hardcore Music Scene', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13:2, pp. 66-81.
- Guarrancino, S. (2012), 'Beth Ditto and the Post-Feminist Masquerade; or How 'Post' can Post-Punk Be?', *Punk & Post-Punk*, 1:1, pp. 109-120.
- Halberstam, J. (2003), 'What's that Smell?: Queer Temporalities and Subcultural Lives', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 6:3, pp. 313-333.
- Halberstam, J. (2005), *In a queer time and place*, New York: New York University Press.
- Halperin, D. (1995), *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hammers, C. (2008), 'Bodies that Speak and the Promises of Queer: Looking to Two Lesbian/Queer Bathhouses for a Third Way', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 17:2, pp. 147-164.
- Hebdige, D. (2002), *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London: Routledge.
- Jacques, A. (2001), 'You can Run but you Can't Hide: The Incorporation of Riot Grrrl into Mainstream Culture', *Canadian Women's Studies*, 21:4, pp. 46-50.
- Jagose, A. (1995), *Queer Theory*, New York: New York University Press.
- Jeppesen, S. (2010), 'Queer Anarchist Autonomous Zones and Publics: Direct Action Vomiting against Homonormative Consumerism', *Sexualities*, 13:4, pp. 463–478.
- Kemp, J. (2009), 'Queer Past, Queer Present, Queer Future', *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 61:1, pp. 3-23.
- Krenske, L. and McKay, J. (2000), 'Hard and Heavy: Gender and Power in a Heavy Metal Subculture', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7:3, pp. 287-304.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004), *Research Methodology : Methods and Techniques*, Delhi: New Age International.
- Langman, L. (2008), 'Punk, Porn and Resistance: Carnivalization and the Body in Popular Culture', *Current Sociology*, 56:4, pp. 657-676.
- Leblanc, L. (1999), '“I'll Slap on my Lipstick and then Kick their Ass”: Constructing Femininity', in L. LeBlanc (ed.), *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in a Boys' Subculture*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 163-194.
- Levy, D. L. and Johnson, C. W. (2011), 'What Does the Q Mean? Including Queer Voices in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Social Work*, 11:2, pp. 130-140.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996), *The time of the tribes: The decline of individualism in mass society*, London: Sage.
- Marcus, S. (2010), *Girls to the Front: The True Story of the Riot Grrrl Revolution*, New York: HarperCollins.
- McKay, G. (ed.), (1998), *DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain*, London: Verso.

- McRobbie, A. (1991), *Feminism and Youth Culture: From 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*, London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- O'Brien, L. (2012), 'Can I Have A Taste of Your Ice Cream?', *Punk & Post-Punk*, 1:1, pp. 27–40.
- Peters, B. M. (2010), 'Emo Gay Boys and Subculture: Postpunk Queer Youth and (Re)thinking Images of Masculinity', *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 7:2, pp. 129-146.
- Purchla, J. (2011), 'The Powers That Be: Processes of Control in "Crew Scene Hardcore"', *Ethnography*, 12:2, pp. 198-223.
- Ruffolo, D.V. (2009), *Queer Interventions : Post-Queer Politics*, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Ryan, J. R. (2008), 'Horning In: The Case for Feminist Metal', *Bitch Magazine*, 41, pp. 54-59
- Sabin, R. (1999), *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, London & New York: Routledge.
- Schwandt, K. (2009), 'The Erotics of an Oil Drum: Queercore, Gay Macho, and the Defiant Sexuality of Extra Fancy's Sinnerman', *Women and Music*, 13, pp. 76-87.
- Shoemaker, D. (2010), 'Queer Punk Macha Femme: Leslie Mah's Musical Performance in Tribe 8', *Critical Studies, Critical Methodologies*, 10:4, pp. 295–306.
- Storti, A. (2013), 'But You Don't Look Like a Lesbian: The portrayal of Queer Life through a Feminine Experience', unpublished paper, Pomona: California State Polytechnic University. <https://broncoscholar.library.csupomona.edu/bitstream/handle/10211.3/90689/storti-anna-summary.pdf?sequence=1> Accessed 10 December 2013.
- Strachan, R. (2007), 'Micro-Independent Record Labels in the UK: Discourse, DIY Cultural Production and the Music Industry', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10:2, pp. 245–265.
- Taylor, J. (2008), 'The Queerest of the Queer: Sexuality, Politics and Music on the Brisbane Scene', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 22:5, pp. 651–665.
- Taylor, J. (2009), 'Spewing out of the Closet: Musicology on Queer Punk', in E. Mackinlay, B-L. Bartleet and K. Barney (eds.), *Musical Islands: Exploring Connections Between Music, Place and Research*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 221-241.
- Taylor, J. (2010), 'Queer Temporalities and the Significance of "Music Scene" Participation in the Social Identities of Middle-Aged Queers', *Sociology*, 44:5, pp. 893-907.
- Taylor, J. (2012) *Playing it Queer: Popular Music, Identity and Queer World-Making*, Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers.
- Taylor, J. (2012), 'Taking it in the Ear: On Musico-Sexual Synergies and the (Queer) Possibility that Music is Sex', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 26:4, pp. 603-614.
- Taylor, J. (2013). 'Claiming Queer Territory in the Study of Subcultures and Popular Music', *Sociology Compass*, 7:3, pp. 194–207.
- Tsistos, W. (1999), 'Rules of Rebellion: Slam dancing, Moshing, and the American Alternative Scene', *Popular Music*, 18:3, pp. 397-414.
- Valocchi, S. (2005), 'Not Yet Queer Enough: The Lessons of Queer Theory for the Sociology of Gender and Sexuality', *Gender and Society*, 19:6, pp. 750-770.
- Vensel, A. (2008), 'Punx and Skins United: One Law for Us, One Law for Them', *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 40:57, pp. 45-100.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (1987), 'Doing Gender', *Gender and Society*, 1:2, pp. 125-151.

Wiedlack, M. K. (2011), "LOL – Lick it Out Loud": Punk Rock as a Form of Queer Activism', in B. Scherer and M. Ball (eds.), *Queering Paradigms II: Interrogating Agendas*, Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 209–24.

Wilson, A. (2008), "'The Galaxy is Gay": Examining the Networks of Lesbian Punk Rock Subculture', in S. Driver (ed.), *Queer Youth Cultures*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, pp. 51–68.

For Peer Review Only