

Queer (-/and) Feminist DIY Practices in Punk and the “Sexual Turn” in Human Rights

LENE ANNETTE KARPP (FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN, GERMANY)

Abstract

This article addresses queer (-/and) feminist – i.e. queer, feminist and queer-feminist – Do-It-Yourself (DIY) practices as performed in punk since the 1970s, arguing that these practices helped to stimulate a “sexual turn” in human rights activism and discourse in the United States over the course of the subsequent decades. Punk opened up a new space for self-empowerment and self-expression in the 1970s when the sexual liberation movement of the previous decade started to lose its ground and, consequently, went partially back “underground.” It is argued here that punk – through its cultural DIY production and aesthetics as performed in music, performances, style and zines – created a counterpublic sphere allowing for an ongoing struggle for sexual rights led by (cis-)women and people with trans- and gender non-conforming identities. This took place in the context of the rise of neoconservative U.S. politics of the 1980s, which sought to repress those allegedly “amoral” rights claims. Influenced by both feminist and gay and lesbian movements, individuals expressed a plurality of complementary, overlapping and conflicting visions of sexuality and related rights. Against this backdrop, this article studies two “movements” in punk that were particularly interested in negotiating sexuality and gender identities: first, the queer- or homocore movement that began in the mid-1980s, and second, the feminist riot grrrl movement that emerged in the early 1990s. Even though punk was by no means the only space where these struggles took place, it delivers an interesting case study of changing social and sexual mores in the United States in the late twentieth century. Punk’s anti-assimilationist and anti-authoritarian tendencies, DIY practices, its unceasing attractiveness to youth (and older) generations, as well as the growing interplay with academic discourses, contributed to changes in the perception of sexuality and related rights claims not only in the U.S., but also on a transnational level.

Keywords: Academic Activism, Civil Rights, Counterpublic Sphere, Do-It-Yourself, Feminism, Gender Roles, Human Rights, Punk, Queercore, Queer-feminism, Riot Grrrl, Sexuality, Sexual Orientation, Sexual Rights, Sexual Turn, USA

1. Punk, Sexuality and Queer (-/and) Feminist Counterpublic Spheres

When punk emerged in the U.S. and U.K. in the 1970s, its anti-assimilationist, anti-authoritarian stances, combined with its Do-It-Yourself (DIY) approach, opened up a new space for the self-empowerment and self-expression of marginalized people, including (cis-)women[1] and people with non-conforming sexual orientation and trans- and gender identities (Laing, “Interpreting Punk Rock”). While the sexual liberation movement of the previous decade started to lose its position and, consequently, went partially back “underground,”

punk – through its cultural DIY production and aesthetics in music, performance, style and (fan)zines[2] – allowed for an ongoing struggle for sexual rights in the context of the rise of neoconservative U.S. politics in the 1980s, which sought to repress allegedly “amoral” rights claims. [3] Influenced by radical feminism as well as the gay and lesbian movements that had gained momentum in the late 1960s, punks expressed a variety of complementary, overlapping, and conflicting visions of sexuality and related rights claims. Even though punk was not the only site where these struggles took place, it nonetheless provides an interesting case study of the changing social and sexual mores in the United

States in the late twentieth century. Punk's anti-assimilationist and anti-authoritarian tendencies, DIY practices, its unceasing attractiveness to youth (and older) generations, as well as the growing interplay with academic discourses contributed to changes in the perception of sexuality and related rights claims not only in the US, but also on a transnational level.

Against this backdrop, this article addresses queer (-/and) feminist – i.e. queer, feminist and queer-feminist – DIY practices as performed in U.S. punk in the 1980s and early 1990s, arguing that these practices helped to stimulate a “sexual turn” in (human) rights activism and discourse in the United States. It was not until the mid-1990s that sexual rights, i.e. claiming equality regardless of a person's sexual orientation or gender identity, entered the public human rights discourse via debates at the United Nations on the inclusion of women's and LGBT rights[4] into international human rights law (Miller 288). Beforehand, sexual rights claims had mostly been expressed on a national level in relation to civil rights and citizenship, while sexuality itself had primarily been perceived, despite the efforts of the sexual liberation movement of the 1960s, as belonging to the private rather than the public sphere (Richardson). However, as Seyla Benhabib has pointed out,

“all struggles against oppression in the modern world begin by redefining what had previously been considered private, nonpublic and nonpolitical issues as matters of public concern, as issues of justice, as sites of power which need discursive legitimation.” (Benhabib 100)

In this sense, punk provided queer (-/and) feminist counterpublic spheres, i.e. social discursive entities (Fraser) and collectives emerged “in the recognition [and articulation] of various exclusions from wider publics of potential participants, discourse topics, and speaking styles and the resolve that builds to overcome these exclusions” (Asen 438). Punk offered alternative ways to articulate and communicate a diversity of views and voices of subordinated groups and individuals on sexuality and related rights. In engaging (counter)publicity, punk

sought a critical engagement with wider publics, affirming “a belief in the transformative power of discourse ... [and] that the consequences of exclusion – suppression of identities, interests, and needs – can be overcome” (Asen 429).

By hyphenating the terms “queer”[5] and “feminist,” I refer to the intersection of both queer and feminist theories and practices, while the use of “and” connotes the additional, not necessarily intersected notion of both terms. This approach takes into account the polyphony of queer and feminist voices expressed in punk and the intricacy of their overlapping, parallel, complementary or conflicting visions of intimacy, sexuality, and related rights claims. The terminology of queer-feminist politics is inspired by queer-feminist activism and academic research of the last three decades which emphasizes the queer dimension of feminist – and feminist dimension of queer – theories and practices.[6] With regards to punk culture, queer (-/and) feminist theories have mainly served to address the queer- or homocore movement of punk that emerged in the mid-1980s in Canada and the United States (DeChaine; du Plessis and Chapman; Fenster; Nault; Rogers; Schwandt), the American riot grrrl movement of the early 1990s (Downes, “DIY Queer Feminist (Sub)Cultural Resistance”; Downes, “The Expansion of Punk Rock”; Nguyen, “Riot Grrrl, Race and Revival”; Nguyen, “Making Waves”; Wiedlack, “Rejection and Anger in Queer-Feminist Punk”; Wiedlack, “Free Pussy Riot! & Riot Grrrlism”; Wilson); and more recent queer-feminist activism rooted in punk culture such as *Girls Rock Camps*, *Ladyfests* (Ommert; O'Shea) and archival work in academic and non-academic settings (Eichhorn, *Archival Turn in Feminism*; Eichhorn, “DIY Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians”; Radway). Drawing from these accounts and a variety of primary source material, including lyrics, zines, published interviews, private correspondences, blogs and newspapers, this article explores the ways in which feminism and queerness were negotiated in punk, what the manifold visions of sexuality in punk were, and how punks engaged in sexual rights activism. Though music plays a central role in punk culture as a means for expressing political ideas, punk

rock music is not at the center of this analysis, which instead focuses on the activist practices of some members of punk culture including musicians, fans and “zinesters.” By retracing the queer (-/and) feminist counterpublic spheres punk created to negotiate individual sexual rights claims, supporting their shift from the private to the counterpublic sphere, this article contributes a bottom-up perspective to the well-established historiography of twentieth century human rights, which, although interested in the role of grassroots movements, individuals and activist groups (Eckel; Moyn), has only recently begun to address the influence of phenomena of popular culture on human rights discourse (Mihir and Gibney 413–551; Peddie; Street; Turbine).

Punk’s cultural production unveiled a variety of radical political views and non-conforming modes of sexual expression by constituting forms of popular pleasure through DIY practices that often functioned independently of commercial manufacture, marketing (Rowe) and the leisure industry (Laing, *One Chord Wonders* 7). Though countercultural and participatory political grassroots movements as well as rock music culture in the 1960s and 1970s also made use of DIY practices, many punk members declared it to be one of punk culture’s (self-)defining elements, which eventually became part of a certain “punk lifestyle.”[7] Serving as an important technique in punk’s creative expression, self-owned record labels, self-produced music and zines provided local, independent media through which signs, symbols and style could be appropriated and re-interpreted “for the purposes of shock and semiotic disruption;” DIY practices, moreover, facilitated an alternative, more isolated punk culture away from the commercialized culture industry, expressing a search for authenticity which became particularly relevant for increasingly politicized (hardcore) punk scenes in the U.S. since the early 1980s (Moore 307). Thus punk performance, attitude and style offered a twofold response to postmodern capitalist western society, providing a means to address (anew) repressed themes such as sexual matters (Langman) in a particularly open, provocative and controversial way. For instance, in 1978, Dave Laing – a British music journalist and contemporary of punk’s early inception

in the U.K. and U.S. – highlighted the “social significance” of punk’s “bizarre sexuality in its songs and its styles of dress,” stating that:

“Punk is overwhelmingly concerned with the latter [the social significance of sexuality], in bringing it to the surface and, usually, mocking it. For these ‘deviations’ are not so much excluded from ordinary social and media discourse, but repressed by it. In this relationship of repression, the apparent opposites of the puritan sexual ethic and pornography reinforce each other through the fascination exerted on the former by the forbidden.” (Laing, “Interpreting Punk Rock” 126)

Early punk culture played with social tensions in a self-mocking way regarding sexuality, desire and intimacy. Punks used “shock-effects,” a term coined by Laing in reference to Walter Benjamin (Laing, “Interpreting Punk Rock” 126; Laing, *One Chord Wonders* 96 seqq.),[8] in order to raise public awareness of these tensions and challenge repressive sexual mores and ethic. Queer (-/and) feminist punks in the 1980s and 1990s borrowed from this tradition of counterpublicity in both the queer- or homocore and the riot grrrl movements. Queercore – also known as homocore – and punk-related queer activism was and still is relevant to punk not only in the U.S., but also on a global scale as a way to express queerness, non-heteronormativity, and subversive politics and pleasures (Nault 164 seqq.).[9] Similarly, queer (-/and) feminist riot grrrl activism remains a cultural phenomenon today, inspiring new zinesters, academic activists and female punk collectives such as Pussy Riot, which rebelled against Vladimir Putin and authoritarian, homophobic Russian politics. In the following, I will address these movements with regards to sexual rights claims by focusing on punk activists in New York City, Olympia, Washington and Washington, D.C., all of which played a significant role in creating and shaping queer (-/and) feminist counterpublic spheres of punk in the United States. The first part of this article explores two case studies of punk activists Allan Clear and Donny the Punk, who became involved in a lifelong struggle around HIV/AIDS activism, public health

issues, and prison rape. They both brought sensitive sexual matters to the attention of other activist groups and grassroots human rights organizations, which only began to tackle these issues in the mid-1990s. The second part of the article explores the way protagonists of the early 1990s riot grrrl movement initiated a new radical youth feminism that addressed issues such as sexual abuse, domestic violence, body politics, and reproductive rights. Local DIY practices of riot grrrls and riot grrrl-inspired activism in the 2000s and 2010s provided (and continue to provide) resources for young girls and women to engage in a conversation about social justice, human dignity, and equal rights. Based on a critical analysis of these cases, I conclude this article with a brief synthesis on punk, sexuality, and human rights.

2. Queering Punk: Queer-/Homocore and the Question of Rights

Since punk's emergence in the 1970s, it showed a certain "connectivity" with queerness (Nault 49; Nyong'o) by partially sharing non-conforming lifestyles and places where people who expressed non-conformity would meet "underground." These intersections "emerged within a context in which queer and punk affect were continuously and productively confused and conflated by both outsiders and participants" (Nyong'o 107). The homocore movement, subsequently called queercore[10], which Bruce LaBruce and G.B. Jones instigated in Toronto in the mid-1980s via personal writing in their zine *J.D.s*, stemmed from this tradition and gave a name to the phenomenon of coalescing queerness, hardcore punk, and DIY artist scenes (Nault; du Plessis and Chapman). In several issues of *J.D.s* and an article published in the San Francisco based punk zine *Maximum Rocknroll*, LaBruce and Jones criticized the then-contemporary punk and gay and lesbian cultures, notably hardcore punk's homophobia and misogyny as well as the established bourgeois, exclusionary North American gay lifestyle of the time. Prior to their publications, zines such as Donna Dresch's *Chainsaw* and Matt Wobensmith's *Outpunk* which several

years later also functioned as independent record labels, had already begun to address queerness in punk music and lifestyle and were starting to reach a broader audience (Dunn, *Global Punk* 44–5).

Queer zines provided a counterpublic sphere where people could – openly or anonymously – share personal experiences, memories, visions, fantasies, and opinions on non-conforming sexual identity and orientation, sexual desire, and intimacy. Beyond this personal dimension, queer 'zines also addressed political issues, called for political organization, direct actions, and raising (counter)public awareness on both the local and trans-local level. For instance, AIDS became a prominent topic in zines in the late 1980s.[11] The disease's prevalence in the gay community gave conservatives, the Religious Right, and the established media an argument to condemn homosexual intercourse and homosexuality in general. While researchers and the established press coined the term "gay plague" or "GRID" – gay-related immunodeficiency – in the early 1980s, the Reagan administration did not address the topic publicly as constituting an important health crisis until 1987, despite increasing death tolls within and beyond the gay community[12] In a speech he gave that year, Reagan barely offered solutions for how to address the deadly disease, but rather held the immoral gay lifestyle as responsible for its outbreak. In response, New York City based bisexual-identified LGBT(QIA) activist Donny the Punk published an article in the punk pamphlet *Alternative Info*, writing that

"the U.S. Government, in its eagerness to return American sex to the repressive Puritan standards of the 17th Century (when only the 'missionary position' between a lifelong married heterosexual couple was approved), and prodded by the Falwells of the Religious Right, has made full use of the growing fear of AIDS to discourage young people from all forms of sexual life." [13]

In his furiously opinionated piece, the author expressed his anger with U.S. conservative politics and the influence of the Religious Right on sex education under the Reagan administration,

referring to President Reagan's statement on the necessity to teach sexual abstinence and morality – “the values of right and wrong” – in sex education (Boyd).

Counter-narratives like these were published and circulated via zines and stimulated the creation of a queer (counter)public sphere through which punks, as well as queer people not identifying as punk, who shared similar experiences of oppression and discrimination, built networks to disseminate alternative accounts and information. In this context, ‘zines and other independent publications were also used to organize direct actions and distribute information on the protest actions of other radical activists and organizations. For instance, many queer punks and allies[14], together with members of anarchist youth groups and the gay and lesbian liberation movement, joined the Stop the Church protest co-organized by New York City's radical protest organizations Aids Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP)[15] and Women's Health Action and Mobilization (WHAM!)[16]. The demonstration took place at Manhattan's St. Patrick's Cathedral in December 1989, where nearly 5,000 people targeted John Cardinal O'Connor's repressive positions on AIDS, homosexuality, and abortion. O'Connor, who was part of Reagan's Presidential commission on AIDS, opposed the provision of condoms, clean needles, or contraception and forbade church-employed healthcare workers from providing related health care counsel (Carroll 20).

Based on DIY radical practices supported by punks and non-punk members of queer and heterosexual communities, this protest was perceived as a joint effort testifying to “the creative strength of a coalition built around sexual and reproductive freedom,” as WHAM! activist and journalist Esther Kaplan noted (Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives). Allan Clear, a former drug user and ACT UP activist in New York City who advocated harm reduction, needle exchange, and the rights of drug users – and who had grown up with punk in England – recalled applying the same creative DIY and anarchic, anti-authoritarian approach of punk culture in his public health activism:

“I left England with that approach. ... If you look at harm reduction, it's a whole bunch of old punks. I think it was not only the anarchist thing to add input to the conversation. It's not that you should disobey authority, but that authority really does not count. It has no legitimacy. And be there to challenge things.” (Shepard 148)

Stop the Church was Clear's first direct action with ACT UP where he attended the first meeting for syringe exchange; “there was no history of harm reduction,” he remembers, “and I think that's what made it very liberating. You could actually do whatever you wanted because there were no rules” (Shepard 150). Countercultural[17] and punk DIY practices continued to be used by ACT UP activists throughout the 1990s. For instance, *YELL Zine*, short for *Youth Education Life Line*, was a zine put out by young ACT UP activists in 1994, including punks and other members, in order to articulate “in-your-face [activism] fighting for the rights to comprehensive AIDS education, free condoms, dental dams, and clean needles in the New York City schools” (ACT UP YELL). DIY ethos, creativity, and relatively anarchic and anti-authoritarian practices were thus crucial for the advocacy of the rights of drug users who, in particular at the height of the HIV and AIDS epidemic in the mid-1980s, remained largely unprotected. ACT UP's activism attracted a large amount of public interest via direct actions and self-published documentaries on the motivations and everyday experiences of its members and supporters living with AIDS and HIV (Hubbard and Schulman). The collective thus gained greater political leverage to improve public health initiatives such as syringe exchange. Despite a federal ban on funding of needle exchange programs and other approaches to HIV prevention, syringe exchange became an established praxis on the East and West Coasts and one which was later legalized (Shepard 147).

Clear also continued his work in harm reduction for drug users, notably through his involvement in the national advocacy organization Harm Reduction Coalition (HRC). Through HRC, he continued to seek out to those who were difficult

to reach and to raise public awareness on the issue. Remembering the efficiency and necessity of punk's political DIY activism in advocating social justice issues, Clear compared punk's DIY approach with that of harm reduction work at his closing remarks on the North American Syringe Exchange Network (NASEN) Conference in April 2001 (Harm Reduction Coalition). Though rooted in a tradition of radical grassroots activism, Clear also recognized that a broader, more public approach would be needed to advance his social justice concerns and to achieve judicial protection. Accordingly, in his public function as the director of HRC in New York City, Clear linked access to health care to civil and human rights discourses. In the context of the International HIV/AIDS Conference "25 Years of AIDS, Global Voices" in Toronto 2006, which was co-organized by the international, non-governmental human rights monitoring group Human Rights Watch, Clear bemoaned the poor results of harm reduction activism on a national level, and blamed the lack of governmental support: "We've had significant progress at local levels, but we've had no progress at the federal level" (Clear "AIDS Stories" 1:47-1:54). Insisting on the necessity of laws to produce social change and to integrate drug users into the legal system of public health care in the U.S. and abroad, Clear stated that "it's not just about a single disease or a single virus, it's about the way people live, it's about access to human rights, to civil rights" (Clear "AIDS Stories" 4:49-4:57). According to Clear, a legal framework – allegedly universally valid for all citizens and human beings – was necessary to conceptualize and advance social justice concerns and equality with regards to public health issues. At the Toronto Conference, Clear acknowledged the efforts to have a continuous scientific dialogue on HIV and AIDS, but simultaneously pointed out that academic conferences might pacify communities rather than raise public awareness and stimulate action (Clear "AIDS Conference" 0:30-0:55). In this context, he highlighted the necessity of using the media to bring AIDS back to the attention of governments and officials, adding that he would "like to see governments stepping forward" to "remove the barriers to all kinds of HIV treatments, prevention and care" (Clear "AIDS Conference"

0:50-0:55, 1:31-1:34 and 1:40-1:44). Despite his criticism of the political and capitalist barriers operating at official institutions such as the United Nations (Clear "AIDS Conference" 1:44-2:10), Clear became, as of 2015, the New York State Director at the State's Health Department AIDS Institute's Office of Drug User Health, the first position of its kind in the United States.[18] According to Clear, the creation of this position can be interpreted as a local result of decades of harm reduction activism that was particularly successful in New York City. Perceiving HIV/AIDS and harm reduction as global issues in the twenty-first century, Clear placed them within a broader, transnational human rights discourse to increase public awareness and governmental support. Nevertheless, he participated in a more non-governmental approach to human rights advocacy by co-operating with Human Rights Watch and remained critical of more established institutions such as the United Nations. In this context, human rights served more as a conceptual framework to advocate social justice issues which linked them to legal questions on a transnational level.

The fight for the rights of marginalized and politically underrepresented individuals and groups was often at the core of radical activism rooted in, or at least linked to, punk's DIY ethos and was mostly advanced by punks and allies who belonged to or self-identified with one or multiple of these marginalized groups. As it was with Clear, this was also the case with aforementioned bisexual(-identified) LGBT(QIA) and male rape victims' rights activist "Donny the Punk," a self-given pseudonym for Stephen Donaldson, born Robert A. Martin in 1946.[19] Donny immersed himself in New York City's punk scene in 1977 "as a result of hearing Patti Smith's song about a boy being raped." [20] The song he referred to, was the song "Land" from Smith's famous debut album *Horses* through which Smith insinuated, among other themes, rape experiences of the character Johnny who functioned as a reference to the protagonist of William S. Burrough's homoerotic apocalyptic novel *The Wild Boys* (1971) (DeLano; Sante; Smith). Donny's interest in the topic of male rape stemmed from his own brutal gang rape in a Washington D.C. jail in 1973, and from the

homosexual activities that had been part of his life since he was a 10-year-old child. In the late 1960s, after a troubled youth and adolescence characterized by sexual exploitation by older boys and men,[21] Donny spent a summer with J.D. Jones, a female friend with whom he enjoyed sexual intercourse without abandoning sexual relations with other men or women. This experience encouraged Donny to self-identify as bisexual, giving him “enough confidence to start the homophile student movement, as a bisexual”[22] at Columbia University in New York City in 1966 despite the hostility he experienced towards bisexuality by the gay liberation movement in the 1960s (and later on). [23] Donny was involved in many grassroots and academic efforts to advocate around and educate on bisexuality and related sexual rights.[24] Once a prominent figure in the early American bisexual liberation movement of the 1970s, Donny lost interest in the movement after 1976, stating that it “seemed to me to have ceased pioneering and could no longer compete for my time with newer interests: graduate school, Buddhism, punk rock, and prison rape, the chief among them.”[25] Even though Donny returned to writing and speaking publicly about bisexuality in the early 1990s, male prison rape – of which he was a victim on several occasions during incarcerations in 1973 and from 1980 to 1984[26] – and the rights of prison rape victims became the core focus of his political activism until his death from AIDS complications in 1996.

Stephen Donaldson used his pseudonym “Donny the Punk” in a two-fold way. The first dimension of the term “punk” alluded to his submissive position towards his rapist(s) in prison, while the second connoted his identification with punk culture. The term “punk,” for Donny, always implied both of these notions; it pointed not only to the deep, persisting trauma caused by his rape, but also to his continuous interest in and identification as punk. Donaldson’s co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* (1990), Wayne R. Dynes, recalled that “the complicity ... of the climate of the times,” the late 1960s and early 1970s, with “[r]ivers of psychedelic drugs, new styles of dress and deportment, and relentless attention to the counterculture in the media, ... the Woodstock generation”

radicalized Donaldson’s political views and actions (Dynes 269). Immersing himself in punk and non- and anti-racist skinhead culture,[27] Donaldson chose to stick with “the values and lifestyle choices of American counterculture,” which were, according to Dynes, “the one constant in Donny’s life” (Dynes 266). Punk rock and oi! music, non and anti-racist skinhead culture, anti-hierarchical anarchist beliefs, and the DIY ethos of punk culture became important parts of Donaldson’s life throughout the 1980s and 1990s, allowing him to express his personal and political views via “creative madness.”[28] Donny the Punk wrote extensively about skinhead and punk culture, including music reviews and band interviews, which he published in punk ‘zines such as *Maximum Rocknroll*, *Under the Volcano*, *Flipside*, and the *Skinhead Times*. He also authored several complaints to established media such as the *New York Times*, challenging one-sided reports on racism and neo-Nazism in American skinhead youth culture.[29] Via punk music and, as Donny framed it, a “totally uncensored media network, featuring university radio stations and many hundreds of non-commercial publications, PUNKZINES,”[30] punk culture was able to produce a counterpublic sphere through which people could express non-conformist views and be “... frankly sexual, frequently obscene, ... welcoming bisexuals, gays, and sexual experimentation generally.”[31] As such, punk culture provided an authentic space for sexual exploration and experimentation that was less concerned with defining sexual orientation as identity practice. Rather, punk culture saw non-conforming sexuality and intimacy as acts and/or political issues. Accordingly, in a draft proposal initially written for the 1992 Sager Symposium on “Constructions of Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Identities in the Popular Culture,”[32] Donny argued that

“[these] three media – radio, recordings (records and tapes), and ‘punkzines’ [*sic*] – have been the vehicles from the inception of punk to the present day for a dialogue over homosexuality and bisexuality which is exceptional for a non-gay subculture in its prominence and persistence. In keeping

with punk's general contrarian stance and anarchistic ethos, the predominant image has been one of 'polymorphous perversity', the male punk teenager as 'orgasm addict' (title of a hit by the prototypical British band *The Buzzcocks*) seeking sexual adventure wherever he can find it, and thus encouraging bisexual experimentation. Homosexuality was viewed as an act or a tendency or a political issue rather than as a personal identity."^[33]

Here, Donny emphasized that punk was not a queer community per se ("a non-gay subculture"), but through its "general contrarian stance and anarchistic ethos" open to members of other countercultural movements such as the bisexual, gay, and lesbian movements. Against the backdrop of the primarily homophobic culture of the New York Hardcore Punk (NYHC) scene (Barrett 30 seq.) as well as an established bourgeois gay culture (Davidson 148 seq.), Donny stressed the importance of the punk homocore movement for queer punks:

"The most recent development in punk is the emergence of a 'homocore' element with its own publications and bands, which, while more willing to endorse a gay, bi, or lesbian classification, sees itself in opposition to the general homosexual subculture, with its followers' identity remaining firmly 'punk' rather than one based on orientation."^[34]

Donny highlighted the importance of a certain punk identity for the movement, which he described as being more important than one based on sexual orientation. Nevertheless, the question of the identification with one's sexual orientation was a complicated one for Donny the Punk; he was, his colleague Dynes suggests, ambivalent about his own identification as bisexual, which he thought might have served to disguise his preponderant homosexual and, in part, masochistic desires (Dynes 271). Dynes remembers that Donny's

"... interest in the youth music scene, along with his sexual interests, brought much anguish, as the mainly straight

youths he was attracted to were at best puzzled, at worst enraged by his interests. ... His efforts to gain acceptance as one of the boys in the punk scene, for which he gained a local media award as "best punk," had its pathetic side" (Dynes 271).

These conflicting visions of Donny's experiences of sexuality and punk culture, where most of the participants were younger than him, complicate the picture Donny drew of punk as a generally queer-friendly cultural phenomenon, and suggest that there were some personal homophobic experiences Donny had to face within the punk scene that he did not write about. And yet Donny held on to punk culture and, in particular, to the non and anti-racist skinhead scene in New York City, where he found a community among the "ultimate outcasts" insisting on their autonomy and considering "their crew [of skins] their real family ... where they invest their emotional energy."^[35]

Donny the Punk's political activism did not originate in punk but was rooted in the countercultural movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s and in his personal experiences of sexual discrimination and male prison rape. However, punk culture, its music, DIY ethos, aggressive, relatively anarchic and anti-authoritarian approach provided a space where Donny could "go on" even after his suicide attempt in 1977,^[36] helping him to address the trauma of his rape, as well as his struggles with his sexual orientation. Via a number of independent punk media, for instance, Donny shared his personal experience of male prison rape (Goad) and raised awareness for his fight for the rights of prisoners, which were neglected or willingly ignored by the commercial media (Weiss). In 1988, he became head of the non-profit organization Stop Prisoner Rape and intensified his public efforts against sexual assault in U.S. prisons and for AIDS prevention in prisons, culminating in legal proceedings (Donaldson "Affidavit"), TV shows, and documentaries on the topic.^[37] George Marshall, famous among non-racist skinheads in the U.K. for his long-term zine *Skinhead Times*, acknowledged Donaldson's courage for publicly debating male prison rape on TV. In the final chapter of his monograph *Skinhead*

Nation (1996), Marshall noted "... I don't know a great deal about him [Donny the Punk], except that yesterday I saw him on a CBS 60 Minutes documentary doing the bravest thing I've ever seen a skinhead do." [38] The office manager of Stop Prisoner Rape, Alexandra Gerber, who herself was "hanging out with skins since [she] was 13 years old," and who witnessed Donny's joy over this statement, thanked Marshall for his solidarity with Donny, stating that "it is so good to see that his community will back him and recognize his work." [39] Beyond this positive response from the skinhead scene, Donny's public work also attracted the attention of the non-governmental organization (NGO) Human Rights Watch. Based on his experiences with and belief in countercultural activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, he had continued to undertake counterpublic and public efforts to advance prisoners' rights throughout the 1980s and 1990s. As a consequence of Donaldson's outreach as an outspoken activist and journalist for both the alternative and more established press, the organization started to look into the sexual abuse of men in prison (Weiss) and declared the right to protection from sexual violence in prisons (and related infections with sexually transferred diseases such as AIDS) as a human right in the mid-1990s. The three-year research project that followed, summarized in the report *No Escape. Male Rape in U.S. Prisons* (1997), brought the issue to the attention of a broader audience and, together with continuous efforts of Stop Prisoner Rape (after Donaldson's death in 1996), helped assure passage of the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA), the first federal civil law addressing sexual violence in U.S. detention facilities (Kaiser and Stannow).

Even though punk culture cannot be understood (and should not be romanticized) as an inherently political social movement, its more politicized strands offered a set of – often fragmented and conflicting – perspectives and practices related to the social justice struggles of marginalized people. It was a space where participants could sharpen, extend and debate their arguments in a diverse and mostly open environment via tools of cultural production such as networks, zines, and other independent publications, music records, and performances

as well as protest actions. People like Allan Clear and Stephen Donaldson could find niches for their political activism and personal lifestyles in punk culture whose DIY and anti-assimilationist ethos provided a creative space for radical activism on sensitive issues such as non-conforming sexual orientation and gender identities. Queerness, already been part of the early punk movement (Nault 47 seqq.), has again become important in American punk culture since the mid-1980s and was, for instance, addressed and negotiated by biracial, intersex born transgender performance artist Vaginal Davis from the mid-1970s to the present (Nault 138–140) and white queer musicians such as Pansy Division (1991-present) (DeChaine) and Against Me!, fronted by transgender singer Laura Jane Grace (1997-present) (Kelleher). However, the misogynist macho traits of a predominantly white, straight, and male punk culture have challenged – and continue to challenge – punk as a tolerant space for non-conforming sexual orientation and gender identities. As Laura Jane Grace stated in an interview regarding her coming out as transgender in 2012, "[p]unk was supposed to be so open and accepting, ... [b]ut when it came down to it, it was still hard to be queer in any way and not face judgment for it" (Farber). [40] Similarly, Pansy Division's members recall controversial reactions by a mostly straight male punk community when touring with famous pop-punk band Green Day in 1994 (Locker).

Both the disputed presence of queerness in punk and the fierce response of the queercore movement to homophobia within punk and beyond [41], as well as punk's misogyny generally and the exclusion of girls and women in hardcore punk culture, inspired the queer (-/and) feminist riot grrrl movement that emerged in the early 1990s in Olympia, Washington and Washington, D.C. While the initial motivation of bands like Bikini Kill and Bratmobile was to bring girls and young women back on stage and to the front of punk music gigs (Marcus), the riot grrrl movement quickly developed into a space for radical cultural and political "in-your-face" activism addressing issues such as gender equality, queerness, body politics, sexual abuse, domestic violence, and reproductive rights.

3. Riot Grrrl Activism, (Queer) Punk Feminism and the Question of Rights

Much has already been written and said about the riot grrrl movement of the early 1990s (Downes, “There’s A Riot Going On”; Marcus; Radway) and the radical queer (-/and) feminist activism it continues to inspire today (Downes, “DIY Queer Feminist (Sub)Cultural Resistance”; Driver; Ommert; Siegfried; Wiedlack, *Queer-Feminist Punk*; Wiedlack, “Rejection and Anger in Queer-Feminist Punk”). I do not intend here to re-tell the complete history of the riot grrrl movement, but rather to address how the early movement was involved in stimulating a discourse on equal rights for queer people, as well as for heterosexual women and girls, and if and how more recent riot grrrl-inspired punk activism[42] translated this discourse into social justice and civil and human rights advocacy.

The riot grrrl movement took off in Olympia, Washington when Kathleen Hanna and Tobi Vail formed the punk band Bikini Kill almost simultaneously with Allison Wolfe and Molly Neuman forming Bratmobile, taking the feminist themes of their DIY punk zine *Girl Germs* on stage. The mini-zine *Riot Grrrl* that Molly Neuman had started in 1991 soon became a cooperative publication of both bands and gave the riot grrrl movement its name (Marcus 146). The term “grrrl” implied the growl, the anger of girls who were initially protesting against the misogynist (hardcore) punk scene at the time and against the passive associations of the term “girls” (Rosenberg and Garofalo 809). Hanna, who had herself experienced domestic violence and had worked for a rape crisis center where mostly women talked about their experiences as victims of rape and sexual abuse, saw the urgent necessity for a new form of radical feminism which she answered by co-founding Bikini Kill and riot grrrl: “That is why we started a band because everybody was saying ‘feminism is dead’ – I just had found it” (Noisey 4:24-4:30). The riot grrrl movement sought to make a statement about sensitive issues that were often related to the abuse or discrimination of the female cis- or queer body or non-conforming sexual orientation and gender identities by writing, singing, and screaming about these

issues publicly on stage and by discussing them in safe(r) spaces for women and girls (Nault 47-8; Rosenberg and Garofalo 810-1). Zines, music gigs, and riot grrrl gatherings became important counterpublic tools to raise awareness on these sensitive issues and to show how they affected individual’s everyday lives. Riot grrrl, to Kathleen Hanna and Allison Wolfe, who both attended the Evergreen State College in Olympia, was not only about making “punk ... more feminist,” but also about infusing a mainly academic discourse on feminism with punk ethics.[43] In recent years, dozens of queer (-/and) feminist riot grrrl and riot grrrl inspired collections have been made available online[44] and/or entered academic archival institutions – mostly as donations from riot grrrl members and allies – and are now studied in classrooms (often in queer, gender, and women’s studies) and made available to the broader public, thus reaching a publicity far beyond punk (Darms).[45]

Many ideas of the early riot grrrl movement were influenced by academic discourses on gender and women’s studies, as well as queer studies, which were part of the curriculum at the progressive Evergreen State College for public liberal arts and sciences in the early 1990s.[46] As Corin Tucker, lead singer of two influential (post)riot grrrl bands, Heavens to Betsy (1991-1994) and later Sleater-Kinney (1994-2006, 2014-present), remembers, “the Olympia music scene was certainly tied to Evergreen,”[47] which was mostly attended by white middle-class students including many of riot grrrl’s core musicians such as Hanna, Vail, Kathi Wilcox (Bikini Kill; Julie Ruin; etc.) Allison Wolfe (Bratmobile), Tucker, and Carrie Brownstein (Heavens to Betsy; Sleater-Kinney, etc.).[48] Moreover, *Positive Force*, an enduring Washington, D.C.-based punk activist collective co-founded by Mark Andersen in 1985 to turn the rhetoric of punk ideals into action,[49] served as an early hub of the riot grrrl movement. Inspired by the social community work, benefit concerts, marches, and political protests organized by *Positive Force*, Hanna and Wolfe decided to host their first public female-only workshop in 1991 at the Positive Force House, where riot grrrl meetings would continue to be held until the mid-1990s (Anderson). Acknowledging

the socio-political relevance of these feminist meetings, Andersen kept the files that had been left at the House and recently gave them to the Fales Library and Special Collections at New York University, where they became part of the Riot Grrrl Collection established by former riot grrrl turned archivist Lisa Darms (New York University; Darms, "Preserving Contradiction"; Darms, *Riot Grrrl Collection*). To Andersen, the spirit of the self-empowering riot grrrl movement has not disappeared but is still alive in contemporary social projects such as the We Are Family Senior Outreach Network he co-founded to supply senior services in low-income communities in the American capital: "In its way, *We Are Family* continues the empowering punk-feminist outreach of Riot Grrrl, bringing services, advocacy and companionship into the homes of low-income seniors – most of whom are women of color – in Washington DC's [*sic*] inner city" (NYU).

The efforts of Washington, D.C.'s and Olympia's riot grrrl pioneers quickly developed into a broader DIY queer (-/and) feminist activism inspiring girls and young women – and a few men – to get actively involved in writing zines, creating bands, organizing and participating in workshops, rock camps, conferences, and festivals. Riot grrrls – band members, zinesters and inspired fans – were often politically outspoken and active. Some of them, for instance, participated in direct actions organized by ACT UP and fought for reproductive rights at multiple Rock for Choice benefit concerts in support of Planned Parenthood or participated in larger pro-LGBT(QIA) protests such as the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation in 1993.[50] The trajectories of the riot grrrl movement provided a local way of DIY resistance offering many girls and women "a set of resources to engage in ... [a] conversation" with women's and human rights issues, i.e. questions related to human dignity and equal rights (Dunn, "Punk Rock, Globalization, and Human Rights" 37). Girls and women were not only consumers anymore but became producers of culture and knowledge transposing their own queer (-/and) feminist message. Their DIY activism helped to broaden the riot grrrl movement, which quickly became a

decentered phenomenon based on many local riot grrrl chapters developing all over the U.S. (and beyond) (Dunn and Farnsworth 139 seq.).

However, despite their claim of being part of a progressive, anti-racist, inclusive movement for all cis- and queer women (and allied men), some riot grrrls failed to live up to their ideals. In particular, women of color felt excluded by the predominantly white middle-class traits of the riot grrrl movement. For instance, riot grrrl's aesthetics of individual access to cultural production, creative work, expertise, and knowledge emphasized the radical politics of public intimacy – such as performing shamelessness via body writing or sex work – which made the personal political again (Nguyen, "Riot Grrrl and Race"). The shameless embrace of sexuality by writing words such as SLUT over the white girls' stomachs or by pursuing stripping and other types of sex work was used to reappropriate the norms of femininity and to reclaim sexual agency. But white, mostly middle-class riot grrrls failed to acknowledge that these aesthetics of transgressive gender politics and intimacy were not accessible to poor women or women of color whose bodies were already perceived as deviant and disreputable (Perry), thus reiterating power structures and reinforcing white middle-class privilege (Nguyen, "Riot Grrrl and Race" 174–5; Perry). Consequently, riot grrrls and punks of color started their own queer (-/and) feminist "race riot," addressing white privilege, whiteness and racism in riot grrrl and punk culture at large.[51] Hence, only a few years after its emergence, the riot grrrl movement developed into a more fragmented movement. The critiques from within the movement, harsh critiques by the established media that did not take the political ambitions of riot grrrl seriously, and the commodification of riot grrrl's claim of "girl power" through pop cultural acts such as the Spice Girls led to the demise of the riot grrrl movement in the mid-1990s (Dunn and Farnsworth; Schilt). Nevertheless, the riot grrrl movement had sparked a new radical queer (-/and) feminist approach through the DIY self-empowerment of young women and girls that was not lost after the movement's demise.

In the early 2000s, riot grrrl inspired activism in different cities in the U.S. and abroad with

an extensive zine scene and queer-feminist grassroots gatherings at Ladyfests and Girls Rock Camps. Moreover, Riot grrrl's outspoken feminism and long-lasting effect on DIY queer (-/and) feminist activism had brought the early, more queer- and female-friendly punk scene of the 1970s back to the attention of younger queer (-/and) feminist punks. Beyond nostalgic references to female punk icons of the 1970s such as Joan Jett (lead singer of The Runaways), Nicole Panter (former manager of The Germs), Exene Cervenka (lead singer of X) and Debbie Harry (lead singer of Blondie), riot grrrls, female punks of the 1970s, and riot grrrl inspired activists started to co-operate in Girls Rock Camps, public talks, and music recordings to get and keep radical DIY punk feminism going.[52]

The recent phenomenon of Pussy Riot and its perception in the U.S. punk scene, western grassroots organizations, and established western media provides an interesting case of such a cross-generational feminist punk "solidarity" bringing together counterpublic and public spheres. Members of the female Russian performance art collective were jailed in 2012 for criticizing the authoritarian, discriminatory politics of the Russian president Vladimir Putin via a performance of their pro-gay, pro-feminist song "Punk Prayer" (Rumen)[53] in Moscow's Christ the Savior Cathedral. The joint efforts of queer (-/and) feminist punk activists (Ommert 387 seqq.) and transnational human rights NGOs such as Amnesty International[54] and Human Rights Watch ("Free Pussy Riot Members. One Year Behind Bars") under the credo Free Pussy Riot were covered widely and sympathetically by western media.[55] After their release from prison, two Pussy Riot members, Maria "Masha" Alyokhina and Nadezhda "Nadia" Tolokonnikova, decided to continue their political activism on a broader scale. Among other public talks, they gave a speech about the poor conditions of the Russian prison system and homophobia in Russia, urging protest against Putin's oppressive politics at the Bringing Human Rights Home! concert presented by Amnesty International at the Barclays Center in Brooklyn on the eve of the 2014 Sochi Olympics in Russia. In New York, Masha and Nadia stated: "We are happy to support Amnesty

International's work on behalf of human rights and political prisoners. We, more than anyone, understand how important Amnesty's work is in connecting activists to prisoners." [56] However, critical reactions to Pussy Riot's explicit engagement with the human rights NGO also reveal the complicated relation between punk-related DIY, anti-establishment practices, and an institutionalized public discourse of human rights. Other members of the Pussy Riot collective harshly criticized Masha's and Nadia's participation in the Amnesty International show alongside Madonna, Blondie, Lauryn Hill and other famous artists. They concluded "that Masha and Nadia are no longer members of the group, and they will no longer take part in radical actions. Now they are engaged in a new project. They are now institutionalized advocates of prisoners' rights." [57] The music press likewise discussed whether punks lose their credibility by entering the stage of popular, commercial events (Zoldadz). Interestingly, CBGB Productions, a holdover of the former independent music club and center of punk rock shows in the East Village, New York, co-produced the event together with Amnesty International.

Through their radical pro-LGBT(QIA) and pro-feminist direct actions in Russia, Pussy Riot was re-interpreting and, via the new media and illegal performances outside of bars and clubs, transposing elements of the riot grrrl movement into a new radical form of political activism (Langston). The feminist collective deliberately chose punk's radical DIY practices and brightly colored balaclavas as a "spectacular, ironic and provocative form" to "be as visible as possible" (Wiedlack, *Queer-Feminist Punk* 388). However, it was not before the incarceration of some of its members that their activism became famous in the Global North/West, despite other well publicized political performances of the group in Russia (Wiedlack, *Queer-Feminist Punk* 387). Shortly after their incarceration and during the Free Pussy Riot protests, human rights organizations, as well as many North American queer (-/and) feminist punk artists, expressed their support for Pussy Riot and their riot grrrl-inspired direct actions while addressing concerns over the lack of social justice and human rights, among them Bruce LaBruce (French and Neu

67), Nicole Panter (Vile), Patti Smith,[58] Exene Cervenka[59] as well as riot grrrls Johanna Fateman (2012), Kathleen Hanna (Pelly), and Allison Wolfe.[60] However, even though some members – Masha and Nadia – of the Pussy Riot collective decided to closely work together with western queer (-/and) feminist punk activists, the Russian performance art collective should not be interpreted as a revival or a Russian extension of western punk culture and of the riot grrrl movement. This would oversimplify the specific, non-western background of the collective and incorporate their art and activism in western queer (-/and) feminist punk movements and genres with their assigned values and belief systems (Wiedlack, “Pussy Riot & Riot Grrrlism”). The strong and persistent solidarity actions expressed by American queer (-/and) feminist punks are rendering these differences between western punk and the Russian performance art collective rather invisible. Instead, these efforts of American queer (-/and) feminist punks to incorporate Pussy Riot’s cultural and political activism into western narratives could be read as the quest for (and dream of) a trans-local, queer punk feminism engaging in social justice and human rights advocacy in the twenty-first century.

4. Conclusion

This article explored the ways sexuality, queerness, and feminism were negotiated by queer (-/and) feminist punks and how some punks became engaged in sexual rights activism in the 1980s and 1990s, becoming part of a “sexual turn” of the public human rights discourse since the mid-1990s. Punks produced “shock effects” via zines, performances, and political direct actions addressing sensitive issues related to sexuality such as non-conforming sexual orientation and identities, rape, sexual abuse, domestic violence, abortion, and sexually transferred diseases like HIV/AIDS, raising awareness for these issues within and beyond punk culture. The queercore and the riot grrrl movements created queer (-/and) feminist counterpublic spheres that punks and allies could personally relate to and participate in.

The first part of this article traced how the political activism of Allan Clear and Stephen Donaldson (Donny the Punk) became infused and inspired by punk’s DIY, relatively anarchic and anti-authoritarian ethic. In this context, Donny the Punk could rely on his experiences from the 1960s countercultural sexual liberation movements, which frequently applied DIY practices such as independent publishing and grassroots organizing, experiences he made use of when he immersed himself into New York City’s punk scene. Both Clear and Donaldson became life-long activists for causes they could personally relate to – HIV/AIDS, harm reduction for drug users, and prisoner rape. Their activism for these causes was supported by other activists who worked for or with them and who were sometimes but not necessarily part of punk culture; nevertheless, their experiences in punk and counterculture provided them with some important tools for their political actions, and Clear’s and Dunn’s activism on harm reduction and prisoner rape preceded any established rhetoric of human rights at the time. Grassroots human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch only started to gain interest in these issues in the mid- and late 1990s and adopted them into their human rights agenda.

The second part of this article addressed the initiation of a new radical youth feminism by the riot grrrl movement in the early 1990s. Punk culture provided – again – a forum and counterpublic sphere where sensitive issues such as sexual abuse, domestic violence, body politics, and reproductive rights were negotiated. Local and covert DIY actions offered safer spaces for predominantly white, middle-class girls and women to support each other and, along with direct actions on the street, produced a certain knowledge and set of resources for young girls and women to engage in conversations about human dignity and equal rights. Kathleen Hanna and other riot grrrls of the early 1990s addressed and fought against issues many of them had experienced or observed themselves: sexism within and beyond punk, as well as sexual violence and misogynist, repressive social and sexual mores in U.S. society as a whole. Relating to and sometimes co-operating with members of the queercore movement, riot

grrrls brought a variety of radical queer (-/and) feminist views and non-conforming modes of sexual expression to the forefront of punk in the early 1990s. However, most white members of the riot grrrl movement failed to consider that the movement's aesthetics of cultural production and radical politics often reproduced white middle-class privilege and reiterated racist power structures. Moreover, riot grrrl's political message was not taken seriously by the established media at the time, and the movement became quickly commodified by popular culture in the mid-1990s. A few years later, former riot grrrls and riot grrrl-inspired queer (-/and) feminist activists revived the idea of providing a space for young women to express themselves via the production and performance of music or zine writing at events such as Girls Rock Camp or Ladyfest, which have been taking place on a global scale since the early 2000s. Marked by new communication forms such as social media (Harris) and an increasing academization, institutionalization, and media interest, at least in western countries (Buszek; Furness), queer (-/and) feminist punk activism reaches a broader audience today than in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but without necessarily overcoming its exclusionary tendencies. Nevertheless, the DIY practices and counter publicity of the riot grrrl movement and of riot grrrl-inspired activism provided a set of resources and material means of cultural production for heterosexual girls and women and queer people to address gender inequality and non-conformity as well as women's and reproductive rights, all of which became related to a broader human rights activism based on gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation identities since the mid-1990s.

To conclude, the case studies presented in this article show that the originally radical struggles for drug user's rights, syringe exchange, HIV/AIDS treatments, prisoners' sexual rights, and women's rights of the 1980s and early 1990s were no longer primarily fought in the streets. By the mid-1990s, queerness, riot grrrl activism, but also punk culture in general and its "shock effects" had once again become more commodified and socially normalized. In this context, sexual concerns expressed by punk activists, allies, and grassroots groups

became increasingly incorporated into a more institutionalized activism using civil and human rights discourses as conceptual frameworks to advance social justice struggles.

Endnotes

[1] A cis-woman is a woman assigned female at birth. Her gender identity is identical with her sex assigned at birth. The term is often used to describe non-transgender women; I use it here to differentiate between cis-women and people with gender-non-conforming identities which include, for instance, transgender women.

[2] Zines are self-produced – i.e. self-written, copied and self-distributed – pamphlets, flyers or magazines functioning as alternative, independent media “speaking to and for an underground culture” in their quality as a “novel form of communication and creation,” see: Duncombe 2.

[3] On the rise of the Religious Right and neoconservatism in the US in the 1970s and 1980s and their critical stances towards sexuality and the sexual liberation movement see, for instance: Cohen; di Mauro and Joffe.

[4] LGBT rights is the common acronym in international legal discourses framing equal rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In this article, however, I prefer the use of the extended acronym LGBTQIA or the use of the term “queer” as an umbrella term. However, neither are always embraced by all people with non-conforming sexual orientation and non-conforming trans- and gender identities.

[5] In this article I use the term “queerness” to describe sexual-related actions, emotions, identities and beliefs of “queer” people whose sexual orientation and gender identity is not exclusively heterosexual. Alternatively, I refer to terms such as “bisexual,” “gay” or “lesbian” if these are mentioned as such in my primary source material.

[6] Some accounts addressing the interplay between queer theory, gender studies, and feminism include: Berger; Halberstam; Jagose; Marinucci; Muñoz; Weed and Schor.

[7] See, for instance: Feldman-Barrett 1043; Lee 75-76. DIY aesthetics were important tools to oppose or at least challenge capitalist structures, established politics, the mass media, and the music industry. The DIY ethos became a central element of a punk “lifestyle” not only for many punk musicians and record producers, but also for punk music fans who contributed to punk culture via (fan) zines since the mid-1970s. See: Triggs. With regards to independent music production, however, punk was (and is) not the only genre to rely on DIY aesthetics: a variety of other music cultures such as jazz, folk or hip hop continues to apply a DIY approach as part of an “anti-consumerist consumerism” of small-scale independent producers. See, for instance: Bennett and Peterson; Strachan.

[8] As Walter Benjamin argues in his analysis of shock effects in films, the traumatized receiver – despite possibly resisting and rejecting such a “shock-effect” – may tune out the offending material, which “should be cushioned by

heightened presence of mind” and, thus, be integrated into the receiver’s experiences, leading to a heightened state of awareness. See: Benjamin; Nault 13-15.

[9] For recent phenomena stemming from 1980s’ and 1990s’ queercore culture (such as Tribe 8) or taking contemporary inspiration from it (such as zinester Osa Atoe), see: Nault, 164 seqq.

[10] Both terms, “homocore” and “queercore,” are often used interchangeably to describe punk’s queerness since the 1980s. Since the term “queercore” emphasizes a more inclusive non-heteronormative notion beyond homosexuality (highlighted linguistically in the term “homocore”) crossing sexual and gender boundaries, I prefer the use of “queercore” in this article.

[11] See, for instance the Maximum RocknRoll zine on “AIDS and the Sexual Counter-Revolution” (June 1987); Donny the Punk, “AIDS. The Great Coverup.” *Alternative Info*. The Alternative Press & Radio Council for Greater New York. 1987, 4 pages. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 7, Folder 1, accessed 1 August 2016. For the early 1990s, see: Long.

[12] See, for instance: Clews 232 seqq.; Gibson. The term “GRID” for “gay related immunodeficiency” was first published by The New York Times in 1982, see: Altman.

[13] Donny the Punk, “AIDS. The Great Coverup.” 1.

[14] I use the term “ally” to describe people who did not (self-) identify as punk but became entangled with punk culture through sharing similar experiences, values, identities, and practices (such as (self-)identifying as “queer,” “mixed race,” embracing DIY ethic, anarchism, etc.).

[15] The *AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power* (ACT UP) was founded in March 1987 at the Lesbian and Gay Community Center in New York City by a collective of queer and heterosexual people (with and without AIDS/HIV), using direct actions such as demonstrations and civil disobedience, regular meetings, and independent media outreach to call the attention of government officials, medical researchers, drug companies, other corporations, and the general public to the severity of the AIDS crisis and how it impacted the lives of individuals. See: Hubbard and Schulman.

[16] The *Women’s Health Action and Mobilization!* (WHAM!) was founded in New York City in 1989 to address reproductive rights and freedom via a radical, direct action approach targeting officials and institutions and co-operated with ACT UP in diverse marches, direct actions and demonstrations. See: Carroll.

[17] For instance, Maxine Wolfe, a prominent Lesbian participant of ACT UP since June 1987, recalled using and re-interpreting countercultural activism from the 1960s gay and lesbian movements, see: Laraine Sommella, “This Is About People Dying”: The Tactics of Early ACT UP and Lesbian Avengers in New York City; an Interview with Maxine Wolfe by Laraine Sommella’, in *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*. Ed. by Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, Yolanda Retter. Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1997, 407–37.

[18] See the according online announcements: “Allan Clear is New York State Director of Drug User Health.” *POZ*, 8 December 2015. Web. 30 Dec. 2017. <www.poz.com/article/allan-clear-28159-7848>; Website of the New York State Department of Health, AIDS Institute, Drug User Health. Web. 30 Dec. 2017. <https://www.health.ny.gov/diseases/aids/general/about/substance_user_health.htm>.

[19] In this article, I mostly refer to the pseudonyms „Donny the Punk“ or Stephen Donaldson in accordance with how Donaldson used the names himself. A more detailed account for his use of different names and pseudonyms can be found in an article written by his academic colleague, American art historian Wayne R. Dynes. See: Dynes 265-6.

[20] Stephen Donaldson, „Notes for Scenes, Life of Stephen Donaldson.“ Manuscript. 2 pages, 1. New York Public Library, Box 7 Folder 4 “Autobiographical Notes, 1970s-1990s,” accessed 1 August 2016.

[21] Stephen Donaldson, “Branded by the Boy Scouts.” Manuscript, January 1992, 6 pages. New York Public Library, Box 7, Folder 4 “Anthology of Writings by Bisexual Men,” accessed 1 August 2016. Essay written to be published in *Times Change Press* by Drew Lewis as part of a broader volume on personal narratives of bisexual men. In his memoirs, Donny describes that his first sexual encounter was performing oral sex on an older, 12-year old boy during his time at the Boy Scouts of America. He started to like the attention and recognition he received in exchange for him performing oral sex which is why he continued to do so throughout high school and the time he served in the marines.

[22] Donaldson, “Branded by the Boy Scouts,” 3.

[23] Donaldson, “Branded by the Boy Scouts,” 4.

[24] For instance, Donaldson extensively published articles in the established and independent press on bi- and homosexuality, participated in the draft of the Ithaca Statement of Bisexuality at a workshop of the Friends of the Quakers, and later in his life, participated in conferences and co-edited an academic volume on homosexuality with Wayne Dynes; see: Donaldson, “Branded by the Boy Scouts,” 5; Dynes et al.

[25] Donaldson, “Branded by the Boy Scouts,” 12.

[26] While Donaldson’s first imprisonment of Donaldson was the result of a (peaceful) Quaker protest in Washington, D.C., his four-year prison term was the outcome of a “semideranged incident” at Veteran’s Hospital in the Bronx, where Donaldson was denied medical assistance for a sexually transmitted disease and decided to open fire with a gun. See: Dynes 270; Goad.

[27] I differentiate between a more passive *non-racist* and a more politically overt *anti-racist* approach of skinhead culture. While many skinheads claimed to be non-racist by dissociating themselves from Nazi Rock and related skinhead culture, there were also skins with a much more direct and overt anti-racist stance such as the collective Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP). On skinhead culture, its roots in black reggae and ska culture in the U.K. in the 1960s, Nazi Rock and racism, see: Brown.

[28] Dynes describes Donaldson as a “person of exceptional dedication and imagination” whose “creative madness, if so it is to be termed, was triggered by the times. He came of age just as the twin rebellions of the antiwar movement and the counterculture were cresting.” In his article, Dynes continues to describe in detail how ambivalent Donaldson’s personality and (sexual) identity were, see: Dynes 272.

[29] See the collection of Donaldson’s writings and personal correspondence held by: New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 7 “Skinheads,” including: Stephen Donaldson. „Letter to the Editor. The New York Times.” 28 June 1995, 1 page. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 7 “Skinheads,” accessed 2 August 2016.

[30] Emphasis in the original. The source is undated, but is probably from 1981, see: Donny the Punk, “A Punk Primer.” Manuscript, undated, 3 pages, 2. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 4 “A Punk Primer,” accessed 2 August 2016.

[31] Donny the Punk, “A Punk Primer,” 3.

[32] The Sager Symposium is an annual conference at Swarthmore College which centers on different issues relevant to the LGBT(QIA) community, see: Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[33] Stephen Donaldson, “‘Orgasm Addicts’: Polymorphously Perverse Punks vs. the Gay Identity.” (Proposal for Paper for 1992 Sager Symposium.) Manuscript, undated, 2 pages, 1. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 1 “‘Orgasm Addicts’: Polymorphously Perverse Punks vs. the Gay Identity.” Accessed 2 August 2016.

[34] Stephen Donaldson, “‘Orgasm Addicts,’” 1.

[35] Donny the Punk, “Can Anyone Give me a Good Definition of a Skinhead!” Manuscript, undated. 3 pages, 2-3. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 7 “Skinheads,” accessed 2 August 2016.

[36] Stephen Donaldson, „Notes for Scenes, Life of Stephen Donaldson.” Manuscript. 2 pages, 1. New York Public Library, Box 7 Folder 4 “Autobiographical Notes, 1970s-1990s,” accessed 1 August 2016.

[37] Stephen Donaldson, „Notes for Scenes, Life of Stephen Donaldson;“ Dynes, p. 265.

[38] Quoted in: Alexandra Gerber, *Letter to George Marshall, Skinhead Times Publishing*, 2 May 1996. New York Public Library, Stephen Donaldson Papers, Box 9, Folder 7 “Skinheads,” accessed 2 August 2016; see also: Marshall.

[39] Alexandra Gerber, *Letter to George Marshall*.

[40] For a compilation of supportive views within the punk community, but also a controversial forum discussion on Grace’s feelings and her coming out as transgender see: Wisniewski.

[41] In fact, there was much overlap of artists and participants between the riot grrrl movement and the queercore movement, even though riot grrrls also struggled with some

sexism in the multi-gendered queercore movement, see: Nault 27 seqq.

[42] I use the term of riot grrrl (inspired) activism to describe cultural and political activism of mostly girls and women who would not label themselves as riot grrrls, but consciously embrace the most relevant ethics of the riot grrrl movement such as a queer-feminist DIY approach.

[43] Allison Wolfe (Bratmobile) on a panel at the Los Angeles Central Library on 9 January 2014; see: Aloud, “Queens of Noise. Music, Feminism and Punk. Then and Now.” Minutes 27:57-28:14.

[44] Examples are the *Queer Zine Archive Project* and the *POC (People of Color) Zine Project*.

[45] Most riot grrrl collections are part of broader zine collections, see, for instance, the Bingham Center Zine Collections held at the Sallie Bingham Center for Women’s History and Culture at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Books and Manuscript Library of Duke University. Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingdb/zines/>>, or the Barnard Zine Library at Barnard College in New York City. Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://zines.barnard.edu>>.

[46] For instance, riot grrrl Tobi Vail of the band *Bikini Kill* wrote to Molly Neuman of the future band *Bratmobile* on 9 May 1990 on courses she took on psychology, sexuality, and feminism. She stated that “it’s exciting to study about sexism in school because it gives you a feeling of power just to actually be able to admit that things like oppression actually do exist and affect your life – which is something you have to deny a lot in real life.” Quoted in: Darms *The Riot Grrrl Collection 28-29*.

[47] Corin Tucker in a recent interview with Allison Wolfe, see: Wolfe, “Riot Grrrls Raise Awareness.”

[48] See the online list of “Famous The Evergreen State College Alumni.”

[49] Andersen expressed this view in an interview with Jerad Walker, see: Walker.

[50] For instance, Mimi Thi Nguyen was involved in activism regarding ACT UP and reproductive rights, see: Darms “Riot Grrrl, Collected.” Bikini Kill played at several benefit concerts for Planned Parenthood at Rock for Choice, a series which had been put up by punk and grunge band L7 in Los Angeles in 1991 (and which went on until 2001); see, for instance: Feminist Majority Foundation. “Rock for Choice.” Queer-feminist riot grrrl Mary Fondriest was documented – alongside a group of other riot grrrls – while participating at the March on Washington in 1993, carrying a banner stating “I am queer and proud and will beat you up when you say anything bad about me or any of my queer friends.” Another banner showed the slogan: “D.C. Riot Grrrl Supports Gerl [sic] Love and Gay Rights.” See: Graham, “Riot Grrrl.”

[51] The slogan “race riot” is taken from Mimi Thi Nguyen’s compilation zine “Evolution of a Race Riot” which studied racism and privilege in the largely white populations of activist, feminist, punk and zine communities, discussing isolation and homogeneity. Both issues are made available

online via the POC (People of Color) Zine Project, see: Nguyen, "Evolution of a Race Riot." 1 (1997) and 2 (2002). See also Nguyen's personal reflections on racism, punk, and riot grrrl in her academic work: Nguyen, "Riot Grrrl, Race, and Revival."

[52] For instance, Bikini Kill co-operated with Joan Jett on their album *Rebel Girl* and they toured together, see: "Bikini Kill Bio." *Rolling Stone*, 2001. Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/artists/bikini-kill/biography>>; Allison Wolfe (Bratmobile), Evelyn McDonnell (journalist, former riot grrrl and founder of Strong Women in Music in New York), and Exene Cervenka (X) discussed the role of punk feminism for the punk movement and beyond on a panel at the Los Angeles Central Library in January 2014, see: Aloud, "Queens of Noise."

[53] The translation of the song as a "punk prayer" may be misleading though and incorporate Pussy Riot into a western canon of punk ideologies. For a critical account, see: Wiedlack, "'Free Pussy Riot!' & Riot Grrrlism."

[54] See the timeline of protests and actions to *Free Pussy Riot* set up by Amnesty International: Amnesty International UK, "Pussy Riot Freed."

[55] Rachel Denber from Human Rights Watch, among others, reported only few days after the imprisonment of Pussy Riot on "Pussy Riot and Russia's Surreal 'Justice';" in a statement given to the *New York Times* after their release, Pussy Riot stated that it was the broad attention of the West and western media which motivated Putin to set them free shortly before the Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, see: Gladstone.

[56] This statement of the Pussy Riot members appeared in advance in a press release of Amnesty International on the "Bringing Human Rights Home Concert" which took place on 5 February 2014 at Barclays Center, Brooklyn, New York City. See: Monaghan.

[57] See online article of the pro-Russian and often anti-western/anti-American online press *Russia Today*: "Pussy Riot 'Principles Violated'"; in another article, *The Guardian* translated a critical blog post of Pussy Riot members who disapproved of the commercial (and legal) venture of the Amnesty International Concert, which would counteract the spirit of Pussy Riot's illegal performances in unexpected places, see: AFP, "Pussy Riot Members Attack Bandmates for Appearing at Amnesty Concert."

[58] Patti Smith had met Masha and Nadia at the punk venue *Riot Fest* in Chicago in September 2014, see: Gordon.

[59] Allison Wolfe, Evelyn McDonnell, and Exene Cervenka expressed their support towards Pussy Riot's punk feminist activism during their panel discussion at Los Angeles Central Library in January 2014; see: Aloud, "Queens of Noise."

[60] Allison Wolfe co-operated with Pussy Riot at a panel discussion on the American Presidential Election in 2016, see: *Make America Smart Again / Spaceland*.

Works Cited

- ACT UP Youth Education Life Line (ed.), *YELL Zine 1* (1994). *Queer Zine Archive Project (QZAP)*. Web. 22 Dec. 2017. <http://archive.qzap.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/187>.
- AFP. "Pussy Riot Members Attack Bandmates for Appearing at Amnesty Concert." *Guardian* 6 February 2014. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/feb/06/pussy-riot-madonna-amnesty-concert>>.
- "AIDS and the Sexual Counter-Revolution." *Maximum RocknRoll* 49 (June 1987). Web. 10 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.maximumrocknroll.com/mrr-bibliography/>>.
- Aloud. "Queens of Noise. Music, Feminism and Punk. Then and Now." Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <https://vimeo.com/85829159>. Film.
- Altman, Lawrence K. "New Homosexual Disorder Worries Health Officials." *New York Times*. May 11, 1982. Web. 28 Dec. 2017. <www.nytimes.com/1982/05/11/science/new-homosexual-disorder-worries-health-officials.html>.
- Amnesty International UK. "Pussy Riot Freed." Web. 7 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.amnesty.org.uk/pussy-riot-freed>>.
- Anderson, Stacey. "Positive Force: The Film That Remembers When Punk Took on the White House." *Guardian* 21 August 2015. Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/aug/21/positive-force-punk-activism-washington-dc-documentary>>.
- Asen, Robert. "Seeking the 'Counter,' in Counterpublics." *Communication Theory* 10.4 (2000): 424–446. *CrossRef*. Web. 27 Dec. 2017. <<http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2000.tb00201.x>>.
- Barrett, Dawson. "DIY Democracy: The Direct Action Politics of U.S. Punk Collectives." *American Studies* 52.2 (2013): 23–42. *CrossRef*. Web. 7 Jan. 2018. <http://muse.jhu.edu/content/crossref/journals/american_studies/v052/52.2.barrett.html>.
- Benhabib, Seyla. *Situating the Self: Gender, Community, and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books, 1969. Print.
- Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson, eds. *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004. Print.
- Berger, Anne-Emmanuelle. *The Queer Turn in Feminism: Identities, Sexualities, and the Theater of Gender*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2014. Print. Commonalities.
- Boyd, Gerald M. "Reagan Urges Abstinence for Young to Avoid AIDS." Special to *New York Times*. 2 April

1987. Web. 25 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/02/us/reagan-urges-abstinence-for-young-to-avoid-aids.html>>.
- Brown, Timothy Scott. "Subcultures, Pop Music and Politics: Skinheads and 'Nazi Rock' in England and Germany." *Journal of Social History* 38.1 (2004): 157–178. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3790031>>.
- Buszek, Maria Elena. "Punkademia." *American Quarterly* 65.2 (2013): 413–423. *CrossRef*. Web. 16 Jan. 2018. <http://muse.jhu.edu/content/crossref/journals/american_quarterly/v065/65.2.buszek.html>.
- Carroll, Tamar W. *Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Print. Gender and American Culture.
- Clear, Allan. "AIDS Conference." Audio blog post. *Human Rights Watch*. Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/audio/2006/english/aids/conference/aclear.mp3>>.
- Clear, Allan. "AIDS Stories." Audio blog post. *Human Rights Watch*. Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/audio/2006/english/aids/stories/aclear.mp3>>.
- Clews, Colin. *Gay in the 80s: From Fighting for Our Rights to Fighting for Our Lives*. Kibworth Beauchamp, Leicestershire: Matador, 2017. Print.
- Cohen, Nancy L. *Delirium: The Politics of Sex in America*. Updated and expanded ed. Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2012. Print.
- Darms, Lisa. "Preserving Contradiction: The Riot Grrrl Collection at the Fales Library." *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 22.2–3 (2012): 335–341. *CrossRef*. Web. 8 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0740770X.2012.720823>>.
- . "Riot Grrrl, Collected." *The Paris Review* 30 July 2013. Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2013/07/30/grrrl-collected/>>.
- , ed. *The Riot Grrrl Collection*. New York: Feminist Press, 2013. Print.
- Davidson, Guy. "The Time of AIDS and the Rise of 'Post-Gay.'" *The Cambridge Companion to American Gay and Lesbian Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 139–156. Print. Cambridge Companions to Literature.
- DeChaine, D. Robert. "Mapping Subversion: Queercore Music's Playful Discourse of Resistance." *Popular Music & Society* 21.4 (1997): 7. *EBSCOhost*. Web. <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=asn&AN=1543157&site=ehost-live>>.
- DeLano, Sharon. "The Torch Singer." *The New Yorker*. 11 March 2002. Web. 29 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/03/11/the-torch-singer>>.
- Denber, Rachel (Human Rights Watch). "Pussy Riot and Russia's Surreal 'Justice'", 17 August 2012. Web. 24 July 2017. <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/08/17/pussy-riot-and-russias-surreal-justice>>.
- di Mauro, Diane and Carole Joffe. "The Religious Right and the Reshaping of Sexual Policy: An Examination of Reproductive Rights and Sexuality Education." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 4.1 (2007): 67–92. *CrossRef*. Web. 16 Dec. 2017. <<https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2007.4.1.67>>.
- Donaldson, Stephen. "Affidavit of Stephen Donaldson in ACLU v. Reno." *American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)*. 17 March 1996. Web. 17 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.aclu.org/legal-document/affidavit-stephen-donaldson-aclu-v-reno>>.
- Downes, Julia. "DIY Queer Feminist (Sub)Cultural Resistance in the UK." Dissertation. University of Leeds, 2009. Print.
- . "The Expansion of Punk Rock: Riot Grrrl Challenges to Gender Power Relations in British Indie Music Subcultures." *Women's Studies* 41.2 (2012): 204–237. *CrossRef*. Web. 16 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00497878.2012.636572>>.
- . "There's A Riot Going On... Geschichte Und Vermächtnis von Riot Grrrl." *Riot Grrrl Revisited: Geschichte Und Gegenwart Einer Feministischen Bewegung*. 2nd, extended edition. Mainz: Ventil-Verlag, 2013, 18–50. Print.
- Driver, Susan, ed. *Queer Youth Cultures*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008. Print. SUNY Series, Interruptions--Border Testimony(ies) and Critical Discourse/s.
- Duncombe, Stephen Ross. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Underground Culture*. The City University of New York, 1996. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. Web.
- Dunn, Kevin C. *Global Punk: Resistance and Rebellion in Everyday Life*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Print.
- . "'Know Your Rights': Punk Rock, Globalization, and Human Rights." *Popular Culture and Human Rights: British and American Music*. Peddie, Ian, ed. Vol. 1. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. 27–38. Print. 2 vols.
- Dunn, Kevin, and May Summer Farnsworth. "'We ARE the Revolution': Riot Grrrl Press, Girl Empowerment, and DIY Self-Publishing." *Women's Studies* 41.2 (2012): 136–157. *CrossRef*. Web. 14 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00497878.2012.636334>>.
- du Plessis, Michael, and Kathleen Chapman. "Queercore: The Distinct Identities of Subculture." *College Literature* 24.1 (1997): 45–58. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25099625>>.
- Dynes, Wayne R., William A. Percy, Warren Johansson and Stephen Donaldson, eds. *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. 2 vols. New York: Garland Pub.,

1990. Print.
- . "Stephen Donaldson (Robert A. Martin) (1946–1996)." *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context*. Bullough, Vern L., et al., (eds.). New York: The Haworth Press, 2002. 265–272. Print.
- Eckel, Jan. *Die Ambivalenz des Guten: Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern*. 2nd edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015. Print.
- Eichhorn, Kate. "DIY Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians: Legitimizing Feminist Knowledge and Cultural Production Since 1990." *Women's Studies* 39.6 (2010): 622–646. *CrossRef*. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00497878.2010.490716>>.
- . *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013. *CrossRef*. Web. <<https://muse.jhu.edu/results?section1=author&search1=%20Kate%20Eichhorn>>.
- "Famous The Evergreen State College Alumni." Undated. Web. 15 Aug. 2018. <<https://www.ranker.com/list/famous-the-evergreen-state-college-alumni-and-students/reference>>.
- Farber, Jim. "Laura Jane Grace: 'Punk Was More Close-Minded Than a Church'." *Guardian*. 10 November 2016. Web. 2 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/nov/10/laura-jane-grace-against-me-tranny-memoir>>.
- Fateman, Johanna. Blog post. *Tumblr*. 11 August 2012. Web. 20 Jan. 2018. <<http://johannafateman.tumblr.com/post/29192133526/essentially-it-is-not-three-singers-from-pussy>>.
- Feldman-Barrett, Christine. "From Beatles Fans to Beat Groups: A Historiography of the 1960s All-Girl Rock Band." *Feminist Media Studies* 14.6 (2014): 1041–1055. *Crossref*. Web. 23 July 2018. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14680777.2013.866972>>.
- Feminist Majority Foundation. "Rock for Choice." 2014. Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.feminist.org/rock4c/>>.
- Fenster, Mark. "Queer Punk Fanzines: Identity, Community, and The Articulation of Homosexuality and Hardcore." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 17.1 (1993): 73–94. Print.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Social Text* 25/26 (1990): 56–80. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/466240>>.
- French, Jade, and Emily Neu, eds. *Let's Start a Pussy Riot*. London: Rough Trade, 2013. Print.
- Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, *Finding Aid for Swarthmore College Sager Committee Records, 1988-2002*. Web. 19 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/friends/ead/6P004sager.xml>>.
- Furness, Zachary Mooradian, ed. *Punkademics: The Basement Show in the Ivory Tower*. Wivenhoe; Brooklyn, New York: Minor Compositions; distributed by Autonomedia, 2012. Print.
- Gibson, Caitlin. "A Disturbing New Glimpse at the Reagan Administration's Indifference to AIDS." *Washington Post*. 1 December 2015. Web. 27 Dec. 2017. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2015/12/01/a-disturbing-new-glimpse-at-the-reagan-administrations-indifference-to-aids/?utm_term=.eb40051a03e6>.
- Gladstone, Rick. "Pussy Riot Members Take Tour To New York." *New York Times*. 5 February 2014. Web. 20 Sept. 2017. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/06/world/europe/pussy-riot-members-say-prison-emboldened-them.html>>.
- Goad, Jim. "The Punk Who Wouldn't Shut Up." *Answer Me!* 4 (1994): 28–31. Web. 14 Dec. 2018. <<http://www.jimgoad.net/pdf/prison/donny.pdf>>.
- Gordon, Jeremy. "Patti Smith and David Lynch Interview Each Other About Pussy Riot, 'Twin Peaks' on BBC TV Show." *Pitchfork*. 21 November 2014. Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://pitchfork.com/news/57551-patti-smith-and-david-lynch-interview-each-other-about-pussy-riot-twin-peaks-on-bbc-tv-show/>>.
- Graham, Pat. "Riot Grrrl." Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://patgraham.viewbook.com/untitled-3/riot-grrrl>>.
- Halberstam, Judith. *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York: New York University Press, 2005. Print. Sexual Cultures.
- Harm Reduction Coalition, Blog "Share Your Memories and Photos of Allan Clear." Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <<http://harmreduction.org/about-us/ourstaff/share-your-memories-and-photos-of-allan-clear/>>.
- Harris, Anita. "GURL Scenes and Grrrl Zines: The Regulation and Resistance of Girls in Late Modernity." *Feminist Review* 75 (2003): 38–56. Print. Identities.
- Hubbard, Jim, and Sarah Schulman. *United in Anger. A History of ACT-UP*. United in Anger, Inc., 2012. Film.
- Human Rights Watch, "Free Pussy Riot Members. One Year Behind Bars." 28 February 2013. Web. 17 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/28/russia-free-pussy-riot-members>>.
- Human Rights Watch, *No Escape. Male Rape in U.S. Prisons*, 2001. Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/prison/report.html>>.
- Ingram, Gordon Brent, Anne-Marie Bouthillette and Yolanda Retter, eds. *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1997, 407–37.
- Jagose, Annamarie. "Feminism's Queer Theory." *Feminism & Psychology* 19.2 (2009): 157–174. *CrossRef*. Web. 28 Dec. 2017. <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0959353509102152>>.
- Kaiser, David and Lovisa Stannow. "The Way to Stop Prison

- Rape." *New York Review of Books*. 25 March 2010. Web. 17 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2010/03/25/the-way-to-stop-prison-rape/>>.
- Kelleher, Marta. "Laura Jane Grace: 'True Trans Soul Rebel.'" *Gender Forum* 61 (2017): 53–65. Web. 1 May 2018. <http://genderforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/PowerfulWomen_Complete.pdf>.
- Laing, Dave. "Interpreting Punk Rock." *Marxism Today* (1978): 123–128. Print.
- . *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock*. 2nd ed. Oakland: PM Press, 2015. Print.
- Langman, Lauren. "Punk, Porn and Resistance: Carnivalization and The Body in Popular Culture." *Current Sociology* 56.4 (2008): 657–677. *CrossRef*. Web. 1 June 2018. <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392108090947>>.
- Langston, Henry. "Meeting Pussy Riot." *Vice*. 12 March 2012. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/kwnzgy/A-Russian-Pussy-Riot, accessed 24 July 2017.
- Lee, Caroline W. *Do-It-Yourself Democracy: The Rise of the Public Engagement Industry*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Print.
- Locker, Melissa. "Pansy Division: A Quarter-Century of Queercore." *Guardian*. 15 September 2016. Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/sep/15/pansy-division-queercore-gay-rock-band>>.
- Long, Thomas L. "Plague of Pariahs: AIDS 'Zines and the Rhetoric of Transgression." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 24.4 (2000): 401–411. Web. 31 Dec. 2017. <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0196859900024004004>>.
- Make America Smart Again/Spaceland. "Election Eve Event With Pussy Riot in Downtown Los Angeles." Blog Post. *Make America Smart Again*. 31 October 2016. Web. 17 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.dumbisovermasa.com/news/2016/10/31/election-eve-event-with-pussy-riot-in-downtown-los-angeles>>.
- Marcus, Sara. *Girls to the Front: The True Story of the Riot Grrrl Revolution*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2010. Print.
- Marshall, George. *Skinhead Nation*. Dunoon: S.T. Publishing, 1996. Print.
- Marinucci, Mimi. *Feminism Is Queer: The Intimate Connection Between Queer and Feminist Theory*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2010. Print.
- Mihr, Anja, and Mark Gibney, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Human Rights*. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014. *CrossRef*. Web. 2 Feb. 2018. <<http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/the-sage-handbook-of-human-rights>>.
- Miller, Alice M. "Human Rights and Sexuality: First Steps Toward Articulating a Rights Framework for Claims to Sexual Rights and Freedoms." *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)* 93 (1999): 288–303. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25659314>>.
- Monaghan, Elaine. "Pussy Riot Members to Appear at Amnesty Human Rights Concert at Barclays Center on Feb. 5." *Amnesty International USA* 21 January 2014. Web. 1 Aug. 2017. <<https://www.amnestyusa.org/press-releases/pussy-riot-members-to-appear-at-amnesty-human-rights-concert-at-barclays-center-on-feb-5-2/>>.
- Moore, Ryan. "Postmodernism and Punk Subculture: Cultures of Authenticity and Deconstruction." *The Communication Review* 7.3 (2004): 305–327. *CrossRef*. Web. 26 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10714420490492238>>.
- Moyn, Samuel. "Substance, Scale, and Salience: The Recent Historiography of Human Rights." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 8.1 (2012): 123–140. *CrossRef*. Web. 6 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102811-173847>>.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. Print. *Cultural Studies of the Americas* 2.
- Nault, Curran. *Queercore: Queer Punk Media Subculture*. New York: Routledge, 2017. Print. *Routledge Research in Gender, Sexuality, and Media*.
- Nguyen, Mimi Thi. "Evolution of a Race Riot." *Zine*. 1 (25 August 1997). Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://issuu.com/poczineproject/docs/evolution-of-a-race-riot-issue-1>>.
- . "Evolution of a Race Riot." *Zine*. 2 (2002). Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://issuu.com/poczineproject/docs/race-riot-2>>.
- . "Making Waves: Other Punk Feminisms." *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 22.2–3 (2012): 355–359. *CrossRef*. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0740770X.2012.720895>>.
- . "Riot Grrrl, Race, and Revival." *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 22.2–3 (2012): 173–196. Web. 14 Dec. 2017. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0740770X.2012.721082>>.
- New York University. "NYU's Riot Grrrl Mark Andersen/Positive Force DC Archive." 1 December 2015. Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.nyu.edu/about/news-publications/news/2015/december/nyu-riot-grrrl-mark-andersenpositive-force-dc-archive.html>>.
- Noisey, "Kathleen Hanna on Tokenism, Therapy, and Where Riot Grrrl Went Wrong." *Youtube*. 21 October 2016. Web. 2 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLNCCvZ71m4>>. Film.
- Nyong'o, Tavia. "Do You Want Queer Theory (or Do You Want the Truth)? Intersections of Punk and Queer in the 1970s." *Radical History Review* 2008.100 (2008): 103–119. *CrossRef*. Web. 29 Dec. 2017. <<https://read.dukeupress.edu/radical-history-review/article/2008/100/103-119/22105>>.

- Ommert, Alexandra. *Ladyfest-Aktivismus: Queer-Feministische Kämpfe Um Freiräume Und Kategorien*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016. Print. *Queer Studies* 14.
- O'Shea, Susan. "The Art Worlds of Punk-Inspired Feminist Networks - A Social Network Analysis of the Ladyfest Feminist Music and Cultural Movement in the UK." Dissertation. University of Manchester, 2014. Print.
- Peddie, Ian, ed. *Popular Music and Human Rights*. 2 vols. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011. Print. Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series.
- Pelly, Jenn. "'We Are All Pussy Riot': Kathleen Hanna Speaks on the Jailed Feminist Punk Group." *Pitchfork*. 15 August 2012. Web. 5 Jan. 2018. <<https://pitchfork.com/news/47516-we-are-all-pussy-riot-kathleen-hanna-speaks-on-the-jailed-feminist-punk-group/>>.
- POC (People of Color) Zine Project. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://poczineproject.tumblr.com>>.
- Perry, Leah. "I Can Sell My Body If I Wanna: Riot Grrrl Body Writing and Performing Shameless Feminist Resistance." *Lateral* 4.1 (2015): n. pag. *Crossref*. Web. 22 Aug. 2018. <<http://csalateral.org/issue/4/i-can-sell-my-body-if-i-wanna-riot-grrrl-body/>>.
- "Pussy Riot 'Principles Violated': Former Band Members Back Off from Released Pair." *Russia Today*. 7 February 2014. Web. 19 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.rt.com/news/pussy-riot-concert-amnesty-957/>>.
- Queer Zine Archive Project. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.qzap.org/v8/index.php>>.
- Radway, Janice. "Girl Zine Networks, Underground Itineraries, and Riot Grrrl History: Making Sense of the Struggle for New Social Forms in the 1990s and Beyond." *Journal of American Studies* 50.1 (2016): 1–31. *CrossRef*. Web. 10 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/article/girl-zine-networks-underground-itineraries-and-riot-grrrl-history-making-sense-of-the-struggle-for-new-social-forms-in-the-1990s-and-beyond/80700-8B6FF2EF119F07E05DC0854AE1B>>.
- Richardson, Diane. "Constructing Sexual Citizenship: Theorizing Sexual Rights." *Critical Social Policy* 20.1 (2000): 105–135. *CrossRef*. Web. 21 Dec. 2017. <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/026101830002000105>>.
- Rogers, Ray. "Queens' Reich." *Rolling Stone*. 18 May 1995: 38–40. Print.
- Rosenberg, Jessica, and Gitana Garofalo. "Riot Grrrl: Revolutions From Within." *Signs* 23.3 (1998): 809–841. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3175311>>.
- Rowe, David. *Popular Cultures: Rock Music, Sport, and the Politics of Pleasure*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, 1995. Print. The Media, Culture & Society Series.
- Rumen, Carol. "Pussy Riot's 'Punk Prayer' is Pure Protest Poetry." *Guardian*. 20 August 2012. Web. 10 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/aug/20/pussy-riot-punk-prayer-lyrics>>.
- Sante, Luc. "The Mother Courage of Rock." *New York Review of Books*. 9 February 2012. Web. 29 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2012/02/09/mother-courage-rock/>>.
- Schilt, Kristen. "'A Little Too Ironical': The Appropriation and Packaging of Riot Grrrl Politics by Mainstream Female Musicians." *Popular Music and Society* 26.1 (2003): 5–16. *CrossRef*. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0300776032000076351>>.
- Schwandt, Kevin. "The Erotics of an Oil Drum: Queercore, Gay Macho and the Defiant Sexuality of Extra Fancy's Sinnerman." *Women & Music* 13 (2009): 76–87. Print.
- Shepard, Benjamin Heim. *Queer Political Performance and Protest: Play, Pleasure and Social Movement*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Print. Routledge Advances in Sociology 41.
- Siegfried, Kate. *Affective Cultural Practice: Imagining Queer Feminism in the Riot Grrrl Movement*. Master Thesis. Syracuse University.
- Smith, Patti. "Land." *Horses*. Patti Smith Group. Arista Records, 1975. CD.
- Strachan, Robert. "Micro-Independent Record Labels in the UK: Discourse, DIY Cultural Production and the Music Industry." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10.2 (2007): 245–265. *Crossref*. Web. 24 Aug. 2018. <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1367549407075916>>.
- Street, John. "The Sound of Geopolitics: Popular Music and Political Rights." *Popular Communication* 11.1 (2013): 47–57. *CrossRef*. Web. 6 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15405702.2013.748316>>.
- Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. "Guide to the WHAM! (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) Records TAM.162. Historical/Bibliographical Note." Web. 20 Dec. 2017. <http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam_162/bioghist.html>.
- Turbine, Vikki. "What Does the Pussy Riot Case Tell Us About the Status of Women's Human Rights in Russia?" *E-International Relations* (2013): online. Web. 12 Jan. 2018. <<http://www.e-ir.info/2013/05/27/what-does-the-pussy-riot-case-tell-us-about-the-status-of-womens-human-rights-in-contemporary-russia/>>.
- Triggs, Teal. "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic." *Journal of Design History* 19.1 (2006): 69–83. *CrossRef*. Web. 26 Dec. 2017. <<https://academic.oup.com/jdh/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/jdh/epk006>>.
- Vile, Tyler. "Tyler Vile Speaks With the Fabulous Nicole Panter." *Punk Globe*, December 2012. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.punkglobe.com/nicolepanterinterview1212.php>>.
- Walker, Jerad. "The Unlikely Bond Between a D.C. Church and The Punk Music Scene." *Metro Connection, WAMU 88.5 American University Radio* 17 October

2014. Web. 10 Dec. 2017. <https://wamu.org/story/14/10/17/the_unlikely_bond_between_a_dc_church_and_the_punk_music_scene/>.

Weed, Elizabeth, and Naomi Schor, eds. *Feminism Meets Queer Theory*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997. Print. Books from Differences.

Weiss, Philip. "Uncovered Prison Rapes Show Failure of Media." *Observer*. 30 April 2001. Web. 3 Jan. 2018. <<http://observer.com/2001/04/uncovered-prison-rapes-show-failure-of-media/>>.

Wiedlack, Maria Katharina. "'Free Pussy Riot!' & Riot Grrrlsm: International Solidarity, or the Incorporation of the 'Eastern Other' into North/Western Discourses?" *LES Online* 6.1 (2014): 79–94. *CrossRef*. Web. 10 Jan. 2018. <<https://lesonlinesite.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/free-pussy-riot.pdf>>.

---. "'I Don't Give a Shit Where I Spit My Phlegm' (Tribe 8). Rejection and Anger in Queer-Feminist Punk Rock." *Transposition* 3 (2013): 1–19. *CrossRef*. Web. 15 Dec. 2017. <<http://journals.openedition.org/transposition/280>>.

---. *Queer-Feminist Punk: An Anti-Social History*. Wien: Zaglossus, 2015. Print.

Wilson, Angela. "'The Galaxy Is Gay': Examining the Networks of Lesbian Punk Rock Subculture." *Queer Youth Cultures*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008: 51–68. Print. SUNY Series, Interruptions--Border Testimony(ies) and Critical Discourse/s.

Wisniewski, Kira. "Punk Community Reactions to Laura Jane Grace News." *Punk News*. 2012. Web. 2 Jan. 2018. <<https://www.punknews.org/article/47292/punk-community-reactions-to-laura-jane-grace-news>>.

Wolfe, Allison. "Riot Grrrls Raise Awareness." *Evergreen Magazine*. 26 June 2017. Web. 15 August 2018. <<http://www.evergreen.edu/magazine/spring-2017/music-and-social-activism>>.

Zoldadz, Lindsay. „Did Pussy Riot's Message at the Amnesty International Concert Get Lost in Translation?" *Pitchfork*. 6 February 2014. Web. 20 Jan. 2017. <<http://pitchfork.com/thepitch/237-did-pussy-riots-message-atthe-amnesty-concert-get-lost-in-translation/>>.

Karpp Rolling Stones Collection at University of Freiburg in 2017. Her research interests include American and European popular music and culture, feminism, human rights and social movements.

Author's Biography

Lene Annette Karpp is a doctoral candidate at the Graduate School of North American Studies at the John F. Kennedy Institute of Free University of Berlin where she also worked as a lecturer and research associate (2015/2016). Her PhD project addresses the interplay of (D.I.Y.) punk culture and feminist practices in New York City since the 1970s. She co-founded the Reinhold