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Punk rock music has long been labeled sexist as copious media-generated accounts and reports of the genre concentrate on male artists, hyper-masculine performances, and lyrics considered to be aggressive, sexist, and misogynist. However, scholars have rarely examined punk rock music longitudinally, focusing heavily on 1980s and 1990s manifestations of the genre. Furthermore, few systematic content analyses of feminist themes in punk rock song lyrics have been conducted. The present research is a longitudinal content analysis of lyrics of 600 punk rock songs released for four decades between 1970 and 2009 to examine the prevalence of and longitudinal shifts in antiestablishment themes, the prevalence of and longitudinal shifts in sexist themes relative to feminist themes, the prevalence of and longitudinal shifts in specific feminist branches, and what factors are related to feminism. Using top-rated albums retrieved from Sputnik Music’s “Best Punk Albums” charts, systematic random sampling was applied to select 50 songs for each combination of three gender types and four decades. Sexism and feminism were then operationalized to construct a coding sheet to examine relevant dimensions. While the present study found no significant patterns of longitudinal increase or decrease in feminist or sexist themes, it revealed that feminist themes were consistently high across four decades and, furthermore, indicated a phenomenon of post-modern hybridity.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

It has long been argued that certain characteristics of rock music provide concrete evidence in favor of maintaining and replicating certain gender roles. For instance, commonly associated with masculinity for its abrasive performances and intense sounds representative of potency, strength, and virility, rock music has historically contributed to the reproduction of hegemonic male culture that is promoted and sustained within the music industry and wider popular culture (Leonard, 2007).

Punk rock music has long been labeled sexist as copious media-generated accounts and reports of the genre concentrate on male artists, hyper-masculine performances, and lyrics considered to be aggressive, heterosexist, and misogynist (Letts, 2006; Lydon, Zimmerman, & Zimmerman, 1994; Malott & Peña, 2004; Rachman, 2007; Reynolds & Press, 1995; Savage, 1991; Wood, 2006). Certain subcultural movements within the punk scene during the 1980s, such as the hardcore and oi! movements, helped further reinforce sexist perceptions of the genre by utilizing “violent slam dancing practices, sonic machismo, and misogynistic lyrics,” lending to a decrease in and marginalization of women’s participation (Downes, 2012, p. 207; also see Verdes, 2013).

Several scholars attribute a rise in feminist ideology in punk rock music solely to the explosion of alt-rock girl bands in the early 1990s, when women began visibly using the punk subculture as a means to challenge sexual hegemony and overcome gender inequalities within the genre, as well as the greater, mainstream culture (Belzer, 2004; Hanna, 2003; Leblanc, 1999; Marcus, 2010). However, Marlott and Peña (2004) argue that many of these scholars have failed to fully recognize the breadth of early punk audiences and community members
by choosing to focus on later punk movements that did replicate dominant gender
expectations. For example, in the 2000 Sex Pistols documentary titled The Filth and the Fury,
much of the film’s footage reveals that almost as many women as men were involved in the
eyear punk rock community as both audience members and performers (Marlott & Peña,
2004).

Mainstream media’s heavy concentration on the aggressive 1980s hardcore scene
helped normalize misogynistic and heterosexist depictions of punk rock, marginalizing
women’s participation and pro-feminist messages in the music (Marlott & Peña, 2004). In an
article for Huck Magazine, Alice Bag, who fronted the founding Los Angeles punk band The
Bags, discussed the changing gender politics in punk rock and hardcore:

Punk was inclusive, outspoken, innovative and often outrageous. The early LA punk
scene, in particular, was diversely populated and reflected the many ethnicities that
made up Los Angeles. It was a community where people of every class, race and
gender felt at home...I didn’t see sexism in the punk scene until years later, when it
became male dominated. I had come to expect the audiences at punk shows to be
populated by extravagantly plumed creatures of all shapes, sizes, colors and genders
whose very appearance cried out originality. Suddenly, there was an eerie sameness.
(Coen, 2012, pp. 2-3)

According to DeMott (1988), the implicit function of counter-cultural movements,
such as punk, is to "express and negotiate contradictions which were hidden or unresolved in
the parent culture” (p. 42). DeMott’s (1998) view can help explain the presence of feminist
lyrical messages, despite the perceived invisibility of women in punk rock. Because of its
inherent anti-conformist and antiestablishment ethos, punk rock tries to actively resist any
mainstream, hierarchical system of female subordination.

Theoretically, punk ideology and feminism seem to coincide, both supporting
women’s participation, challenging mainstream views of gender roles and sexuality, and
working toward greater gender equality and acceptance of alternative femininities and
masculinities (Berkers, 2012; Harrison, 2008). Like the punk movement, second-wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s was characterized by its anti-commercialist and anti-hierarchical sentiment, and some second-wave feminists advocated for equality between men and women as music makers (Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Berkers, 2012; Skinner, 2005). In response to second-wave feminism, some third wave feminists in the late 1980s and 1990s supported women’s performance in punk rock, often encouraging the construction of radical, alternative femininities and celebrating gender dualism and notions of femaleness (Berkers, 2012; Conrad, 2001; Keenan, 2008).

Therefore, punk rock may have been pro-feminist since its original movement in the 1970s, encouraging female independence and resistance to sexual hegemony and gender norms. This study attempts to help answer the following question: How have feminist and sexist themes in punk rock song lyrics been changed over time? Because most qualitative studies of punk rock and feminism disregard feminism within the early punk eras and lionize the 1990s Riot Grrrl movement for spearheading third-wave feminism, a longitudinal content analysis of punk rock song lyrics is necessary to evaluate change, if any, in the genre’s gender-related themes more accurately and comprehensively than existing studies. This study analyzes the lyrics of punk rock songs released between 1970 and 2009.

Lyrics are examined to assess the prevalence of and shift, if any, in antiestablishment, sexist, and feminist themes. In addition, this study explores what factors are related to feminism. The purpose of this study is to determine if punk rock song lyrics simply reflect conventional perceptions of the genre as sexist over time, or if such conceptions of punk rock music are lyrically unfounded. Furthermore, a longitudinal content analysis of punk rock
song lyrics investigates changes in various types of feminist attitudes that may have existed within the genre over time.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Genealogy of Punk Rock

It is imperative to establish a working definition of the term punk rock. The word punk is slightly troublesome because its meaning is frequently open to interpretation and even highly contested among its own community members (Hannon, 2010; Letts, 2006). Punk rock includes a wide array of musical arrangements and expressions, which are further broken down into varying subgenres. It is usually associated with various local and trans-local scenes, most notably those of the United Kingdom and the United States, first established in the late 1970s (Bennet & Peterson, 2004; Hannon, 2010). Gradually, punk transformed from simply a musical genre into a greater cultural phenomenon, which was identified through a distinctive attitude, art, and clothing style that rejected social convention and voiced a greater desire for individuality (Bennet & Peterson, 2004; Hannon, 2010).

Punk quickly became symbolic of anything that lyrically or stylistically attacked mainstream society and popular culture. Because punk rock emerged as an active resistance to convention, it is consistently aligned with nonconformist, antiestablishment themes. Barr (2009) defines antiestablishment as “politics of opposition to those wielding power,” which includes opposition of the perceived political, economic, social, and musical elites (p. 31). Major antiestablishment themes found in punk rock are often elements of fundamental liberal politics, such as antigovernment, antireligion, anticapitalism, antiracism, and antisexism to name a few.

The 1960s spawned a series of youth-led movements aimed to oppose aspects of capitalism, traditional familial roles, authoritarianism, and seemingly antiquated societal
norms (Laing, 1978). However, many of those youth movements lost their fortitude in the late 1960s as radio-friendly counter-cultural musical groups, including The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and Bob Dylan, achieved mainstream success (Laing, 1978). Increasing commercialization of rock ‘n’ roll and the failed radical 1960s hippie utopia led to the development of a new musical genre and subculture, which negated all things mainstream and advocated Marxist ideals (Laing, 1978).

United in antiestablishment endeavors, the pre-punk pioneers began sowing the seeds for an underground musical revolution. Some influential pre-genre bands included The Velvet Underground, MC5, and Iggy Pop & the Stooges. With lyrical themes of drugs, sadomasochism, and rebellion, New York City’s Velvet Underground stood apart from the 1960s hippies and glam rockers (Letts, 2006). In 1967, following the suggestion of their band-manager Andy Warhol, the group featured German model and singer-songwriter Nico on several of their songs. The aesthetic risk of placing Nico opposite a backdrop of sonic dissonance helped the band land a recording contract with Verve Records and created a massive cult following (Letts, 2006). Detroit natives MC5 broke taboos and caused controversy with their highly politicized content, arguing against the war in Vietnam, racism, and the commercialization of rock music. The band notoriously caused uproar over their lyric, “kick out the jams, m----f-----.” MC5 also became the house band for the White Panther Party, embracing the movement’s radical anti-racist ideals (Letts, 2006; Bartkowiak, 2008). Iggy Pop & the Stooges shared sonic influences with MC5, drawing inspiration from Chicago Blues and psychedelic music of the 1960s. The band quickly became notorious for its often erratic and outlandish stage performances. Front man Iggy Pop’s stage antics, markedly
consisting of spastic body contortions and stage dives, matched the fervor and avant-garde experimentation of the music (Letts, 2006).

Along with an antiestablishment attitude, proto-punk, which consisted of garage rock musicians of the late 1960s and early 1970s, also “valued and romanticized an underground economy based in part on decentralized production and distribution” (Kane, 2011, p. 331). The self-distribution of the proto-punk scene laid the groundwork for the future D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself) ethic, an important pillar of the later punk rock dogma. Minor Threat front man Ian McKay, as quoted in Steven Blush’s book *American Hardcore: A Tribal History*, discussed the early punk D.I.Y. efforts:

We wanted to create our own culture because we didn’t feel connected to anything. Here was a perfect opportunity for that. You were instantly devoted to others around you. This was the first time Rock Music was being written by, performed by, shows were being put on by, fanzines being put out, networks were being created — all by kids, completely outside of the mainstream music business, for reasons that had very little or nothing to do with economic incentive. It was a really important time in music history because music actually rose above business; as you know, music has always been a really insidious marriage of art and business. (Blush, 2001, p. 23)

For example, pioneer punk rocker Patti Smith’s 1974 cover of Jimi Hendrix’s “Hey Joe” was released by Mer Records, a record label created and run entirely by Smith and her longtime friend Robert Mapplethorpe (Kane, 2011). Its distribution was supplemented solely by word-of-mouth sales and a small network of peer-owned record stores (Kane, 2011).

Both aesthetically and sonically different from mainstream rock bands of the early 1970s, groups such as The New York Dolls, Suicide, Richard Hell & The Voidoids, Television, and The Dictators became fixtures in New York City’s early alternative scene, making the rounds at two key underground nightclubs, CBGB’s and Max’s Kansas City (Letts, 2006). Those bands were known for their bizarre stage antics, controversial lyrics, anti-fashion look, and politicized subject matter. They also used heavier, more chaotic chording
than previously heard in mainstream rock ’n’ roll, seeming to blur the lines between activism, art, and music. The proto-punk musicians developed a signature style and attitude. They remained largely an underground scene until The Ramones in the United States and the Sex Pistols in the United Kingdom emerged in 1975 (Jaffe, 1998; Laing, 1978).

On both sides of the Atlantic, a growing number of disenfranchised youth led to a backlash against the style of rock ’n’ roll popularized by the major recording conglomerates of the time (Jaffe, 1998). The Ramones, composed of four “brothers” from Queens, New York, followed in the footsteps of The Stooges, MC5, the New York Dolls, and the Velvet Underground, adhering to D.I.Y. and playing extremely fast-paced, discordant songs (Letts, 2006). The Ramones gravitated toward the growing underground scene at CBGB’s nightclub, where the band played its first set, performing 12 rapid-fire songs in less than 16 minutes (Greene 2014; Letts, 2006). Referred to as “three chord wonders,” The Ramones’ music used only a few chords per song, and their lyrics were repetitious, consisting of short, catchy phrases often sung out of tune (Jaffe, 1998). In The Ramones documentary End of the Century, Legs McNeil, who co-founded PUNK magazine and coined the term punk to describe the sound and style of the bands coming out of the underground Bowery nightclub scene, described The Ramones’ performance as “something completely new” (Gramaglia, 2005; Letts, 2006). The quartet’s music soon resonated out from the Lower East Side clubs, earning them a recording contract and small commercial success with songs such as “Blitzkrieg Bop,” “Sheena is a Punk Rocker,” “Do You Remember Rock ’n’ Roll Radio?,” and “I Wanna Be Sedated” (Jaffe, 1998).

While The Ramones moved to the forefront of punk rock in the United States, the punk scene also started to flourish in the United Kingdom. The 1970s political and social
climate in the United Kingdom was crucial to the formation of its punk scene, stemming largely out of a growing disenfranchisement of working-class youth and out of dissenting attitudes from the 1973 Winter of Discontent (Letts, 2006). “Bored, and pissed off, and in the process of being groomed into a showpiece band,” the first incarnation of The Sex Pistols adopted the snarls and anarchic sounds of the proto-punks and donned Vivienne Westwood’s deconstructed anti-fashion clothing, inspired largely by looks found in London’s gay underground scene (Letts, 2006). Singer Johnny Rotten, guitarist Steve Jones, drummer Paul Cook, and bassist Glen Matlock (later replaced by Sid Vicious), formed the Sex Pistols, performing amateurish covers of Stooges songs and turning music into chaos (Letts, 2006). With live performances that continually resulted in nightly bedlam, the band was in perpetual controversy with venue owners and local authorities. The Sex Pistols’ notorious public appearances, however, gained the group momentous publicity, landing a recording deal with a major label (Letts, 2006). Condemning conformity, social conventions, and submissiveness to the Crown, their hit singles, “Anarchy in the UK” and “God Save the Queen,” were considered rallying cries for ultimate independence for disenfranchised youth who believed that traditional rock ‘n’ roll music had sold out (Taxin, 2011).

Following the rise of The Sex Pistols and The Ramones, punk exploded in 1977 all across the United Kingdom and the United States. Some notable bands included The Buzzcocks, The Clash, The Slits, The Damned, X-Ray Spex, and Siouxsie and the Banshees (Letts, 2006). The punk-rock “insurgency” became synonymous with a fight for social change, validating its antiestablishment and anti-consumerism mantras. In its infancy, however, hyper-masculine punk rock often expressed its rejection of mainstream society through songs about rejecting women (Reynolds, 1995). Few women ventured into the early
realm of punk music, and initially those who did were only viewed peripherally. In 1976, after obtaining inspiration from a 1975 Sex Pistols concert, the band X-Ray Spex emerged. Its atypical inclusion of saxophone, kitschy look, and uncommon front-woman, Poly Styrene, made X-Ray Spex become one of the most talked-about, female-fronted groups in the newborn punk scene. Though the band turned heads with its 1977 single “Oh Bondage, Up Yours!,” in which Styrene called for female liberation from conventional gendered behaviors, the group disbanded in 1978 (Ibarra, 2013).

After a slew of negative publicity, surrounding the violence that often went with a punk show, and a number of tour and public appearance cancellations, The Sex Pistols disbanded in 1978, and its bassist Sid Vicious was found dead of a heroin overdose the following year (Letts, 2006). The punk movement became fragmented and faded, as bands like The Clash achieved widespread acceptance and commercial success, leaving many critics to believe that punk was “fractured along the lines of its own internal contradictions” (Laing, 1978, p. 128; also see Erikson, 1980).

This fragmentation marked the beginning of a new generation of punk rockers, and by the early 1980s many punk bands submerged deeper in the underground scene, developing more and more radical ideologies. With an “F-you” attitude, a less melodic and more chaotic musical style, and darker socio-conscious lyrics, the new subgenre of hardcore was created (Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007). Mainly a mishmash community of bored and angry surfers, skateboarders, college students, and working-class youth, the hardcore scene began to unify through the production of fanzines and D.I.Y. or word-of-mouth means. It was to be a pure grassroots movement without the assistance of band managers, lawyers, or record companies (Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007).
Black Flag, The Dead Kennedys, The Germs, Bad Brains, Minor Threat, and The Misfits were among the new wave of bands to hit the hardcore scene in the United States, while Cock Sparrer, Discharge, and GBH were notable in the United Kingdom (Dynner, 2007; Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007). They rejected mainstream systems of hierarchical and bureaucratic control in favor of anarchism and anticapitalist movements. Hardcore punk also sired a stream of associated subcultures, such as anarcho punk, oi!, and crust punk. Anarcho punk bands adhered to varying anarchistic ideologies, ranging from religious anarchism to anarcha-feminism, and their lyrics called for direct resistance to any system of oppression. Notable anarcho-punk bands included Subhumans, Discharge, and Flux of Pink Indians. The oi! genre originated in the United Kingdom and centered around working class rebellion, with songs covering topics such as government oppression, worker’s rights, and unemployment. Notable oi! bands included Blitz, Cockney Rejects, and Angelic Upstarts. Bleak and nihilistic with songs about anti-militarism and consequences of nuclear war, crust punk emerged in the mid-1980s as a faster and grittier version of hardcore. Notable crust punk bands included Amebix, Nausea, and Aus-Rotten.

The hardcore movement also led to a number of counter-countercultural movements, like straight edge and hardline, which rebelled against recreational drug use, promiscuous sex, and other forms of hedonism found in punk rock. Bands such as Minor Threat, The Teen Idles, Gorilla Biscuits, and Youth of Today supported many straight edge and hardline philosophies (Blush, 2001; Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007). In addition, hardcore punk music helped popularize a chaotic dance style known as slam-dancing or moshing, perpetuating the aggressive stereotype associated with hardcore punk rock. Wood (2006) described hardcore music as follows:
Similar to punk rock, hardcore has a raw edge, characterized by driving, staccato, machine-gun drumbeats, fast, heavy guitar riffs, and simple repetitive bass lines. The vocalists typically shout or scream, and group chants and anthems frequently punctuate the lyrics. Borrowing from the heavy metal music genre, hardcore often breaks the speed and intensity with interludes characterized by slower tempos, double bass drumbeats, and intricate riffs. (p. 3)

The 1980s hardcore punk also developed a tougher, androcentric fashion and performance style, referred to as youth crew, which became associated with hyper-masculinity and in extreme cases, sexist or misogynist thought (Brockmeier, 2013). Many women in the punk rock scene adopted a tomboy attitude and look to better blend in with the social environment (Brockmeier, 2013). Influenced by hyper-masculine rock ‘n’ roll, former Runaways bassist Joan Jett formed her band Joan Jett & The Blackhearts in 1982. Jett assumed a tough girl, tomboy stage persona, which was more aggressive than many other female artists of the time (Ibarra, 2013; Leonard, 2007). Her performances embodied the male bravado found in classic punk rock and hardcore music, as Jett opted to play stereotypically male-relegated rhythm guitar and used guttural, rasping vocals (Ibarra, 2013; Leonard, 2007). Joan Jett & The Blackhearts toured and performed throughout much of the 1980s, and by 1992 it took a backseat to new feminist, girl bands emerging in punk rock (Ibarra, 2013).

In 1985 the hardcore punk underground scene shrunk considerably as new wave or post-punk grew increasingly popular (Blush, 2001; Brockmeier, 2013). Deemed trendy and less belligerent than punk, new wave artists like New Order, the Talking Heads, Depeche Mode, and The Cure were backed by major recording labels, which touted the bands as “a somewhat watered-down version of punk” and a far more profitable alternative genre (Brockmeier, 2013, p. 9). While the 1980s hardcore bands were in direct opposition to Reagonomics and social conservatism of the time, post-punk slowly embraced mainstream ideas (Brockmeier, 2013). Hardcore continued to sink further underground, and by the late
1980s, bands including Screeching Weasel, The Offspring, Green Day, NOFX, and later Rancid signaled a new melodic, pop-infused direction of punk rock, which eventually gained industry recognition in the 1990s (Damante, 2014).

In 1991, Seattle grunge band Nirvana, led by Kurt Cobain, tapped into a chunk of the depressed, angst-ridden white American youth who had amassed following the decline of hardcore in 1988 (Erlewine, 2010; Letts, 2006). Mixing Stooges-inspired punk rock and heavy metal, and favoring more industrial noises and unusual guitar hooks, Nirvana grabbed the attention of industry moguls, which marked a major shift in alternative genres that in time came to be seen as financially viable (Erlewine, 2010; Letts, 2006). Pushed by MTV and the rock press, Nirvana’s breakthrough led to the popularization of teenage, youth culture of the early and mid-1990s (Erlewine, 2010).

At the same time, dissatisfied with the male predominance of the underground punk rock and alternative music scenes, many girls banded together under the facade of punk rock to share their experiences and create a new collective female identity (Belzer, 2004). The movement became known as riot grrrl, and in its simplest renderings, it was girls making music about girls for girls. The riot grrrl movement was largely characterized by punk mantras, especially the D.I.Y. ethic, leading to a widespread production of girl-exclusive fanzines (Belzer, 2004; Leblanc, 1999; Marcus, 2010). The term riot grrrl appeared in the summer of 1991, when the bands Bratmobile and Bikini Kill collaborated upon and distributed a fanzine titled Riot Grrrl (Belzer, 2004; Verdes, 2013). The bands replaced the word “girl” by using the growling three r’s, symbolically taking away the softer, disparaging connation of the word (Leblanc, 1999; Marcus, 2010; Verdes, 2013).
Upholding antiestablishment, anti-consumerist, and feminist philosophies, riot grrrl bands turned their attention to problems surrounding female body image, violence against women, and the gender bias in the music industry (Belzer, 2004; Marcus 2010; Verdes, 2013). Fronted by singer Kathleen Hannah, Bikini Kill spearheaded the riot grrrl revolution in 1991, with Hannah portrayed as the face of the movement. The band released in 1993 its debut album, *Pussy Whipped*, on which the song “Rebel Girl” quickly gained notoriety as a call for young female empowerment (Belzer, 2004). Other bands, such as L7, Bratmobile, 7 Year Bitch, Le Tigre, Babes in Toyland, Huggy Bear, and Heavens to Betsy became uniting figureheads for radical girl-power revolution ethics (Belzer, 2004; Marcus, 2010). Though these bands’ lyrics were often misrepresented as man-hating, the riot grrrl forerunners and their successors’ goals were to inspire young females and give them a voice in the largely male-dominated punk rock music scene (Belzer, 2004; Leblanc, 1999; Marcus, 2010). Despite many efforts, most of the riot grrrl bands fizzled out of the cultural forefront by the mid-1990s, especially as their “girl power” mantra began to be appropriated by mainstream acts, such as the Spice Girls (Belzer, 2004; Feliciano, 2013; Marcus, 2010). In underground punk scenes, bands like Tacocat, Shannon and the Clams, and Pussy Riot continue to carry the riot grrrl torch.

After Nirvana ushered alternative music to popular audiences, pop-punk artists including The Offspring, Pennywise, and most notably Green Day similarly flirted with mainstream viability. With revamped power-pop chords and catchy repetitious Clash/Ramones-style choruses, Green Day’s third album, *Dookie*, reached the top of the rock charts and sold more than eight million copies by 1995 (Erlewine, 2010). Pop-punk was further popularized by Blink 182’s *Enema of the State*, which received a notable amount of
radio play and MTV coverage (Damante, 2014). The year 1995 also marked the birth of the Van’s Warped Tour, an annual festival that showcased punk bands of all subgenres. Green Day’s multi-platinum success and the rapidly growing fan bases of Pennywise, Rancid, NOFX, The Offspring, and Blink 182 opened the doors to a pop-punk renaissance, in which a slew of new groups, such as New Found Glory, Yellowcard, Millencolin, Zebrahead, Sum 41, and MxPx, became common performers at the Vans Warped Tour (Damante, 2014).

Maintaining the attitude and fast-paced tempo of classic punk rock while producing radio-friendly tunes, much of the 2000s has been marked by a rise in softer, more melodic punk-inspired rock bands (Damante, 2014). The annual Van’s Warped Tour, created in 1995 by founder Kevin Lyman, contributed heavily to the survival of punk rock and introduced the genre to a wider audience than ever before. The music festival launched a new relationship between independent punk artists and corporate affiliations, which received an onslaught of criticisms from many antiestablishment hardcore purists. In Susan Dynner’s 2007 documentary, Punk’s Not Dead, Charlie Harper, lead singer for the English hardcore punk band UK Subs, described the Warped Tour festival as simply “the business taking over” and “sponsored by the system and conning kids into purchasing millions and millions of pounds worth of merchandise.” (Dynner, 2007).

Despite its criticisms, Warped Tour promoted punk rock in all its varying subgenres, supporting the culture and allowing the music to continue. Notable 2000s bands that arose out of Warped Tour and pop-punk renaissance included Fall Out Boy, All Time Low, Man Overboard, The Wonder Years, A Day to Remember, and Panic! at the Disco. The female-fronted pop-punk band Paramore, formed in 2004, has also received a considerable amount of attention for its lead singer Hayley Williams’ impressive vocal range, as well as her ability to
garner a substantial female following, pegging her the girl-punk role model of the 2000s (Kennedy, 2012). Today the debate continues over whether these bands are truly punk by traditional standards and whether the scene has ultimately met its demise, especially because of the aging of the older-generation of punk artists and the commercial orientation of pop-punk to become more palatable to the ears of mainstream society. The popularity of these bands, however, continues to demonstrate pop-infusion as the next evolution of punk and a marketable venture (Dyner, 2007).

Waves of Feminism

What is feminism? This is often a difficult question to answer because the term has become practically meaningless due to a “catch-all” or “anything goes” attitude concerning its definition (hooks, 1984). In her critically acclaimed book Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center (1984), bell hooks describes this “catch-all” approach to defining feminism: “What is meant by ‘anything goes’ is that usually any woman who wants social equality with men regardless of her political perspective (she can be a conservative right-winger or a nationalist communist) can label herself feminist” (p. 25).

According to hooks (1984), definitions of feminism are typically liberal and usually based upon individuals’ rights to self-determination, rights to social equality with men, and freedom from patriarchal society. Berg (1978) defines feminism as “a broad movement embracing numerous phases of women’s emancipation.” However, hooks (2000) argues that Berg’s explanation is too narrow, placing too much emphasis on a women-only idea of emancipation, when feminism can, in fact, be considered a unisex ideology. As defined in
hooks’ (2000) *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*, feminism is “a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression” (p. viii).

Sexism is typically considered to be a form of ambivalent prejudice, in which prejudice is defined as “antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization” (Allport, 1954, p. 9; also see Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Sexism is conceptualized as a multidimensional construct with two prevailing branches: *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism*. Hostile sexism is a negative emotion, such as anger, distrust, or resentment, directed toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is composed of dominative paternalism to necessitate a superordinate male figure and a control of women; competitive gender differentiation to emphasize differences between sexes and present a justification for male dominance; and heterosexual hostility to regard sex as a resource for control used by men (Glick & Fiske, 1996, pp. 491, 493-494).

Benevolent sexism is a stereotypical view of women that is perceived as subjectively positive, usually eliciting pro-social and intimacy-seeking behaviors (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Despite its perceived positivity, benevolent sexism still perpetuates attitudes of male dominance. Benevolent sexism is composed of protective paternalism to warrant the need for men to fulfill a protector-and-provider role for women; complementary gender differentiation to emphasizes women’s certain traits complementing men and justify traditional divisions of labor between sexes; and heterosexual intimacy to desire physical or psychological closeness and view sex as a resource for control used by women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, pp. 493-494).

Because both males and females can contribute to sexist thinking and behaviors, contemporary feminism shifted its focus to justice for both genders in any endeavor, believing
anyone could fight on behalf of ending sexism (hooks, 2000). Expanding on her definition of feminism, hooks (2000) adds the following:

It is a definition which implies that all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult. It is also broad enough to include an understanding of systematic institutionalized sexism. (p. 1)

Feminism is most often discussed in terms of waves with the first feminist wave taking place in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, focusing on women’s suffrage (Baumgardner, 2011, pp. 246-247). The first feminist wave began with key events, such as Seneca Falls Convention held on July 19 and 20, 1848, and culminated in the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 18, 1920, greatly expanding future discussions of women’s rights. Though first-wave feminism originally grew out of abolitionism, the passage of the 14th Amendment, providing citizenship and protection to former slaves, left women behind in terms of suffrage and frustrated many white feminists. These early white feminists (e.g., Elizabeth Cady Stanton) eventually yielded to racial bigotry, evading class and racial issue linked to universal suffrage (Baumgardner, 2011, pp. 246–247; Frost-Knappman & Cullen-DuPont, 2005; Graham, 1996).

This study, however, concentrates on second- and third-wave feminisms, because they correspond to timelines of present research. Second-wave feminism arose in the 1960s and continued through the 1990s. This wave became increasingly radical and centered on the issues of gender equality, sexuality, and reproductive rights (Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008/2014). Second-wave feminists promoted social equality regardless of sex and critiqued systems of patriarchy, heteronormativity, and capitalism as sources of women’s subordination. Based on theoretical foundations of neo-Marxism and cultural relativism, the second wave appealed also to women of color, speaking
in terms of women as a social class and establishing race, class, and gender oppression as interrelated (Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). Second-wave feminists also sought to create women-only spheres, creating a special solidarity and sisterhood dynamic not possible in mixed-sex groups (Rampton, 2008).

Because second-wave feminism is not a one-size-fits-all ideology, there is a vast spectrum of feminist attitudes that manifested between the 1960s and 1990s. The Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS), developed by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1973), was once one of the most widely used scales. However, it was criticized for its apparent bias toward the liberal feminist perspective (Henley, Meng, O’brien, Mccarthy, & Sockloskie, 1998). In an attempt to develop a more encompassing scale to take into account the plurality of feminist attitudes, Henley et al. (1998) created the Feminist Perspectives Scale, which includes five different second-wave feminist branch subscales as well as, a subscale for conservatism. Conservatism reinforces the belief that gender roles should remain distinct and adhere to society’s traditions, in which masculine qualities are reserved for boys and feminine qualities are reserved for girls (Ercole, Gardener, Gavigan, & Gilbreth, 2002; Henley et al., 1998). This attitude typically provides a justification for female subordination based on the biological arguments that gender differences are explained by innate physiological factors or the religious arguments that those gender differences are predestined and designed by an omniscient Supreme Being (Henley, et al., 1998). Conservatism represents traditional sexist ideas, on the other hand, the Feminist Perspectives Scale incorporates the following second-wave feminist viewpoints: liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, cultural feminism, and the womanist or women of color attitudes.
Liberal feminism, which grew out of the 18th-century ideals of liberty and equality circulating during the French and American Revolutions, dictates that by virtue of reason, all sexes are essentially created equal (Henley et al., 1998; Morgan, 1996). Liberal feminists consider as the root cause of female oppression those ill-designed legal systems that supply greater power to the hands of men. Often associated with the early second-wave feminist philosophies, liberal feminism advocates for civil rights, equal opportunity, and the education of women (Morgan, 1996). Liberal feminists regard gender politics in individualistic terms, looking toward short-term reforms rather than promoting long-term, revolutionary change.

Radical feminists believe that the systematic oppression of women permeates all aspects of life, from legal systems to interpersonal relationships. The systematic oppression of women through patriarchy determines the arrangement of all human relationships in society. Radical feminists seek to challenge the system by rejecting traditional gender roles and complacency with oppression and male dominance. While radical feminism supports many of the actions proposed by liberal feminism, radical feminists consider liberal feminism’s focus on legal change and those actions alone insufficient to inspire a complete societal transformation (Henley et al., 1998). Radical feminism also views women as having a unique bond with each other, stemming from their position as members of an oppressed class (Henley et al., 1998).

With roots in radical feminism and anticapitalist ideology, socialist feminism perceives the issues of sexism, class oppression, and racism as inseparable and in need of equal attention (Henley, et al., 1998). Ehrenreich (2005) criticizes radical feminism because women’s oppression “takes different forms in different settings, and that the differences are of vital importance” (p. 70). Socialist feminism believes that the class divisions between people and their distinct positions within a capitalist system affect the conditions of women, claiming
that women’s struggles are class struggles (Rampton, 2008). Socialist feminists argue that liberation can only be achieved through transformation of the capitalist economic and cultural systems in place, which reinforce class, gender, and racial inequalities, into an alternative system that more evenly distributes wealth and profit among all of society.

Cultural feminism, a type of radical feminism with theoretical basis in cultural relativism, focuses on the recognition of women’s values and women’s culture. Cultural feminists argue that inherent biological differences between men and women, such as menstruation and childbirth, as well as gendered socialization, ingrain a separation between the sexes that transcends class, race, and ethnicity (Rampton, 2008). Cultural feminists called for women-only spaces, where women could be united through a unique bond of shared values and behaviors. Some cultural feminists believed that if women’s values, such as peace, harmony, democracy, or collaboration, are infused within male-dominated society it would work for the betterment of the planet (Ghodsee, 2004; Rampton, 2008). Ghodsee (2004) elaborates on cultural feminism as follows:

Whereas radical and socialist feminisms advocate for more comprehensive societal change in order to liberate women, cultural feminism often aims at meeting women’s special needs within the status quo. In other words, cultural feminism looks to find solutions for how the worst offenses of patriarchy can be mitigated, while never challenging the social or economic relations within which the patriarchy thrives. (p. 728)

The sexist oppression of women of color was long excluded from the white women’s debate concerning women’s issues during the first feminist wave (Henley et al., 1998). Many feminist branches are criticized by feminist activists and scholars for their focus on middle-class, white feminism and these discourses’ failures to acknowledge the contributions and movements of minority groups (Mann & Huffman, 2005; Springer, 2002). Springer (2002) adds that these types of discourses “effectively disregard the race-based movements before
them that served as precursors, or windows of political opportunity, for gender activism” (p. 1061). The primary goals of womanist or women-of-color feminisms include the recognition of racism, ethnocentrism, and poverty among men, women, and children of color (Henley, et al., 1998). Women-of-color feminists do not see men of color as oppressors, but rather they view men of color as equally situated in oppressive conditions, often holding closer ties with those men than white feminists (Henley et al., 1998; hooks, 1984). The womanist or women-of-color feminist attitude encompasses varying perspectives as different races and ethnic groups hold different attitudes toward women’s issues (Henley et al., 1998).

Though the Feminist Perspectives Scale encompasses a wider variety of feminist attitudes than previous scales, it leaves out two other important second-wave feminist branches, which could be found in punk rock music: anarcha-feminism and lesbian feminism. Anarchists initially rejected the feminist label because feminism was considered a bourgeois philosophy (de Heredia, 2007; Shannon, 2009). However, anarcha-feminism became a useful term to describe the intermixing of practices to end gender oppression (de Heredia, 2007). Anaracha-feminism combines central notions of feminism and anarchism, which advocates the liberation of human beings from all hierarchical systems in order to freely organize and achieve self-determination in all aspects of society (de Heredia, 2007; Shannon, 2009). Anarcha-feminists work to transform hierarchical divisions between sexes and aim for autonomous systems of equality and solidarity.

Lesbian feminism developed out of a discontentment with liberal feminism, criticizing the latter feminism for inadequately addressing the oppression of gay and lesbian communities (Phelan, 1989). Combining aspects of feminism and queer theory, lesbian feminism’s primary concern is with undermining the divisions of gender and heteronormative
sexuality. Lesbian feminists believe heterosexuality to be deeply intertwined with systems of patriarchy and capitalism. This type of feminism focuses heavily on debunking the notion of heteronormativity, which is the hegemonic assumption that all humans are innately heterosexual (Phelan, 1989). Lesbian feminism also advocated for the adoption of alternative masculinities and femininities that fall outside the traditional gender binary.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, third-wave feminism picked up where second-wave feminism left off. The third wave is largely influenced by postcolonial, poststructuralist, and postmodern philosophies, challenging previous second-wave notions of universal womanhood and femaleness (Heywood & Drake, 1997; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008/2014). Third-wave feminists also destabilize constructs of gender, sexuality, and heteronormativity, opting instead to readopt traditional symbols of femininity, such as lipstick or high heels, that the first and second waves associated with male dominance and female oppression (Heywood & Drake, 1997; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). Influenced by Judith Butler’s theory of gender performativity, feminists of the third wave posit that gender is constructed through each individual’s own repetitive performance of gender and that discourse creates fluid, malleable gender positions for different individuals to occupy (Baumgardner, 2011; Butler, 1990). Feminism in the third wave is not perceived in terms of power relations and fixed social systems. Rather, feminism is contingent on performance. The third wave seeks to empower women by encouraging them to actively define femininity on their own terms.

In the 1990s, many third-wave “grrrls” developed a rhetoric that re-appropriated terms such as *slut* and *bitch* to undermine their use as tools of a sexist patriarchy to oppress women (Heywood & Drake, 1997; Leblanc, 1999; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Marcus, 2010; Rampton, 2008; Verdes, 2013). The third wave celebrates ambiguity and refuses to subscribe to notions
of the other or us-versus-them mentalities. Many third-wave feminists do not even identify themselves as feminists (Heywood & Drake, Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). In Gender Trouble (1990), Judith Butler elaborates on this idea:

> The identity of the feminist subject ought not to be the foundation of feminist politics if the formation of the subject takes place within a field of power regularly buried through the assertion of that foundation. Perhaps, paradoxically, "representation" will be shown to make sense for feminism only when the subject of "women" is nowhere presumed. (p. 6)

Three third-wave feminist branches that may be found within punk rock are power feminism, sex-positive feminism, and poststructuralism. First, power feminism’s earliest roots lie with the “girl power” concept made popular in the 1990s. Though girl power’s origins can be traced back to the riot grrrl movement, the riot grrrl version of girl power shares few resemblances with girl power and power feminism as they exist today (Hains, 2009). Power feminists argue that the riot grrrl movement’s rigid anti-commercialization and pro-D.I.Y stance ultimately led to the movement’s decline (Hains, 2009). Naomi Wolf (1994) suggests that power feminism is an individualistic feminism, so individual actions rather than collective action result in direct social changes for women (pp. 161–162). In the book Fire with Fire: the New Female Power and How to Use It, Wolf (1994) defines power feminism as:

> Taking practical giant steps instead of ideologically pure baby steps; practicing tolerance rather than self-righteousness. Power feminism encourages us to identify with one another primarily through the shared pleasures and strengths of femaleness, rather than through our shared vulnerability and pain. It calls for alliances based on economic self-interest and economic giving back rather than on a sentimental and workable fantasy of cosmic sisterhood binarily opposed to consciousness-raising, to personal politics work, and to uncompromising stances based on principle. (p. 53)

Wolf’s definition proposes that girls should speak out in self-interest, and they have and need to use their inherent power and individual agency to effect social change (Hains, 2009). As a
result, girl power reclaims traditional social markers of femininity, such as an emphasis on dress and makeup, as culturally valuable.

Second, originating from criticism of radical feminism, sex-positive feminism argues that second-wave representations of women as disempowered sexual objects of a sexist patriarchy failed to allow women to be seen as sexual subjects on their own terms (Baumgardener, 2011; Glick, 2000). Sex-positive or anti-censorship feminism promotes and often valorizes women’s involvement in transgressive sexual practices as “utopian political strategies that can be traced to a foundational tenant of identity politics: the personal is political” (Glick, 2000, p. 20). The pro-sex feminists aligned themselves in opposition to second-wave radical feminists, using Judith Butler’s (1990) notions of gender performativity and self-identity to support their arguments. According to her,

The pro-sexuality movement within feminist theory and practice has effectively argued that sexuality is always constructed within the terms of discourse and power, where power is partially understood in terms of heterosexual and phallic cultural conventions. The emergence of a sexuality constructed in these terms within lesbian, bisexual, and heterosexual contexts is, therefore, not a sign of a masculine identification in some reductive sense. It is not the failed project of criticizing phallogocentrism or heterosexual hegemony ....If sexuality is culturally constructed within existing power relations, then the postulation of a normative sexuality that is 'before,' 'outside,' or 'beyond' power is a cultural impossibility and a politically impracticable dream, one that postpones the concrete and contemporary task of rethinking subversive possibilities for sexuality and identity within the terms of power itself. (Butler, 1990, p. 30)

Pro-sex feminists encouraged women to see and understand the liberating value of sex, destabilizing second-wave notions that porn, sex work, and BDSM culture were inherently degrading and objectifying women (Baumgardener, 2011). The position of sex-positivity recognized a wide spectrum of sexual expression and identities.

Third and finally, poststructuralism is an amalgamation of theoretical frameworks influenced by Marxism, feminism, and the work of Derrida, Barthes, and Foucault (Gavey,
Weedon (1987) defines poststructuralist feminism as a feminism that “uses poststructuralist theories of language, subjectivity, social process, and institutions to understand existing power relations and identify areas and strategies for change” (pp. 40-41). Poststructuralist feminism supports the idea that language establishes subjectivity and meaning is established through language and arises out of differences and distinctions; therefore, meaning is neither fixed nor essential (Gavey, 1989, p. 463). Language is situated in discourse, which as a structuring force in society, is reproduced through social institutions, culture, and individual subjectivity, and through which power is exercised and power relations are created (Gavey, 1989, p. 460). A woman’s decision to conform to or reject traditional constructions of femaleness is the product of discourse over individual subjectivity (Gavey, 1989). Though poststructuralist feminism is often criticized for its anti-humanism stance by decentering the individual, it rejects simple single-cause, deterministic explanations of gender relations, power, and patriarchy.

While some scholars posit that third-wave feminism is ongoing, others maintain that the mid-2000s brought a new wave of feminist thought: a possible fourth wave marked by the deployment of social media and increasing globalization (Baumgardener, 2011). Though it remains unclear where this new generation of tech-savvy, diversely gendered feminists will go, proponents of the possible fourth wave believe it will continue to carry on poststructuralist and postmodern discourse to tackle issues of abortion rights, male feminism, transgenderism, and complex relationships between media and feminist discourse (Baumgardener, 2011).
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Punk rock views itself as a progressive genre, actively opposing all facets of mainstream society. It is tightly aligned with antiestablishment themes paramount in radical, liberal politics. Since punk rock’s debut in the 1970s, it embraced anti-authority, anti-commercialism, and anti-conformity ideology (Hannon, 2010). Since mainstream politics and philosophy have transformed over time, it is possible that the types of antiestablishment themes, whether or not related to women or feminism, found in punk rock song lyrics have also shifted over time. One goal of this study is to answer the following research questions:

R1: How prevalent have antiestablishment themes been in punk rock music?

R2: How have various antiestablishment themes in punk rock song lyrics been changed over time?

Punk rock has long been perceived and framed in the media as hyper-masculine, aggressive, sexist, and misogynistic, as punk artists expressed their rejection of mainstream society through songs about rejecting women (Reynolds, 1995). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explain that framing is based on the notion that media reports can impact how an audience interprets a media artifact. This could suggest that the focus of media reports on instances of punk rock music’s violent nature, macho performance and sexist lyrics can lead to misconceptions of the genre as a whole. Another goal of this study is to answer the following research question:

R3: How have types of sexist themes in punk rock song lyrics been shifted relative to waves of feminist themes over time?
Media reports that circulated in the late 1970s, covering The Sex Pistols’ presumed social deviancy, and reports from the early 1980s at the inception of the radical hardcore movement led to current perceptions of the punk rock genre as sexist (Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007; Wood, 2006). Theoretically, however, the ideologies of punk rock and feminism both encourage female participation and criticism of social hegemony (Berkers, 2012; Harrison, 2008; Malott & Peña, 2004). Punk rock’s nonconformity and active opposition to conventional gender roles and sexuality appealed to many women, as ideologies of second- and third-wave feminism advocated for women to enter traditionally male scenes and perform alternative femininities (Berkers, 2012; Malott & Peña, 2004). The following hypotheses are postulated:

H3a: The number of punk rock songs that contain feminist themes will become larger than the number of those with sexist themes over time.

H3b: The number of punk rock songs that contain sexist themes will be the highest during the 1980s among all the four decades.

For example, the women’s liberation, equal rights, and civil rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s issued a second wave of feminism, trending toward greater liberal, socialist, and radical feminist attitudes. The second-wave feminist attitudes coincided with many 1970s punk conceptions of anti-commercial, antiestablishment, and pro-egalitarian scenes accepting of alternative femininities (Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Berkers, 2012; Leblanc, 1999; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). However, researchers predicted a small, yet significant, rise in conservative feminist attitudes during the 1980s (Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982). This seems to also coincide with Susan Faludi’s (1991) backlash hypothesis, postulating a rise in negative feedback to the second-wave, liberal feminism during the 1980s. Thus, in response
to the increase in the 1980s conservatism and deeply splintered beliefs over second-wave feminism’s notion of a universal womanhood, third-wave feminism marked a monumental shift in feminist ideology, beginning in the 1990s (Baumgardener, 2011; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). This period was characterized by postmodern philosophies and notions of poststructuralism, reclaiming articles of femininity previously associated with the subjugation of women (Baumgardener, 2011; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). The Riot Grrrl movement is often credited with kick-starting third-wave feminist discourse in punk rock (Belzer, 2004; Berkers, 2012; Leblanc, 1999; Marcus, 2010; Verdes, 2013). The following hypotheses are postulated:

H3c: The number of punk rock songs that contain second-wave feminist themes will decrease over time.

H3d: The number of punk rock songs that contain third-wave feminist messages will increase over time.

Qualitative investigations have shown that feminist messages can and do exist in punk rock music (Bag, 2012; Belzer, 2004; Bodansky, 2013; Brockmeier, 2009; Cogan, 2012; Ibarra, 2013; Leblanc, 2009; Leonard, 2007; Marcus, 2010; Verdes, 2013). However, quantitative analysis is necessary for understanding to what extent those feminist messages are prevalent in punk rock and to provide evidence of shifts in varying feminist attitudes over time. Subsequently, another goal of this study is to answer the following research question:

R4: How have messages for different feminist branches contained in punk rock song lyrics shifted over time?

Each wave of feminism consists of varying attributes, contingent on different theoretical, political, racial, or sexual orientations of feminists. Longitudinal changes in
feminist attitudes can influence the presence of specific messages in punk rock song lyrics. For example, the 1970s punk ideologies used elements of second-wave feminism—the focus on gender equality—, and the 1990s punk rock incorporated third-wave feminism (Baumgardener, 2011; Berkers, 2012; Rampton, 2008).

The late 1960s and the 1970s ushered in the equal rights movement, which gave voice to second-wave feminism. Adopting anticapitalist and neo-Marxist ideology, the second-wave feminist agenda concerned itself with challenging systems of institutionalized sexism (Baumgardener, 2011; Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). Feminist attitudes including liberal feminism (i.e., the focus on legal equality), socialist feminism (i.e., the focus on women’s struggles as class struggles), and women-of-color feminism (i.e., the focus on intertwined race and gender struggles) were prevalent through the 1970s (Baumgardener, 2011; Baxandall & Gordon, 2002; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). The following hypotheses are postulated:

H4a: The number of punk rock songs that contain liberal feminist messages will be the highest during the 1970s among all the four decades.

H4b: The number of punk rock songs that contain socialist feminist messages will be the highest during the 1970s among all the four decades.

H4c: The number of punk rock songs that contain women-of-color feminist messages will be the highest during the 1970s among all the four decades.

In the 1980s the hardcore punk movement became synonymous with anarchy and anti-conformity, especially as punk submerged deeper underground (Dynner, 2007; Letts, 2006; Rachman, 2007). In response to a rise in conservatism and feminist backlash, feminist attitudes became increasingly radical (Baumgardener, 2011; Faludi, 1991; Helmreich, Spence,
Second-wave feminist attitudes including radical feminism (i.e., the focus on challenging a sexist patriarchy), anarcha feminism (i.e., the focus on the liberation of all humans from hierarchical regimes), and lesbian feminism (i.e., the focus on challenging heteronormative thinking) emerged in the 1980s (de Heredia, 2007; Phelan, 1989). The following hypotheses are postulated:

H4d: The number of punk rock songs that contain radical feminist messages will be the highest during the 1980s among all the four decades.

H4e: The number of punk rock songs that contain anarcha-feminist messages will be the highest during the 1980s among all the four decades.

H4f: The number of punk rock songs that contain lesbian feminist messages will be the highest during the 1980s among all the four decades.

The Riot Grrrl movement and the explosion of third-wave feminism, feminist attitudes including power feminism (i.e., the focus on doing gender) and sex-positive feminism (i.e., the focus on sex as a form of women’s liberation) became prevalent in the 1990s (Baumgardner, 2011; Belzer, 2004; Butler, 1990; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Leblanc, 1999; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Marcus 2010; Rampton, 2008; Verdes, 2013). Poststructuralism (i.e., the focus on discourse and defining feminism one’s own terms) continues to drive third-wave feminist thought in the 2000s (Baumgardner, 2011). The following hypotheses are postulated:

H4G: The number of punk rock songs that contain power feminist messages will be the highest during the 1990s among all the four decades.

H4H: The number of punk rock songs that contain sex-positive feminist messages will be the highest during the 1990s among all the four decades.
H4I: The number of punk rock songs that contain poststructuralist feminist messages will be the highest during the 1990s among all the four decades.

Finally, this study will examine how different characteristics of punk rock songs, as well as relevance to sexism, are related to second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and feminism in general. Therefore, the study attempts to answer a final research question:

RQ5: What factors are related to second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and feminism in general?
CHAPTER 4
DATA AND METHODS

Sampling Strategies for Punk Rock Songs

Throughout much of its existence, punk music has remained largely an underground scene; traditional, mainstream music charts seldom documented the music genre. Most of the current official alternative or rock music charts, including Billboard’s *Hot Rock Songs* and *Alternative Songs* charts, exclude much of the material produced before the mid-1990s, which does not provide a sufficient sample for the scope of this longitudinal study. Therefore, Sputnik Music, an online metadata database that features both professional and user-generated reviews and albums ratings with a heavy focus on non-mainstream artists, was used to establish a universe of punk rock songs because it was more encompassing than other databases, in terms of plurality of both artists and album release dates. To create a universe of punk rock songs, albums were chosen from album charts posted on Sputnik Music.

Albums were retrieved from Sputnik’s charts titled “Best Punk Albums” for each of the past four decades (i.e., 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s). Albums with the subgenre labels of hardcore, post hardcore, pop punk, post punk, and ska were included in the universe. A population of punk rock songs for the 1970s and a population for the 1980s were compiled based on the songs taken from the two highest-rated albums by each female artist (a group that contains all females), the two highest rated albums by each mixed gender artist (a group that contains both male and female lead vocalists, a group with a male lead vocalist and one or more other female members, or a group with a female lead vocalist and one or more other male members), and the two highest rated albums by each male artist (a group that consists of all males). A population of punk rock songs from the 1990s and a population for the 2000s
were compiled based on songs taken off the highest-rated albums by each female, each mixed
gender, and each male artist.

Systematic random sampling was used to select 150 songs per decade, resulting in the
total of 600 songs. The 150 songs for each decade were equally divided between male,
female, and mixed-gender artists, resulting in 50 songs per gender. Each song was listened to
twice in its entirety, while simultaneously reading the lyrics. The lyrics were obtained from
Each line was then examined to identify major sexist or feminist themes, carefully interpreting
lyrics within larger contexts where words or phrases might have alternative meanings beyond
their conventional definitions. After thorough training, an outside coder independently coded
20 percent of the songs randomly selected from the sample to assess intercoder reliability.
Each decade had randomly selected 30 songs, with 10 songs for each gender.

Measures and Coding Procedures

For the sample of 600 songs, various attributes related to sexism, second wave
feminism, and third wave feminism were coded. These measures were chosen based on the
findings of a comprehensive literature review and measures previously used in the Feminist
Perspectives Scale (Henley, et al., 1998). The outside coder independently analyzed punk rock
song lyrics for attributes or thematic messages relevant to each of the measures. The outside
coder received a set of detailed coding instructions prior to beginning analyses of the song
lyrics.
Descriptive Information Measures

The first measures coded for are categorized as descriptive information related to each song from the sample. The descriptive information included song title, artist name, song release year, decade of release, song length in words and lines, artist’s gender, lead singer’s gender, lead singer’s race, and subgenre. Album titles and artist names were identified by a simple internet search of the song title chosen from the sample. Song release years and related subgenres were identified by looking up the artist name, album, and related tracklist in the Sputnik Music database. Decade of release was identified based on the song release year, and included 1970s (1), 1980s (2), 1990s (3), and 2000s (4).

Because artists can be associated with more than one subgenre, the researcher identified the primary subgenre as the first subgenre tag listed on the artist profile in the Sputnik Music database. Possible subgenres included post punk (1), hardcore (2), post hardcore (3), ska (4), pop punk (5), and no subgenre (6). The researcher identified artist’s gender, lead singer’s gender, and lead singer’s race by searching the artist on the Sputnik Music database, Facebook, and band websites. Possible artist genders included the following: male (1), a group that consists of all males; female (2), a group that contains all females; and mixed gender (3), a group that contains both female and male lead vocalists, a group that contains a male lead vocalist and one or more other female group members, or a group that contains a female lead vocalist and one or more other male group members. Possible lead singer genders included the following: male (1), a singer identified as male; female, a singer identified as female (2); mixed gender (3), an artist with both male and female lead vocalists. Possible lead singer race categories included the following: Caucasian-American or white (1); African-American or black (2); Hispanic-American or Latino/a (3); Asian-American or Asian
Measures of Sexism

Lyrics were coded “no relevance” (0) or “yes” (1) to determine the song’s relevance to sexism. The researcher identified relevance to sexism by coding specific attributes of hostile sexism and attributes of benevolent sexism, using the traditional male-to-female manifestation of sexism. Attributes of hostile sexism included dominative paternalism (i.e. the need to control women), and competitive gender differentiation (i.e. the superiority of men over women) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Because the attribute of hostile heterosexuality often overlaps both dominative paternalism and competitive gender differentiation, that attribute was included in the definitions of both dominative paternalism and competitive gender differentiation. The researcher identified dominative paternalism by coding lyrics that reference the need or the physical act of men controlling, dominating, or overpowering women, through both violent and non-violent means (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For instance, the line I know what's mine. You'll learn what's your, from the post punk song “Recoil” by Magazine, is a non-violent example of dominative paternalism, suggesting the male singer is going to teach the female subject her place in society and the relationship. The researcher identified dominative paternalism by also coding lyrics that reference men’s suspicion, fear, cynicism, uncertainty, skepticism, and/or wariness of women. These lyrics may describe women as betraying, entrapping, exploiting, deceiving, misleading, beguiling, tricking, etc. The line How do you feel? I don’t believe it’s real, from the hardcore punk song “Thanks For
Coming (I Like You Dead)” by the band Hopes Die Last, is an example of distrust of women, by implying the male singer does not believe the girl’s feelings for him are true.

The researcher identified competitive gender differentiation by coding lyrics that reference the superiority of men over women or heterosexuality over homosexuality, most notably through derogatory word use (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The researcher coded derogatory slurs toward sex and sexuality as relevant, as well as lyrics that discussed distinct dichotomies between genders and sexualities (i.e. sane vs. crazy, strong vs. weak, valuable vs. worthless, intelligent vs. stupid, good vs. evil, etc.). The researcher identified other lyrics relevant to competitive gender differentiation by coding lyrics that discuss ideas of hostile sexual objectification (i.e. references to women as useful only for sexual purposes, violating the body of a sexualized woman who can’t consent, sexual availability as a woman’s defining characteristic, etc.). The hardcore song “No Class, No Way” by 7Seconds is an example of lyrics coded as relevant to both dominative paternalism, with references to violence as means to control women, and competitive gender differentiation, with notable derogatory word use. Notable lyrics are as follows:

\[
\text{You’re just a whore} \\
\text{With nothing in your head} \\
\text{You’re gonna end up dead}
\]

Attributes of benevolent sexism included protective paternalism (i.e. men’s need to protect or provide for women), and complementary gender differentiation (i.e. the notion that men are dependent on women for fulfilling the physical and emotional needs) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Because the attribute of heterosexual intimacy often overlaps both protective paternalism and complementary gender differentiation, that attribute was included in the
definitions of both protective paternalism and complementary gender differentiation. The researcher identified protective paternalism by coding lyrics that reference the need or the physical act of men protecting, providing for, guarding, or defending women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Identified lyrics may also note the need to place women on a pedestal, cherishing women, and the like. The line *defending her honor with a steel blade*, from the hardcore song “Knife’s Edge” by the band GBH, is an explicit example of referencing protecting, guarding, or defending women.

The researcher identified complementary gender differentiation by coding lyrics that referenced men’s dependence on women, men’s feelings of incompleteness without women, or men’s deep desire for physical or emotional intimacy with women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The post punk song “You’re All I’ve Got Tonight” by The Cars is an example of lyrics coded as relevant to complementary gender differentiation with references to men’s feelings of incompleteness without and dependence on women. Notable lyrics are as follows:

*You're all I've got tonight*

*You're all I've got tonight*

*I need you tonight*

Lyrics also coded as relevant to complementary gender differentiation referred to women as instruments of men’s sexual pleasure, and/or fixated on a woman’s physical appearance or her specific body parts. These lyrics could describe women as seducing, tempting, alluring, appealing, inviting, enticing, hypnotizing, bewitching, or tantalizing (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The punk rock song “Trapped Love” by The Cramps is an example of lyrics coded as relevant to complementary gender differentiation. The singer describes being in a
“trapped love.” His lover is portrayed as seductive, bewitching, enticing, and alluring, indicating the man’s desire for sexual intimacy with the woman. Notable lyrics are as follows:

You trapped my love
Oh I adore you so
Please, hold me close

Measures of Antiestablishment Themes and Feminism

First, the researcher coded lyrics “no relevance” (0) or “yes” (1) to determine the song’s relevance to an antiestablishment theme. Then the researcher coded lyrics “no relevance” (0) or “yes (1) to determine the antiestablishment theme’s relevance to either women or second-wave or third-wave feminism. Possible antiestablishment themes included anti-inequality/anti-injustice, anticapitalism/anticlassism, antiracism, antipatriarchy, unity, antiheterosexism, antihierarchy, doing gender/individualism, sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts, and reclamation of derogatory words.

The researcher identified anti-inequality/anti-injustice by coding lyrics that reference human rights or general equality for all people, or that reference the political/legal system as responsible for protecting people’s rights or insuring equality. The researcher identified anti-inequality/anti-injustice relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference ideas such as men and women deserving or having equal rights, men and women deserving or having equal pay, or challenging legal/political prejudices or discrimination against women (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as anti-inequality/anti-injustice relevant to women or feminism comes from the hardcore song “Dry Weather” by Crass, in which female singer Eve Libertine questions the government’s protection and rights afforded to women. Notable lyrics are as follows:
You say you give me freedom, but you hang on to the key

Well don't you think, perhaps, the decision's up to me?

The researcher identified anticapitalism/anticlassism by coding lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that oppose capitalism and desire to change the economic or class systems (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). Relevant lyrics also included references to antipoverty, antibourgeois, anticommunalism, anticonsumerism, antimaterialism, or anti-unemployment. The researcher identified anticapitalism/anticlassism relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference ideas such as class struggles tied to women’s struggles, the oppression of women as a result of capitalism, or the desire or need to change the economic/class system to alleviate the oppression of women (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as anticapitalism/anticlassism relevant to women or feminism comes from the punk rock song “Natural’s Not In It” by Gang of Four, which points to the economic system as a facilitator of sexual exploitation. Notable lyrics are as follows:

The body is good business

Sell out, maintain the interest

The researcher identified antiracism by coding lyrics that referenced any ideas or attitudes that oppose or challenge racial prejudice (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). Relevant lyrics also included references to anti-imperialism, anti-discrimination, philo-semitism, anti-ethnocentrism, anti-slavery, anti-segregation, or anti-apartheid. The researcher identified antiracism relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference ideas such as race struggles tied to women’s struggles, racial inequality as the cause of women’s oppression, or minority women as more oppressed than
white women (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as antiracism relevant to women or feminism comes from the punk rock song “White Girl” by Heavens to Betsy, which suggests racial inequality is a cause of women’s oppression. Notable lyrics are as follows:

* I want to change the world,
* But I won’t change anything,
* Unless I change my racist self.

The researcher identified antipatriarchy by coding lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that oppose or challenge institutionalized sexism (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). The researcher identified antipatriarchy relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference ideas such as opposition to female rape, opposition to violence against women, opposition to sexual objectification of women, or association of traditional markers of femininity with sexism (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as antipatriarchy relevant to women and second-wave feminism comes from the post-hardcore punk song “F.Y.R.” by Le Tigre, which discusses how sexism is firmly embedded in society. Notable lyrics are as follows:

* Ten short years of progressive change
* Fifty f------ years of calling us names
* Can we trade title nine for an end to hate crime?
* Ru-486 if we suck your f------ d----?
* One step forward, five steps back
The researcher identified unity by coding lyrics that reference mutual support between people sharing the same values, beliefs, or characteristics. Relevant lyrics include references to fraternity, kinship, fellowship, community, togetherness, comradeship, brotherhood, sisterhood, collective action, etc. The researcher identified unity relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that support or discuss the idea of unity by virtue of being a woman, which includes ideas of shared women’s values and support for women’s collective action (Henley et al., 1998; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as relevant to unity relevant to women and second-wave feminism comes from the hardcore punk song “Fallopian Rhapsody” by Lunachicks, which discusses how women are united as sisters to challenge oppression. Notable lyrics are as follows:

*Singing our song, me and my sisters*

*Screaming along with brothers too*

*And we say...*

*Keep your hands off my body!*

The researcher identified antiheterosexism was identified by coding lyrics that oppose heterosexual biases (Mann & Huffman, 2005; Phelan, 1989; Rampton, 2008). The researcher identified antiheterosexism relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference LGBT rights, anti-homophobia/lesbophobia, opposition to violence against LGBT people, lesbianism as an individual’s choice, or lesbianism as a form of resistance to male supremacy (Mann & Huffman, 2005; Phelan, 1989; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as antiheterosexism relevant to women or feminism comes from the post-hardcore punk
song “F.Y.R.” by Le Tigre, which opposes homophobia and advocates gay marriage freedom to express one’s sexuality. Notable lyrics are as follows:

Celebrate gay marriage in vermont by enforcing those old sodomy laws

One step forward, five steps back

The researcher identified antihierarchy by coding lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that support a form of anarchistic philosophy and challenge or oppose systems of authority. Relevant lyrics include references to anti-authority, antireligion, antichurch, anticlericalism, antifascism, antibureaucracy, antigovernment, antilaw, or antipolitics (de Heredia, 2007; Rampton, 2008; Shannon, 2009). The researcher identified antihierarchy relevant to women or second-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that hierarchical systems lead to women’s oppression. An example of lyrics coded as antihierarchy relevant to women or feminism comes from the punk rock song “Rules and Regulations” by We’ve Got A Fuzzbox And We’re Gonna Use It, which challenges systems of authority and following the rules. Notable lyrics are as follows:

Follow the rules

Do what people say...

There must be more to life

Lyrics were coded “no relevance” (0) or “yes” (1) to determine the song’s relevance to women or third-wave feminism with the following antiestablishment themes: doing gender/individualism, sexual liberation/ transgressive sexual acts, and reclamation of derogatory words (Baumgardner, 2011; Butler, 1990; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). The researcher identified doing gender/individualism by coding lyrics that challenge or oppose social conformity, conventional definitions of gender,
traditional sex roles, or a gender binary (Butler, 1990). The researcher identified doing gender/individualism relevant to women or third-wave feminism by coding lyrics that reference defining femininity on one’s own terms, girl power (i.e. the reclamation of conventional physical and emotional markers of femininity previously associated with sexism), or opposition to ideas of universal womanhood (Baumgardner, 2011; Butler, 1990; Heywood & Drake, 1997; Mann & Huffman, 2005; Rampton, 2008). An example of lyrics coded as doing gender/individualism relevant to women and third-wave feminism comes from the hardcore punk song “In Tradition” by Spitboy, which questions stereotypical feminine roles and advocates individuality and moving away from gender stereotypes. Notable lyrics are as follows:

\textbf{I've got to show you I'm an individual...}

\textbf{Don't you uphold the image...}

\textbf{Let's divert gender from the start}

The researcher identified sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts by coding lyrics that challenge or oppose the repression of people’s sexual desires (Baumgardener, 2011; Butler, 1990; Glick, 2000). Relevant lyrics oppose, sexual repression, the idea of sex as immoral, and hierarchically ranking sexual acts. The researcher identified sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts relevant to women by coding lyrics that reference ideas such as demystifying the female orgasm, advocating for women to be open and vocal about their sexuality, or alternative sexual practices (i.e. porn, BDSM culture, or sex work) seen as female empowerment (Baumgardner, 2011; Butler, 1990; Glick, 2000). An example of lyrics coded as sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts relevant to women and third-wave feminism comes from the
post punk song “White Mice” by Mo-Dettes, in which the female singer openly discusses her desire to engage in intercourse. The lyrics are as follows:

\[ \text{Don't be stupid, don't be limp.} \]
\[ \text{No girl likes to love a wimp.} \]

The researcher identified reclamation of derogatory words by coding lyrics in which previously derogatory words are used as a sign of a minority empowerment (Baumgardner, 2011; Butler, 1990; Glick, 2000). These lyrics also include the ironic use of derogatory words and references, questioning the power these words hold over individuals. The researcher identified reclamation of derogatory words relevant to women or third-wave feminism by coding lyrics in which previously derogatory words against women, such as “bitch” or “slut,” are reclaimed by women to take the power out of the word. An example of lyrics coded as reclamation of derogatory words relevant to women and third-wave feminism comes from the hardcore punk song “Hell On Wheels” by Betty Blowtorch, in which the female singer uses “bitches” as a symbol of power. The lyrics are as follows:

\[ \text{Alright now, we're a bunch of horny f-----' bitches} \]
\[ \text{And we got something to say to you} \]

Intercoder Reliability

The first coder who analyzed all 600 punk rock songs was a young Caucasian-American female. To enhance the study’s ecological validity, it was necessary to increase gender variability of the coder characteristics, due to the inherent gendered nature study’s topic. In other words, “To the extent that research procedures reflect what people do in the contexts in which their behavior normally occurs, confidence in the generalizability of the
findings to other people and situations is increased” (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000, p. 133). Thus, the study selected a young Caucasian-American male as the second coder. The author trained the second coder by providing a coding sheet, a detailed set of coding instructions, which included in-depth explanation of all variables and coding procedures, and three practice coding sessions with 25 punk rock songs not included in the sample. The practice sessions until the male coder produced the same results to hers.

Thirty songs were randomly chosen from each decade for analysis, which resulted in a total of 120 songs, equaling 20% of the total sample, which the second coder independently analyzed. The subsample size was determined based upon Wimmer and Dominick’s (2014) recommendation to have between 10% and 25% of the total sample re-analyzed by independent coders (p. 175).

ReCal, an online intercoder-reliability calculator, was used for computing Krippendorff’s $\alpha$-coefficient for each variable. According to Krippendorff (2013), the threshold for acceptable reliabilities is .800, and drawing tentative conclusions requires reliabilities between .667 and .800 (p. 325). However, several variables did not achieve the minimum threshold of .667, including: lead singer’s race (.575), dominative paternalism (.595), competitive gender differentiation (.227), protective paternalism (.560), complementary gender differentiation (.569), relevance to sexism (.582), unity as an antiestablishment theme (.547), unity as relevant to women/feminism (−.004), doing gender/individualism as an antiestablishment theme (.589), doing gender/individualism as relevant to women/feminism (.550), sexual liberation/transgressive sexual practices as relevant to women/feminism (.532), relevance to third-wave feminism (.633), and other antiestablishment themes (.090).
Sample Characteristics

Each of the four decades had 150 randomly selected punk rock songs. The word length of 600 songs ranged from 13 to 1,257 words ($M = 183.38, SD = 109.58$), while the number of lines ranged from 3 to 178 lines ($M = 34.34, SD = 19.43$). Each category of artists’ gender—all male, all female, and mixed gender—had 200 randomly selected songs. Lead singers’ gender resulted in male (45.5%) and female (45.7%), and mixed gender (8.8%). Lead singers’ race was overwhelmingly Caucasian-American or white (87.3%), followed by mixed race (7.7%), Asian-American or Asian (2.0%), African-American or black (1.5%), Hispanic-American or Latino/a (1.2%), and other (.3%).

Subgenre resulted in no subgenre (34.3%), post punk (31.7%), hardcore (16.2%), pop punk (7.8%), post hardcore (6.7%), and ska (3.3%). 22.3% of the songs were relevant sexism, with complementary gender differentiation (11.3%), domative paternalism (7.0%), competitive gender differentiation (6.7%), and protective paternalism (2.7%).

To explore what factors were related to feminist themes, the decade of a song’s release, the number of words, artists’ gender, lead signers’ race, punk rock subgenre, and relevance to sexism were analyzed. However, artists’ gender, lead singers’ race, and subgenre were recoded due to their nature and frequency distribution. Artists’ gender was recoded as three new variables. Lead singers’ race was recoded as 1 (exclusively Caucasian-American or white) and 0 (non–Caucasian-American or non-white). Lastly, subgenre was recoded as (a) hardcore and post hardcore, (b) post punk, ska, and pop punk, and (c) no subgenre.
CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

R1 and R2 were proposed to determine the prevalence of and longitudinal shifts in antiestablishment themes found in punk rock songs. 76.2% of 600 songs analyzed in this study contained at least one antiestablishment message. Table 1 illustrates longitudinal shifts in various antiestablishment themes, along with the overall theme in general, antiestablishment themes corresponding to second-wave feminism, antiestablishment themes corresponding to third-wave feminism, and the other themes.

Table 1

*Longitudinal Changes in Antiestablishment Themes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antiestablishment theme</th>
<th>1970s</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antiestablishment (any theme)</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-wave category (any theme)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-inequality/anti-injustice</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antipatriarchy</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticapitalism/anticlassism</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiracism</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antihierarchy</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiheterosexism</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-wave category (any theme)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing gender/individualism</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual liberation/transgressive sexual practices</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclamation of derogatory words</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other theme</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n for each decade</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p = ns for all antiestablishment themes.
The percentage of punk rock songs containing at least one antiestablishment message was consistently above 70%, with the 2000s at 81.3%. In the 1970s, a little more than half of the punk rock songs contained at least one antiestablishment message corresponding to second-wave feminism. Following a slight decrease, the percentage of songs containing antiestablishment themes corresponding to second-wave feminism returned to a comparable level in the 2000s. A little more than a third of songs contained at least one antiestablishment message corresponding to third-wave feminism in the 1970s, and the percentage of these songs gradually increased to approximately half in the 2000s.

The prevailing antiestablishment theme found was *doing gender/individualism*. The number of songs that contained this theme was one-third of the total sample, higher across the four decades. The second prevailing theme was *antipatriarchy*, which was found consistently above one-fifth of the total sample, higher across decades, except for the 2000s when the percentage dropped below the level. Four other antiestablishment themes, *other theme*, *anticapitalism/anticlassism*, *antihierarchy*, and *sexual liberation/transgressive sexual practices*, varied in percentages between approximately 10% and 20%, while the remaining themes were constantly negligible. None of the results were statistically significant.

R3 was postulated to determine longitudinal shifts in sexist themes relative to waves of feminist themes contained in punk rock song lyrics. Table 2 displays the results.
Table 2

Longitudinal Changes in Feminist and Sexist Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminist/sexist theme</th>
<th>1970s</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminism</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-wave feminism</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-wave feminism</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexism</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile sexism</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant paternalism</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive gender differentiation</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolent sexism</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective paternalism</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary gender differentiation</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total n for each decade 150 150 150 150

p = ns for all feminist and sexist themes.

The percentage of songs that contained at least one sexist message fluctuated between approximately 20% and 30% across four decades. The percentage of songs containing at least one feminist message fluctuated between 30% and 40% across four decades. No distinct patterns of increase or decrease emerged. Both second-wave and third-wave feminism seemed to decrease over time, with the second-wave’s longitudinal shift slightly steeper. Hostile sexism generally increased over time, while benevolent sexism consistently oscillated. None of the results were statistically significant.

H3a predicted that the number of songs containing at least one feminist message would be more than the number of songs that contained at least one sexist message. Neither overall sexism nor overall feminism had a statistically significant longitudinal increase or decrease, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 2.268, p = .519 (ns)$ for overall sexism, and $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = .486, p$
= .922 (ns) for overall feminism. However, the percentage of songs containing at least one feminist message was consistently higher than songs containing at least one sexist message. Therefore, H3a was partially supported.

H3b predicted that the 1980s would have the greatest number of songs with at least one sexist message. In contrast, the decade showed the lowest percentage of such songs, which was not significantly different from those of other decades. Therefore, H3b was rejected.

H3c predicted that the number of songs with at least one second-wave message would decrease over time. Despite the result showing a pattern of decrease, it was not statistically significant, χ²(3, N = 600) = 2.830, p = .419 (ns). Therefore, H3c was rejected. In opposition, H3d predicted that the number of songs that contained at least one third-wave feminist message would increase over time. The results showed a slight pattern of decrease however, the result was also not statistically significant, χ²(3, N = 600) = .233, p = .972 (ns). Therefore, H3d was rejected.

R4 was postulated to determine longitudinal patterns in specific branches of feminism. Table 3 shows the longitudinal trend of each branch of feminism, including cultural feminism, although the study’s literature review could not set up a clear hypothesis about this branch of feminism.
Table 3

*Longitudinal Changes in Themes of Branches of Feminism*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch of feminism</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second-wave feminism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal feminism</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radical feminism</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist feminism</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural feminism</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women-of-color feminism</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anarcha-feminism</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbian feminism</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-wave feminism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power feminism</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-positive feminism</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-structuralist feminism</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total n for each decade | 150   | 150   | 150   | 150   |

$p = ns$ for all themes of branches of feminism.

It was predicted that liberal feminism (H4a), socialist feminism (H4b), and women-of-color feminism (H4c) would be found most predominantly in punk rock songs during the 1970s. However, no statistically significant results were obtained, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 3.046, p = .385$ (ns) for either liberal feminism, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 2.978, p = .395$ (ns) socialist feminism, or $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 6.061, p = .109$ (ns) for women-of-color feminism. Therefore, H4a, H4b, and H4c were rejected. However, the statistical tests could be invalid because of several expected cell counts less than 5 cases.

It was predicted that radical feminism (H4d), anarcha-feminism (H4e), and lesbian feminism (H4f) would be found in the highest number of punk rock songs during the 1980s. However, none of the results were statistically significant, with $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 3.429, p = .330$ (ns) for radical feminism, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 3.207, p = .361$ (ns) for anarcha-feminism,
and $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = .828$, and $p = .843$ (ns) for lesbian feminism. Therefore, H4c, H4d, and H4f were rejected. It should be noted that the statistical test for anarcha-feminism could be invalid because of several expected cell counts less than 5 cases.

It was predicted that power feminism (H4g), sex-positive feminism (H4h), and poststructuralist feminism (H4i) would be found most predominantly in punk rock songs during the 1990s. However, none of the results were statistically significantly, with $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 3.623$, $p = .305$ (ns) for power feminism, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 1.601$, $p = .659$ (ns) for sex-positive feminism, and $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 3.367$, $p = .338$ (ns) for poststructuralist feminism. Therefore, H4g, H4h, and H4i were rejected. It should be noted that the statistical test for poststructuralist feminism could be invalid because of several expected cell counts less than 5 cases.

Lastly, R5 was postulated to discover what factors were related to second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and feminism in general. For three models, the following 10 independent variables were initially entered: decade of a song’s release; number of words; male artists; female artists; mixed-gender artists; race (non-white); hardcore and post hardcore; post punk, ska, and pop punk; no subgenre; and sexism.

However, because variables mixed gender and no subgenre were highly correlated with other independent variables, producing redundancies, they were excluded from the logistic regression analysis. Table 4 shows how various factors were related to second-wave feminism.
Table 4

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Second-Wave Feminism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decade of release</td>
<td>-.185</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>3.703</td>
<td>.831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of words</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>4.816</td>
<td>1.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-.808</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>6.616</td>
<td>.446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.475</td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>36.106</td>
<td>4.373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race (non-white)</td>
<td>-.052</td>
<td>.302</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardcore and post hardcore</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.299</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post punk, ska, and pop punk</td>
<td>-.757</td>
<td>.238</td>
<td>10.121</td>
<td>.469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexism</td>
<td>.619</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>5.307</td>
<td>1.856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .251$. Model correctly classified 77.0% of cases. Omnibus test of model coefficients, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 112.219, p < .001$. Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 7.988, p = .435$.

The following revealed to be statistically significant predictors in the model: the number of words, $B = .002$, Wald = 4.816, $p = .028$; male, $B = -.808$, Wald = 6.616, $p = .010$; female, $B = 1.475$, Wald = 36.106, $p < .001$; post punk, ska, and pop punk, $B = -.757$, Wald = 10.121, $p = .001$; and sexism, $B = .619$, Wald = 5.307, $p = .021$.

Second, Table 5 shows how various factors are related to third-wave feminism. The model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 129.220, p < .001$, but again the variance was relatively small, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .284$. The model correctly predicted 78.7% of cases.
Table 5

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Third-Wave Feminism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decade of release</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>.111</td>
<td>.969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of words</td>
<td>.004***</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>13.935</td>
<td>1.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-.945**</td>
<td>.323</td>
<td>8.542</td>
<td>.389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.484***</td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>36.396</td>
<td>4.412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race (non-white)</td>
<td>-.287</td>
<td>.312</td>
<td>.845</td>
<td>.751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardcore and post hardcore</td>
<td>-.586†</td>
<td>.329</td>
<td>3.186</td>
<td>.556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post punk, ska, and pop punk</td>
<td>-.339</td>
<td>.232</td>
<td>2.127</td>
<td>.713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexism</td>
<td>.812**</td>
<td>.270</td>
<td>9.025</td>
<td>2.252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

The following were found to be statistically significant predictors in the model: the number of words, $B = .004$, Wald = 13.935, $p < .001$; male, $B = -.945$, Wald = 8.542, $p = .003$; female, $B = 1.484$, Wald = 36.396, $p < .001$; and sexism, $B = .812$, Wald = 9.025, $p = .003$.

Third, Table 6 shows how various factors were related to feminism in general.

Table 6

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Feminism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decade of release</td>
<td>-.074</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.682</td>
<td>.929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of words</td>
<td>.003**</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>7.408</td>
<td>1.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-.928**</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>11.925</td>
<td>.395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1.698***</td>
<td>.230</td>
<td>54.343</td>
<td>5.462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race (non-white)</td>
<td>-.169</td>
<td>.290</td>
<td>.341</td>
<td>.844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardcore and post hardcore</td>
<td>-.145</td>
<td>.287</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>.865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post punk, ska, and pop punk</td>
<td>-.543*</td>
<td>.222</td>
<td>5.988</td>
<td>.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexism</td>
<td>.744**</td>
<td>.248</td>
<td>9.003</td>
<td>2.104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .311$. Model correctly classified 75.5% of cases. Omnibus test of model coefficients, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 155.264, p < .001$. Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 4.126, p = .846$.

†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. 
The model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 155.264$, $p < .001$. However, the amount of variance accounted for by the model was rather small, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .311$. The model correctly predicted 75.5% of cases.

Statistically significant predictors in the model were the following: the number of words, $B = .003$, Wald = 7.408, $p = .006$; male, $B = -.928$, Wald = 11.925, $p = .001$; female, $B = 1.698$, Wald = 54.343, $p < .001$; post punk, ska, and pop punk, $B = -.543$, Wald = 5.988, $p = .014$; and sexism, $B = .744$, Wald = 9.003, $p = .003$.

For the three models, many of the logistic regression coefficients were predictable. For example, a negative value for male artists and a positive value for female artist was expected. Sexism was found to be positively related to second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and feminism in general.
CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION

The results revealed several interesting relationships between punk rock song lyrics, feminism, and sexism. First, the results revealed a consistent percentage of songs with at least one antiestablishment message across four decades. This result was expected due to the countercultural nature of punk rock. Punk rock has long been considered cutting-edge and critical of society, espousing an antiestablishment ethos since its earliest origins. Roszak (1969) coined the term "counter-culture" to describe the social revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. The implicit function of these of radical movements was to contrast mainstream values and provide critical opposition to institutions of power (DeMott, 1998; Roszak, 1969). Thus one would expect to find antiestablishment themes such as antipatriarchy and antihierarchy within punk rock song lyrics.

In addition to consistency in the percentage of antiestablishment messages in punk rock songs the present study found that in the 1970s a little more than half of the songs had at least one antiestablishment message corresponding to second-wave feminism. Despite a slight decrease in the 1980s and 1990s, the percentage returned to a similar level in the 2000s. Also in the 1970s a little more than a third of the songs contained at least one antiestablishment message corresponding to third-wave feminism, and the percentage steadily increased to reach almost half in the 2000s. The steady increase in the percentage of antiestablishment messages corresponding to third-wave feminism is in agreement with the traditional wave metaphor used in feminist discourse, suggesting that by the early 1990s feminists had moved on from 1960s ideas of women’s liberation to newer forms of feminism that were more concerned with examining feminist self-identity. However, the recurrence of
antiestablishment themes corresponding to second-wave feminism in the 1990s may be an indication that rather than women completely abandoning second-wave ideology, second-wave feminism experienced a quieter expansion and transformation relative to third-wave ideas (Nicholson, 2010).

Second, the results showed no statistically significant trends of increase or decrease in neither overall feminism nor overall sexism, but the percentage of songs relevant to feminism was consistently higher than those relevant to sexism. This could be attributed to the fact that while women have made great efforts and improvements in rights and empowerment, there still remains a substantial amount of work to be done. In other words, society is still largely dominated by a patriarchy of some sort, in which women are made subordinate to men. Because sexism continues to exist in society, certain punk rock song lyrics continue to reflect those sexist intonations of mainstream culture. Therefore, in congruence with the implicit function of antiestablishment counter-cultures like punk rock, feminist messages would also continue to exist in punk rock songs lyrics as a means of criticism and condemnation of mass society (DeMott, 1998).

Furthermore contrary to the prediction that 1980s would have the greatest percentage of songs relevant to sexism, the present study found that the decade actually contained the least percentage of songs relevant to sexism. This hypothesis was developed based on Faludi’s (1991) feminist backlash theory. Faludi’s backlash theory proposed that the 1980s experienced a significant rise in conservative attitudes and ideologies as negative-feedback to second-wave, liberal feminism (Faludi, 1991; Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982). At the same time, the subgenre of hardcore punk rock began to flourish, becoming more aggressive and outwardly macho than previous manifestations of the punk genre (Dy whole Nner, 2007; Letts,
2006; Rachman, 2007). However, the contrarian results may indicate that rather than backlash to feminism as a whole, feminist messages were still present in the 1980s but were misinterpreted as a result of third-wave feminists beginning to separate from second-wave feminists.

The 1980s marked the beginning of debates between feminists, who became increasingly polarized on issues of sexuality and self-identity (Atmore, 1999; Ferguson, 1984). 1980s radical feminists, expanding on ideas of 60s and 70s liberal feminisms, strongly believed that women who took part in certain sexual practices and used certain traditional feminine markers perpetuated female subordination (Ferguson, 1984). The opposing feminists, however, saw that by partaking in and using these things there could be potentially liberating aspects for women. Contrary to Faludi’s theory, rather than a backlash in feminist thought, in the 1980s women may have been experimenting with newer feminisms that were not viewed as feminist by second-wave standards, but would be seen as female empowering by later third-wave feminists in the 1990s and 2000s (Atmore, 1999; Schlenker, Caron, & Halterman, 1998). The results seem to support this contention between opposing feminist thought.

Furthermore, rather than simply appearing macho and aggressive, 1980s hardcore was also more radical and forceful in its criticisms of mainstream society (Blush, 2001; Letts, 2006; Marlott & Peña, 2004; Wood, 2006). However, the novelty of certain individuals, for example the notorious GG Allin, who did write sexist and misogynist lyrics, may have outshone the larger pool of 1980s hardcore punk rock artists who were actively criticizing sexism and other inequalities seen in mainstream society. The Nuns lead singer Jennifer Miro commented on the perceived macho nature of the early 1980s hardcore saying “later, it
became this macho hardcore, thrasher, punk scene and that was not what it was about at first. There were a lot of women in the beginning. It was women doing things” (Leblanc, 1999). This could also explain the high percentage of feminist messages in 1980s punk rock song lyrics.

Third, the results of the present study showed that there were no statistically significant shifts in different feminist branches contained in punk rock song lyrics through the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The present study predicted the predominate appearance of certain feminist branches based upon the existing timelines of second-wave and third-wave feminism in accordance to the wave metaphor. However, the findings seemed to reflect that rather than certain branches peaking and falling at a given time, feminist branches continue to exist and expand based on old and new understandings of feminism (Baumgardner, 2011; Nicholson, 2010).

1970s and 1980s branches of feminism continued to flourish and expand in the 1990s and 2000s (Nicholson, 2010). For example, 1970s and 1980s feminist branches such as liberal feminism, women-of-color feminism, radical feminism, and lesbian feminism have all continued to grow and become increasing institutionalized over time. The results of this growth have been the subsequent development of women's studies programs, women's shelters, rape crisis centers, women's political organizations, LGBT rights groups and more that could be found throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Nicholson, 2010).

Just as 1970s and 1980s branches of feminism flourished in the 1990s and 2000s, the "newer" branches of feminism were not altogether absent during the earlier decades (Baumgardner, 2011). Rather power feminists, sex positive feminists, and poststructuralist feminists were present, but they did not generate the same mass attention as the 1970s and
1980s branches (Nicholson, 2010). Some scholars believe this is due to the fact that branches, such as liberal feminism or radical feminism, discussed more tangible issues that women were experienced as they began entering the workforce in increasing numbers, an important change as a result of post-World War II Americana (Nicholson, 2010). Though women still struggled with equality in the workplace in the 1990s and 2000s, feminists also began to take into greater account self-identity and issues and of sexuality. Nicholson (2010) suggests that the relationship between feminist branches the historical record be understood as a complex and colorful kaleidoscope:

Changes in activism over time can be suggested by the metaphor of a kaleidoscope. At any given moment in time, the view in a kaleidoscope is complex, showing distinct colors and patterns. With a turn of the kaleidoscope, some of these colors and patterns become more pronounced, others less so, and new patterns and colors have emerged (p. 7).

Lastly, the results found a number of statistically significant predictors for second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and overall feminism in punk rock song lyrics, which included: the number of words, artist gender, subgenre of post punk/ska/pop punk, and sexism. Most of the predictors are expected. For example, if a punk rock song is from a female artist it is more likely to be relevant to feminism than if it was from a male artist, because feminism has focused largely on women’s issues. However, the results revealed two interesting relationships a negative relationship between feminism and subgenre of post punk/ska/pop punk and a positive relationship between feminism and sexism.

The results showed a negative relationship between feminism and subgenres of post punk, ska, pop punk, which all greater ties to the mainstream music industry and tend to be more commercialized than other punk rock subgenres. Mainstream music typically reflects or expresses an already existing patriarchal culture. According to Frith & McRobbie (1990),
mainstream rock music is essentially an expression of male culture, and therefore sexist or misogynist ideology often permeates the music. This is largely due to the fact that the music industry is largely male-run and acts as a prime institution of gender socialization, reproducing and reinforcing conventional understandings of gender roles by defining and distinguishing specific styles, genres, and even instruments as either feminine or masculine (Frith & McRobbie, 1990; Leonard, 2007; Reynolds, 1995; Whitely 1997). Punk rock subgenres such as post punk, ska, and pop punk became increasingly commercialized over time, especially as the popularity of Nirvana proved to industry moguls the profitability of punk rock and alternative music. Increasing commercialization and major record label support made these punk subgenres more palatable to mainstream ears. At the same time, the largely male-dominated mainstream music industry's involvement in the packaging of post punk, ska, and pop punk as radio friendly helped construct these subgenres in alignment with conventional ideas of gender and sexuality, subsequently reinforcing a masculinist agenda.

The results also showed a positive relationship between feminism and sexism, which is indicative of postmodern hybridity. Postmodern hybridity is the coexistence of diametrically opposed ideas, such as love or hate, feminism or sexism (Firat & Shultz, 1997; Firat & Venkatesh, 1993). For example, punk rockers Betty Blowtorch sang “Shut Up and F---,” saying:

Some people might call me a slut.

What can I say, I wanna bust a nut.

These lyrics present a coexistence of sexism, the word “slut” itself, and feminism, the phrase “what can I say, I wanna bust a nut.” In this instance, Betty Blowtorch is not arguing against being called a “slut,” but rather she is accepting it. By doing so, Betty Blowtorch
reclaims and reinterprets the shameful, sexist connotation of the word “slut” to emancipating and empowering terminology. Because the results indicate the phenomenon of postmodern hybridity, this suggests that punk rock song lyrics illuminate the complexity of feminist self-identity apparent in mainstream culture.
Punk rock music has espoused antiestablishment themes since its debut in the 1970s. (Hannon, 2010; Letts, 2006). As punk rock developed into a greater cultural phenomenon, it could be easily identified through its characteristic attitude, art, and clothing style that eschewed social convention and voiced a greater desire for individuality (Bennet & Peterson, 2004; Hannon, 2010). Major antiestablishment themes found in punk rock echo the fundamentals of left-wing philosophy and liberal politics, promoting concepts such as antigovernment, antireligion, anticapitalism, antiracism, and antisexism. Because of its position as a progressive music genre, advocating movement away from the conservative mainstream, punk rock has served as ample platform for discussing gender issues, women’s rights, and feminist ideas (Bennet & Peterson, 2004; DeMott, 1998; Hannon, 2010; Marlott and Peña, 2004). Because of mainstream medias heavy focus on the hardcore movement of the 1980s, which did reproduce sexist and misogynist material, and because feminist studies often valorize the Riot Grrrl movement as the catalyst in bringing feminism to punk rock, contributions to feminism spanning punk rock’s longevity since the 1970s and its current manifestations have seldom been studied. Though no significance was found related to decades, feminist themes, including branches of both second and third-wave feminism, were clearly and consistently found across the four decades.

The findings also revealed that sexism was positively related to second-wave feminism, third-wave feminism, and feminism in general. Despite seeming counterintuitive, these types of contradictions have been found within artifacts of popular culture. For example, female punk rock artists may challenge or condemn male violence and aggression by sarcasm
or other rhetorical devices, lending to a coexistence of opposing themes. Simultaneous expressions of affection and animosity, within given punk rock song lyrics, may indicate a phenomenon of postmodern hybridity (Firat & Shultz, 1997, pp. 191–192; Firat & Venkatesh, 1993, pp. 237–239).

However, the present study was not without its limitations. First, despite three thorough practice coding sessions, inter-coder reliability turned out generally low. For example, the first coder (a Caucasian female) and her coding partner (a Caucasian male) yielded low Krippendorf’s alpha coefficients on sexism variables, as well as certain nuanced variables related to third-wave feminism and third-wave feminism’s correlating antiestablishment theme, such as doing gender/individualism and sexual liberation/transgressive sexual practices. The discrepancies between the two coders could be attributed to the male coder’s inability and failure to recognize sexism against women. Although the male coder’s activity was intended to enhance the study’s ecological validity, the results indicate the presence of opposing perceptions between females and males as to what is defined as sexism against women. In addition, the present study could reveal overwhelming difficulties in quantifying feminist sensitivities to distinguish instances of sexism. This could be a limitation of quantitative research as a method to distinguish subtleties and nuanced sensitivities associated with issues of social inequality.

Second, objective and systematic sampling was difficult to accomplish. Because punk rock has historically avoided comingling with the mainstream music industry, much of its album and artist record has been left undocumented, meaning albums and artists are not listed on popular music charts. Charts that do include punk rock are too recent or they do not include material from earlier decades. Because no existing formal, mainstream music charts,
such as Billboard or Hot 100, capture the intended scope of the present study, an alternative sampling strategy had to be taken.

Thus, given the breadth and plurality of artists and songs available, Sputnik Music was used to gather a systematic sample of songs. Schutz (1952) states that when designing sampling strategies for content analyses, “the population of items being classified is representative along the relevant dimensions of the population to which the results of the analysis are to be generalized” (p. 121). However, there is no way to know whether the punk rock albums selected from Sputnik Music for the sample are truly representative of the genre, or whether employing a different sampling method from the current one could have led to different conclusions.

Third, inconsistency across coders could be a result of variability in interpretation and ambiguity of lyrics. Lyrics, like other forms written media, can incorporate poetic or figurative language, such as metaphors and rhetorical devices, which are open to interpretation and deeper analysis. It is likely that the inclusion of ambiguous lyrics led to further discrepancies between coders. Schutz (1952) describes two types of ambiguity that can arise: form ambiguity and thematic ambiguity (p. 126). Form ambiguity is defined as lyrics that resemble more than one thing than which the coders are familiar, e.g., innuendos and euphemisms. Thematic ambiguity is defined as lyrics could result in multiple interpretations, e.g., metaphors and rhetorical language (Schutz, 1952, p. 126).

Though ambiguous content, such as a song’s ambiguous subject, was thoroughly discussed in the coding instructions, it still presented challenging measurement scenarios open to experimenter’s bias. The first coder (a Caucasian female) and the second coder (a Caucasian male) showed patterns of disagreement in certain items associated to third-wave
feminism, such as sexual liberation/transgressive sexual practices. The divergence between
the coders could be the result of ambiguous lyrics containing euphemisms or innuendo, which
one of the coders was less able to easily detect. This may be a limitation of quantitative
research as a method, in that it is difficult to quantify nuanced and abstruse language.

Future research should focus more closely on female punk rockers to see how feminist
themes are interpreted and transformed over time by women, especially those in the U.K.
punk scene. Reddington (2011) quotes music journalists and former manager of the The Clash
and The Slits, Caroline Coon, saying: it would be possible to tell the whole story of British
punk solely through its female bands and artists” (p. 1). Punk welcomed aggressive, all-
female bands and powerful front women, such as The Slits, Patti Smith, X-Ray Spex, and
Siouxsie Sioux, as well as lesser known, obscure artists like Mo-Dettes and Girlschool, who
all channeled their intelligence and sexuality to defy gender stereotypes and create distinct
punk rock femininities. It would also be interesting to not only analyze the lyrics of female
punk rockers, but other subcultural artifacts as well, including fanzines or music videos. It is
also necessary to systematically analyze longitudinal shifts in feminist themes in other genres
of music. Two interesting areas of study may be feminist themes in rap/hip-hop or heavy
metal, because both genres historically perceived to have had marginal female participation
and consistently reproduced and reinforced sexist and gender stereotypes.
APPENDIX A

CODING SHEET
Punk Rock Song Lyrics 1970-2009 Coding Sheet

Coder ID: __________________________ Song ID: ___________________________

Song Title: ____________________________________________________________
Artist: _______________________________________________________________

1. Year song was released: ___________

2. Decade of release: Circle one
(1) 1970s (2) 1980s (3) 1990s (4) 2000s

3. Song length: _______________ (total word count) _______________ (total line count)

4. Artist’s gender: Circle one
(1) Male (2) Female (3) Mixed Gender

5. Lead Singer’s gender: Circle one
(1) Male (2) Female (3) Mixed Gender

6. Lead Singer’s race: Circle one
(1) Caucasian-American or white (monoracial) (2) African-American or black (monoracial) (3) Hispanic-American or Latino/a (monoracial) (4) Asian-American or Asian (monoracial) (5) “Other” (monoracial) (6) Mixed

7. Punk rock subgenre: Circle one
(1) Post Punk (2) Hardcore (3) Post Hardcore (4) Ska (5) Pop Punk (6) No

8. Sexism

(A) Hostile Sexism Characteristics (male → female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominative Paternalism</th>
<th>(0) No</th>
<th>(1) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competitive Gender Differentiation</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
<td>(1) Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Benevolent Sexism Characteristics (male → female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protective Paternalism</th>
<th>(0) No</th>
<th>(1) Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complementary Gender Differentiation</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
<td>(1) Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(C) Relevance to Sexism

(0) No (–if “0” in all items of sections A and B) (1) Yes

9. Antiestablishment and Feminism
(A) Antiestablishment themes and second-wave feminism: Circle as many “(1)Yes” as applicable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antiestablishment theme</th>
<th>Relevance to women/feminism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anti-inequality/Anti-Injustice LF</td>
<td>0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticapitalism/Anticlassism SF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiracism WCF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antipatriarchy RF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity CF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiheterosexism LBF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antihierarchy AF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Relevance to Second-Wave Feminism

(0) No (–if “0” in all items of section A) (1) Yes

(C) Antiestablishment themes and third-wave feminism: Circle as many “(1)Yes” as applicable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antiestablishment Theme</th>
<th>Relevance to women/feminism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doing Gender/Individualism PWF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Liberation/Transgressive Sex Practices SPF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reclamation of Derogatory Words PSF</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(D) Relevance to Second-Wave Feminism

(0) (-if “0” in all items of section C) (1) Yes

(E) Relevance to Feminism

(0) No (–if “0” in all items of B and D) (1) Yes

(F) Antiestablishment themes other than the above

(0) No

(1) Yes (specify: _______________________________)

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APPENDIX B

CODING INSTRUCTIONS
Selecting Which Songs to Code

All songs were drawn from a systematic random sample from a universe of 17,245 songs. All sample songs except those listed below must be coded. Songs that must NOT be coded are:

A. Intros
B. Outros
C. Instrumental Tracks
D. Cover Songs
E. Foreign Language Songs

After completing a general internet search of a song from the sample list, if the song falls under a category that must NOT be coded, then find that song in the universe and choose the next song below it on the list that must be coded.

Descriptive Information Measures

Coder ID

Each coder will be given an ID number prior to beginning the study to distinguish their identities. Each coder must write their ID number at the top of each coding sheet.

Song ID

Each song will be given a case number, which will be supplied to the coders on the sample list. Each coder must write the song’s case number at the top of each coding sheet.
Song title

Song titles will be supplied in the sample list. Each coder must complete an internet search to verify the song’s title is listed correctly on the sample list. Each coder must write out the song title in its entirety on the coding sheet.

EX: Write "She Was like a Bearded Rainbow" [by Cream]; do NOT write “SWLABR”

Artist

Each coder must write the full name of the artist or band the selected song is played by. The artist name will be supplied in the sample list. Each coder must do an internet search of the song title and artist to verify that the artist is listed correctly on the sample list.

Year song was released

Each coder must write the year in which the selected song was originally released. The song release and album release year will be the same. The release year will be supplied in the sample list. Each coder must verify the release year, using the Sputnik Music database (http://www.sputnikmusic.com/). Coders must enter the artist’s name in the search bar and click on the corresponding album to find the date of release. Album titles will be supplied in the sample list.

Decade of release

Each coder must circle one corresponding decade of release. If the song release year is inclusively between 1970 and 1979, coders must circle (1)1970s. If the song release year is inclusively between 1980 and 1989, coders must circle (2)1980s. If the song release year is inclusively between 1990 and 1999, coders must circle (3)1990s. If the song release year is inclusively between 2000 and 2009, coders must circle (4)2000s.
Song length

Each coder must write the length of the song in words and lines.

Example: *Never found out why you left him*  
*But this answer begs that question*  
Words: 13, Lines: 2

Coders must search for the song using the lyrics databases, SongLyrics.com (http://www.songlyrics.com/) or AZLyrics.com (http://www.azlyrics.com/). If the song lyrics cannot be found on either database, coders may use an alternative database such as MetroLyrics (http://www.metrolyrics.com/) or PLyrics (http://www.plyrics.com/). If song lyrics cannot be found for the selected song, the selected song will not be coded. Coders must then find that song in the universe and choose the next song below it on the list that must be coded.

Artist’s gender

Coders must circle the artist’s gender for the selected song. Artist’s gender will be supplied in the sample list. Coders must verify the artist’s gender by doing an internet search of the artist. If the artist or band consists of all males, coders must circle (1) male. If the artist or band consists of all females, coders must circle (2) female. If the artist or band consists of either both female and male lead vocalists, a group that contains a male lead vocalist and one or more other female group members, or a group that contains a female lead vocalist and one or more other male group members, coders must circle (3) mixed gender. Coders must only circle one gender per artist.

Lead singer’s gender

Coders must circle the lead singer’s gender for the selected song. Lead singer’s gender will be supplied in the sample list. Coders must verify the lead singer’s gender by doing an
internet search of the artist. If the lead singer is identified as male, coders must circle (1) male.
If the lead singer is identified as female, coders must circle (2) female. If the artist or band
consists of both female and male lead vocalists, coders must circle (3) mixed gender. Coders
must only circle one gender per artist.

**Lead singer’s race**

Coders must circle the lead singer’s race for the selected song. Lead singer’s race will
be supplied in the sample list. Coders must verify the lead singer’s race by doing an internet
search of the artist. If the lead singer has ancestries in any of the original peoples of Europe,
Eurasia, or other white racial groups, coders must circle (1) Caucasian-American or white. If
the lead singer has ancestries in any of the original peoples of Africa or other black racial
groups, coders must circle (2) African-American or black. If the lead singer has Cuban,
Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish cultural ancestries,
coders must circle (3) Hispanic-American or Latino/a. If the lead singer has ancestries in any
of the original peoples of the East or Southeast Asia, including, for example Cambodia,
China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and/or Vietnam, coders
must circle (4) Asian-American or Asian. If the lead singer has ancestries in the original
peoples of the Middle East, Hawaii, other Pacific island racial groups, tribal affiliations to the
original peoples of North America or South/Central America, or identifies as a mono-racial
category the listed categories, coders must circle (5) Other. If the lead singer has ancestries in
more than one racial group, coders must circle (6) Mixed. For artists with two lead singers,
only if both singers identify as the same racial category, coders must then circle the
corresponding racial category, otherwise coders must circle (6) Mixed. Coders must only
circle one race per artist.
Punk rock subgenre

Coders must circle the selected song’s punk rock subgenre. Subgenres are supplied in the sample list. Coders must verify the subgenre by searching the artist on the Sputnik Music database. If more than one subgenre is listed on the database, coders must choose the first subgenre listed, reading left to right. Possible subgenres include (1) post punk, (2) hardcore, (3) post hardcore, (4) ska, and (5) pop punk. If no subgenre is listed and the artist is simply categorized as “punk,” coders must circle (6) no subgenre. Coders must only circle one subgenre per artist.

Measures of Sexism

Coders must assess the selected song’s relevance to sexism. Each selected song must be listened to twice in its entirety, while simultaneously reading the lyrics. The lyrics can be obtained from SongLyrics.com and AZLyrics.com (http://www.songlyrics.com/; http://www.azlyrics.com/), or an alternative lyrics database as previously mentioned. Coders must go through each line to identify major sexist themes.

Attributes of hostile sexism

Dominative Paternalism: Lyrics that reference the need or the physical act of controlling, dominating, or overpowering the opposite sex, through both violent and non-violent means. Lyrics that discuss violent means of control include references to beating, abusing, hurting, bondage, raping, murdering, etc. Lyrics that discuss non-violent means of control include references to training, molding, programming, brainwashing, etc. Relevant lyrics may also reference suspicion, fear, cynicism, uncertainty, skepticism, and/or wariness of the opposite sex. Lyrics may describe the opposite sex as betraying, entrapping, exploiting, deceiving, misleading, beguiling, tricking, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to dominative
paternalism, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to dominative paternalism, coders must circle (0) no.

**Competitive Gender Differentiation**: Lyrics that reference the superiority of one gender or sexuality over another, most notably through derogatory word use. Derogatory words in regards to gender include bitch, slut, whore, cunt, prude, bimbo, pussy, beaver, muff, etc. Derogatory words in regards to sexuality include faggot, dyke, pussy, homo, fairy, muff diver, carpet muncher, mary, nancy, queen, pansy, fruit, etc. Relevant lyrics may also make references to dichotomies between genders and sexualities, including sane vs. crazy, strong vs. weak, valuable vs. worthless, intelligent vs. stupid, good vs. evil, etc. Relevant lyrics may also discuss ideas of the opposite sex as only useful for sexual purposes, violating the body of a sexualized person who can’t consent, sexual availability as an individual’s defining characteristic, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to competitive gender differentiation, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to competitive gender differentiation, coders must circle (0) no.

**Attributes of benevolent sexism**

**Protective Paternalism**: Lyrics that reference the need or the physical act of protecting, providing for, giving to, guarding, or defending the opposite sex. Relevant lyrics may make references to being a hero/heroine, defender, guardian, protector, supporter, sympathizer, vindicator, savior, an ideal boyfriend/girlfriend, an ideal role model, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to protective paternalism, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to protective paternalism, coders must circle (0) no.

**Complementary Gender Differentiation**: Lyrics that reference the dependence on or feelings of incompleteness without or deep desire for intimacy with the opposite sex. Relevant
lyrics may make references to wanting, needing, longing for, unable to live without, feeling incomplete or worthless without, are weak without, feeling broken without the opposite sex, etc. Relevant lyrics may describe the opposite sex as seducing, tempting, enticing, hypnotizing, bewitching, etc. Lyrics may also refer to the opposite sex as an instrument of sexual pleasure, and/or fixate on an individual’s physical appearance or specific body parts. If lyrics contain relevance to complementary gender differentiation, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to complementary gender differentiation, coders must circle (0) no.

If lyrics contain relevance to sexism, meaning any item under categories A, B, and/or C was circled, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to sexism, meaning no item under A, B, and/or C was circled, coders must circle (0) no.

Measures of Antiestablishment Themes and Feminism

Coders must assess the selected song’s relevance to an antiestablishment theme and then assess that theme relevance to women or feminism. Each selected song must be listened to twice in its entirety, while simultaneously reading the lyrics. The lyrics can be obtained from SongLyrics.com and AZLyrics.com (http://www.songlyrics.com/; http://www.azlyrics.com/), or an alternative lyrics database as previously mentioned. Coders must go through each line to identify major antiestablishment themes and their relevance to second-wave and third-wave feminist themes.

Antiestablishment themes and second-wave feminism

Anti-Inequality/Anti-Injustice: Lyrics that reference human rights or general equality for all people, or lyrics that reference the political/legal system as responsible for protecting
people’s rights or insuring freedom/equality. This includes antiestablishment ideas such as equal rights, affirmative action, civil rights, human rights, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to the antiestablishment theme of anti-inequality, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to anti-inequality, coders must circle (0) no.

Anti-inequality/Anti-Injustice relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference ideas such as men and women deserving or having equal rights, men and women deserving or having equal pay, or challenging legal/political prejudices or discrimination against women. Relevant lyrics may also make references to political participation of women, anti-illegalization of abortion, reproductive rights, and/or women’s access to education, etc. If anti-inequality lyrics are relevant to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If anti-inequality/anti-injustice lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Anticapitalism/Anticlassism: Lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that desire to change the economic or class system, oppose capitalism, or oppose or desire to change current class systems. Relevant lyrics may support antiestablishment ideas such as antipoverty, antibourgeois, anticommunalism, anticonsumerism, antimaterialism, anti-unemployment, socialism, Marxism, communism, etc. Relevant lyrics may also show negativity toward capitalists or the wealthy class, referring to capitalists as capitalist pigs, greedy, stingy, miserly, selfish, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to anticapitalism/anticlassism, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to anticapitalism/anticlassism, coders must circle (0) no.

Anticapitalism/Anticlassism relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference ideas such as class struggles tied to women’s struggles, the oppression of
women as a result of capitalism, or the desire or need to change the economic/class system to alleviate the oppression of women, etc. If anticapitalism/anticlassism lyrics are relevant to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If anticapitalism/anticlassism lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

*Antiracism*: Lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that oppose or challenge racial prejudice and/or discrimination. Lyrics do NOT contain relevance to racial equality if they include racial slurs or derogatory terms. If a coder is unable to determine if a phrase is a racial or ethnic slur, coders must verify it using the racial slur database (http://www.rsdb.org/). Relevant lyrics may also include references to antiestablishment ideas, such as anti-imperialism, antidiscrimination, philosemitism, anti-ethnocentrism, antislavery, antisegregation, anti-apartheid, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to antiracism, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to antiracism, coders must circle (0) no.

Antiracism relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference ideas such as race struggles tied to women’s struggles, racial inequality as the cause of women’s oppression, minority women as more oppressed than white women, etc. If antiracism lyrics are relevant to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If antiracism lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

*Antipatriarchy*: Lyrics that referenced any ideas or attitudes that oppose or challenge institutionalized sexism. Relevant lyrics include antiestablishment ideas such anti-machismo, anti-chauvinism, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to antipatriarchy, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to antipatriarchy, coders must circle (0) no.
Antipatriarchy lyrics relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference opposition to violence against women, rape, sexual objectification of women, anti-abortion ideology, women in pornography, misogyny, female prostitution, conventional ideas of marriage or divorce, etc. Relevant lyrics may associate traditional markers of femininity, both physical and psychological, with sexism. If antipatriarchy lyrics contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If antipatriarchy lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Unity: Lyrics that reference mutual support between people sharing the same values, beliefs, or characteristics. Relevant lyrics include references antiestablishment ideas of fraternity, kinship, fellowship, community, togetherness, comradeship, brotherhood, sisterhood, collective action, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to unity, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to unity, coders must circle (0) no.

Unity lyrics relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that support or discuss the idea of unity by virtue of being a woman. Relevant lyrics include ideas of shared women’s values and support for collective action among women, which includes ideas of shared women’s values and support for women’s collective action. Relevant lyrics may make references to sisterhood, (girl) friendship, sorority, etc. If unity lyrics contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If unity lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Antiheterosexism: Lyrics that oppose heterosexual biases. This includes references to gay rights, gay marriage, different interpretations of sexuality, and opposition to homophobia, etc. Lyrics do NOT contain relevance to antiheterosexism if they include derogatory terms. If
lyrics contain relevance to antiheterosexism, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to antiheterosexism, coders must circle (0) no.

Antiheterosexism lyrics relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference ideas such as LGBT rights, gay marriage, antihomophobia/lesbophobia, opposition to violence against LGBT people, lesbianism as an individual’s choice, lesbianism as a form of resistance to male supremacy, etc. If antiheterosexism lyrics contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If antiheterosexism lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

**Antihierarchy:** Lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that challenge or oppose systems of authority, including government, religion, family, etc. Relevant lyrics may make references to antiestablishment ideas such as anarchy, anti-authority, antireligion, antichurch, anticlericalism, antifascism, antibureaucracy, antigovernment, antilaw, antipolitics, rebellion, revolution, insubordination, uprising, insurgency, insurrection, defiance, disobedience, iconoclasm, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to antihierarchy, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to antihierarchy, coders must circle (0) no.

Antihierarchy lyrics relevant to second-wave feminism or women are lyrics that reference any ideas or attitudes that hierarchical systems and male authority lead to women’s oppression. Relevant lyrics may make references to antiestablishment ideas, such as anarchy, anti-authority, antireligion, antichurch, anticlericalism, antifascism, antibureaucracy, antigovernment, antilaw, antipolitics, rebellion, revolution, rioting, insubordination, uprising, insurgency, insurrection, defiance, disobedience, iconoclasm, etc., as being beneficial for women. If antihierarchy lyrics contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders
must circle (1) yes. If antihierarchy lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Relevance to Second-Wave Feminism: If lyrics contain relevance to second-wave feminism, meaning any item under section A, category “Relevant to women/feminism,” was circled; coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to second-wave feminism, meaning no item under A was circled; coders must circle (0) No.

Antiestablishment themes and third-wave feminism

Doing Gender/Individualism: Lyrics that challenge or oppose conventional definitions of gender, traditional or stereotypical sex roles, or a gender binary. Relevant lyrics may support the action of individuals over collective action. Relevant lyrics may also emphasize individual independence, self-reliance, idiosyncrasy, originality, eccentricity, uniqueness, non-conformity, self-sufficiency, honesty to one’s self, aloofness, freethinking, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to doing individualism/gender, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to doing gender /individualism, coders must circle (0) no.

Doing Gender/Individualism lyrics relevant to third-wave feminism or women are lyrics may also include references to the ability to define femininity on one’s own terms, girl power (i.e. the reclamation of conventional physical and emotional markers of femininity previously associated with sexism), or opposition to ideas of universal womanhood. Conventional markers of femininity include physical markers such as wearing high heels, dressing-up, fixing hair, painting nails, wearing dresses, wearing make-up, etc. Markers of femininity also include psychological makers such as emotionality, sensitivity, love, compassion, empathy, patience, gentleness, nurturing behavior, etc. If doing gender/individualism lyrics contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must
circle (1) yes. If doing gender /individualism lyrics do NOT contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Sexual Liberation/Transgressive Sex Acts: Lyrics that challenge or oppose the repression of people’s sexual desires. Relevant lyrics oppose, sexual repression, the idea of sex as immoral, and hierarchically ranking sexual acts. Lyrics do NOT contain relevance to sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts if they refer to unconventional sex acts as unnatural, immoral, defiling, degrading, demeaning, etc. If lyrics contain relevance to sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts, coders must circle (0) no.

Sexual liberation/transgressive sex act lyrics relevant to third-wave feminism or women are lyrics that challenge or oppose the repression of women’s sexual desires. Lyrics also challenge the notion of the immorality of women having sex (i.e. anti-slut shaming), demystify the naked female body and orgasm, advocate for women to be open and vocal about their sexuality and carnal desires, etc. Lyrics do NOT contain relevance to sexual liberation/transgressive sex acts if they include slurs or derogatory terms, such as slut or whore, to signify women engaging in sex as shameful. Relevant lyrics may also support women engaging in alternative sexual practices. Alternative sexual practices include pornography, BDSM culture, public sex, group sex, or sex work. Lyrics do NOT contain relevance to transgressive sex acts if they refer to these unconventional sex acts as unnatural, immoral, defiling, degrading, demeaning, etc. If sexual liberation/transgressive sex act lyrics contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If sexual liberation/transgressive sex act lyrics do NOT contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.
Reclamation of Derogatory Words: Lyrics in which derogatory words are used as a sign of a minority empowerment, whether it be a gender, racial, class, sexual minority, etc. These lyrics also include the ironic use of derogatory words and references, questioning the power these words hold over individuals. If a coder is unable to determine whether a lyric contains irony, they may discuss the lyric with the other coder to reach a consensus. If lyrics contain relevance to reclamation of derogatory words, coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to reclamation of derogatory words, coders must circle (0) no.

Reclamation of derogatory words lyrics relevant to third-wave feminism or women are lyrics in which women use previously female derogatory words as a sign of a power. Female derogatory words include bitch, slut, whore, pussy, cunt, prude, bimbo, floozy, tramp, hooker, harlot, streetwalker, hustler, hussy, skank, etc. These lyrics also include the ironic use of derogatory words and references questioning the power these words hold over individuals. If a coder is unable to determine whether a lyric contains irony, they may discuss the lyric with the other coder to reach a consensus. If reclamation of derogatory words lyrics contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (1) yes. If reclamation of derogatory words lyrics do NOT contain relevance to third-wave feminism or women, coders must circle (0) no.

Relevance to Third-Wave Feminism: If lyrics contain relevance to third-wave feminism, meaning any item under section C, category “relevant to women/feminism,” was circled; coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to third-wave feminism, meaning no item under C, category “relevant to women/feminism,” was circled; coders must circle (0) no.
Relevance to Feminism: If lyrics contain relevance to feminism, meaning any item under section A, category “relevant to women/feminism,” was circled and/or any item under section C, category “relevant to women/feminism,”; coders must circle (1) yes. If lyrics do NOT contain relevance to feminism, meaning no item under A and/or C, category “relevant to women/feminism,” was circled; coders must circle (0) no.

Other Antiestablishment Themes: If lyrics contain an antiestablishment theme not listed under sections A or C, the coder must circle (1) yes and specify the antiestablishment theme. Possible antiestablishment themes not listed may include anti-militarism, anti-war, anti-drug illegalization, nihilism, etc. If lyrics only contain an antiestablishment theme listed under sections A or C, the coder must circle (0) no.

Identifying Ambiguous Subjects

Ambiguous Subjects

If a subject of a song is ambiguous, meaning that song lyrics provide no context clues as to whether the subject is male or female, the coder must do an internet search of the song to find its meaning. If the internet search provides clear results that the ambiguous subject is male or female, the coder must code the lyrics accordingly.

If the internet search does not clarify the gender of the ambiguous subject, the coder may assume that the subject’s gender and the lead singer’s gender are the same. For example, an ambiguous “I” subject sung by a female lead singer, in which an internet search did not clarify the gender of the “I,” the coder may assume that the “I” is also female.
If the song has both male and female lead singers, and the subject remains ambiguous after an internet search of the song, the coder will not code the song. Coders must then find that song in the universe and choose the next song below it on the list that must be coded.

**Ambiguous Relationships**

If a relationship mentioned in a song is ambiguous, meaning that song lyrics provide no context clues as to whether the relationship is heterosexual, gay, or lesbian (i.e. the gender of each participant is lyrically ambiguous) the coder must do an internet search of the song to find its meaning. If the internet search provides clear results that the ambiguous relationship is heterosexual, gay, or lesbian, the coder must code the lyrics accordingly.

If the internet search does not clarify an ambiguous relationship, the coder may assume that, unless there are clear context clues that the relationship is gay or lesbian, the relationship is heterosexual. For example, an ambiguous lyric such as “I love you” sung by a female lead singer, in which neither an internet search nor homosexual context clues clarified the nature of the relationship mentioned in the lyrics, the coder may assume that the relationship is heterosexual. The coder may assume that the “I” in “I love you” is the female lead singer, and the “you” is a male.
APPENDIX C

QUESTION INVENTORY FOR CODING
Hostile Sexism (Fiske & Glick, 1996)

*Dominative Paternalism*

1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
2. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.
3. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
4. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
5. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
6. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
7. Most women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

*Competitive Gender Differentiation*

1. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
2. Women are too easily offended.
3. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
4. Feminists are making entirely unreasonable demands of men.

Benevolent Sexism (Fiske & Glick, 1996)

*Protective Paternalism*

1. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.
2. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

3. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

4. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

*Complementary Gender Differentiation:*

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

2. People are often truly happy in life, if romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

3. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

4. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

5. Men are incomplete without women.

6. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

7. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Liberal Feminist Perspective (Henley, et al., 1998)

1. Whether one chooses a traditional or alternative family form should be a matter of personal choice.

2. People should define their marriage and family roles in ways that make them feel comfortable.
3. The government is responsible for making sure that all women receive an equal chance of education and employment.

4. The availability of adequate child care is central to a woman’s right to work outside the home.

5. Homosexuality is not a moral issue but rather a question of liberty and freedom of expression.

6. Social change for sexual equality will best come about by acting through federal, state, and local government.

7. Legislation is the best means to ensure a woman’s choice to have an abortion.

8. Women should try to influence legislation in order to gain the right to make their own decisions and choices.

9. Women should have the freedom to sell their sexual services.

10. Men need to be liberated from oppressive sex role stereotypes as much as women do.

Radical Feminist Perspective (Henley, et al., 1998)

1. Pornography exploits female sexuality and degrades all women.

2. Using “man” to mean both men and women is one of many ways sexist language destroys women’s existence.

3. Sex role stereotypes are only one symptom of a larger system of patriarchal power, which is the true source of women’s subordination.
4. The workplace is organized around men’s physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women.

5. Men’s control over women forces women to be the primary care-takers of children.

6. Men use abortion laws and reproductive technology to control women’s lives.

7. Men prevent women from being political leaders through their control of economic and political institutions.

8. Marriage is a perfect example of men’s physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women.

9. Romantic love brainwashes women and forms the basis of their subordination.

10. Rape is ultimately a power tool that keeps women in their place, subservient to and terrorized by men.

Socialist Feminist Perspective (Henley, et al., 1998)

1. Capitalism and sexism are primarily responsible for the increased divorce rate and general breakdown of families.

2. Making women economically dependent on men is capitalism’s way of encouraging heterosexual relationships.

3. A socialist restructuring of businesses and institutions is necessary for women and people of color to assume equal leadership with White men.
4. Romantic love supports capitalism by influencing women to place men’s emotional and economic needs first.

5. The way to eliminate prostitutions is to make women economically equal to men.

6. Capitalism hinders a poor woman’s chance to obtain adequate prenatal medical care or an abortion.

7. It is the capitalist system that forces women to be responsible for child care.

8. Capitalism forces most women to wear feminine clothes to keep a job.

9. The personalities and behaviors of women and men in our society have developed to fit the needs of advanced capitalism.

   Cultural Feminist Perspective (Henley, et al., 1998)

1. Prostitution grows out of male culture of violence and male values of social control.

2. Replacing the word “god” with “goddess” will remind people that the deity is not male.

3. Men should follow women’s lead in religious matters, because women have a higher regard for love and peace than men.

4. Putting women in positions of political power would bring about new systems of government that promote peace.

5. Traditional notions of romantic love should be replaced with ideas based on feminine values of kindness and concern for all people.
6. By not using sexist and violent language, we can encourage peaceful social change.

7. Beauty is feeling one’s womanhood through peace, caring, and non-violence.

8. Women’s experience in life’s realities of cleaning, feeding people, caring for babies, etc., makes their vision of reality clearer than men’s.

9. Rape is best stopped by replacing the current male-oriented culture of violence with an alternative culture based on more gentle, womanly qualities.

10. Bringing more women into male dominated professions would make the professions less cutthroat and competitive.

Women of Color Feminist Perspective (Henley, et al., 1998)

1. In education and legislation to stop rape, ethnicity and race must be treated sensitively to ensure that women of color are protected equally.

2. Racism and sexism make double to oppression for women of color in the work environment.

3. Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than White women have.

4. Women of color are oppressed by White standards of beauty.

5. Being put on a pedestal, which White women have protested, is a luxury that women of color have not had.

6. Anti-gay and racist prejudice act together to make it more difficult for gay male and lesbian people of color to maintain relationships.
7. In rape programs and workshops, not enough attention has been given to the special needs of women of color.

8. Discrimination in the work place is worse for women of color than for all men and White women.

9. Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the needs to empower people of all races and colors first.

10. The tradition of strong Afro-American women who are strong family leaders has strengthened the Afro-American community as a whole.
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