

KEEP IT SIM- PLE MAKE IT FAST!

AN APPROACH
TO UNDERGROUND
MUSIC SCENES (VOL. 4)
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Keep it Simple, Make it Fast!

An approach to underground music scenes (vol. 4)

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1.3 Gendered participation in 1970's punk in Finland: Lack of female musicians and fanzine makers

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A b s t r a c t

The first wave of punk in Finland included only five Finnish female punk musicians. Girls were more active in the fanzine scene but even there a minority. This paper tries to pinpoint the gender distribution of active scenesters between 1977 and 1981 and why so few girls became active in the scene. Furthermore, the paper asks whether the 1970s punk was emancipatory for girls and how did the girls experience the scene in relation to gender. The paper aims to achieve its goal by analyzing female-made punk-artifacts, questionnaires conducted by 46 fanzine makers and correspondence between nine female participants in the scene. The finding is a (self-) conscious female punk who emancipated on an individual level. Furthermore, the paper discusses why the girl participants experienced the scene as equal when gender roles drastically directed the scene participants' actions.

Keywords: Punk, 1970s, Finland, females, (in) equality.

GIRLS
HATE FLOWERS



1. Introduction

In her study on alternative music scenes, Holly Kruse (2003, p.138) points out that a belief of gender equality lives on in the narratives of alternative rock. In other words, a belief that alternative rock scenes foster chances for anyone regardless of gender to pick up an instrument and perform. According to Sara Cohen (1991, p.203), the 1970s punk rock demystified music making and “*did* inspire many women to make music” (emphasis original). Cohen also notes that the women of punk “challenged traditional romantic conventions and styles, including that of the passive female singer and entertainer”. Cohen’s observations are easily confirmed by the blissful music made by Patti Smith, The Slits and The Raincoats (for example).

During the first wave of punk in Finland a corresponding phenomenon did not happen. The early Anglo-American punk bands made their impact on thousands of Finnish youngsters starting already in 1976 when the most eager music loving teens woke up to the phenomenon (Saaristo, 2002). In the wake of punk, at least over a hundred bands sprung up. Still the band line-ups consisted solely of male musicians – only five Finnish female performers appear on the over two hundred punk records released between 1977 and 1982.

In addition to music and its performers, this paper is interested in the hundreds of fanzine makers between the period. According to Dave Laing (1985, p. 14–15) the 1970s punk scenes were the first music scenes to produce their own widespread counter-media – the fanzines. In addition to information sharing, the fanzines defined the punk scenes and their boundaries. The first wave sprung up over two hundred individual fanzine titles. According to a master thesis, women were mainly contributors to the male-lead fanzines but some of the titles were made by female groups (Paaso, 2015, p.49).

This paper pinpoints the gender distribution among the 1970s punk scene’s agents – the musicians and the fanzine makers. Furthermore, the paper asks why girls are absent among the active participants in the scene and what the relatively rare records and fanzines by girls reveal about their authors. In the latter part of the paper, the attention is shifted towards the girl participants, and their experience of the scene and its gender relations.

The gender of the band line-ups is pursued by looking at a music database about Finnish punk records. The gender of the fanzines makers is scrutinized through a fanzine bibliography. The role of girls in the fanzine scene is opened up by analyzing 44 questionnaires for fanzinisters of the era. The role of punk girls is expanded by analyzing e-mail correspondence with nine female participants in the scene. The periodization of the paper is a bit arbitrary. The timeline of “77-punk” does not end abruptly. In fact, in the Finnish punk scene “the first wave of punk” is sometimes seen to stretch until the early 1990s (Kemppinen, 1997, p.95). In this paper, the periodization derives from the first punk record released in Finland – in the fall of 1977, to the fragmentation of punk rock into various sub-genres (hardcore punk, post-punk), which happened at the latest in 1982 (Söderholm, 1987, p.53–59³⁰). The paper will continue with socio-historical context for the period, a theoretical introduction to the Finnish scene and the concept of a cultural “subculture” introduced by Patrick Williams (2011, p. 35–38). After this, the versatile data utilized is brought on display. A look on the methodological commitments of the paper follows before the analysis. The analysis is divided into five subchapters. The first chapter takes a look at the gender of band members and a song with lyrics that expresses and criticizes the role of women in the contemporary society. The second chapter theme

³⁰ Therefore the 1978–1981 periodization of Saaristo (2002) has been extended to start from 1977. The 1982 limit means that all 77-punk records and fanzines are included as well as the first hardcore releases.

is fanzines, their makers and the fanzines' gender related content. The third and fourth chapters introduce the experiences of the the fanzinisters and the girl participants. The last chapter of the analysis interprets the results of the preceding analysis. The chapter offers one explanation for the inconsistency between occurred inequality (in relation to becoming active in the scene) and experienced equality among the scene members. The conclusion section summarizes the results.

2. Socio-historical context

In this section, the paper will introduce the socio-historical conditions where punk sprung up in Finland in the late 1970s. In relation to modernization, Finland is a late bloomer. When the modernization process finally began after the Second World War, the process was relatively sudden and intensive. According to Antti Karisto et al. (1988, p. 41–44), Finland's economic structure developed from agriculture towards a large service sector (without the usual industrial-period in between) in just 30 years. Urbanization followed the change of economic structure with the same intensity. During the 1960s and 1970s, tens of thousand inhabitants moved yearly from the countryside to cities. In the early 1970s, the milestone for urbanization was reached – half of Finland's population lived in cities.

With modernization, the Finnish society began to open. According to a summary of studies about the 1970s Finland by Minna Sarantola-Weiss (2008, p. 186–189) in the beginning of the process, only circa half of women had independent working positions. In addition, in the early 1970s, it was considered improper for a woman to go to a bar alone. Juridically women's position became equivalent to men during the 1960s. During the 1970s the women's position in the society continued improve. Feminism bettered women's sense of self and social position. Attitudes towards sexuality continued to relax. Especially the female sexuality was changed forever by the pill and a more liberal abortion law in 1971. By 1980, 79% of women were working (Sarantola-Weiss, p.2008, 53–57).

In other words, when punk struck in the country in late 1970s, women were in the process of gaining independence and a more equal social position. Nevertheless, the contemporary society upheld differing expectations for girls and boys that were more restrictive for girls. The 1950s and 1960s educational children books targeted to girls, girls were directed into "correct" womanhood in relation to sexuality and romanticism (Voipio 2014, 200, 2013). During the 1960s the gender role taught in school books changed from clearly differing two genders to girls and boys who share social responsibility and rights. In addition, both genders are described in rascal activities – and self-reflecting when caught (Koski 2000, p.39–44). Mentalities change slowly. The fact that the change happened during the 1960s means that the parents of punk girls were still being taught that there are two genders that set apart the children as human beings.

3. Theory

The discussion between the concepts of subculture, post-subculture and scenes seems to be never ending. This paper draws from Williams (2011, p.35–38) suggestion of a coexistence between the concepts where subculture is a cultural concept owing to symbolic interactionism and the scene a social

concept referring to the network where music is created and facilitated. A cornerstone of the music scene perspective is an essay written by Will Straw (1991). Straw describes how musical genres are born and develop in relationship networks that have both local and global dimensions. According to a summarizing article by Andy Bennett (2004), the scene perspective has evolved to include three forms of scenes: local, trans-local and virtual. The last refers to scenes that take place online and are thus outside of the time frame of this paper.

The concept of a trans-local scene was first used by Holly Kruse (2003) in her study on alternative rock scenes. According to Bennett, the concept of a trans-local scene acknowledges that while young people act out their musical and stylistic preferences in local scenes, they share and foster a connection to other members of other scenes in other regions, countries and continents. The media representations of subcultural groups foster the connections of trans-local scenes (Bennett 2004, p.226–230). In her study on Riot Grrrl, Kristin Schilt (2004, p. 117–119) discusses how the fanzines were essential for linking like-minded women and the trans-local scene to develop in 1990s Washington DC.

The 1970s Finland was a sparsely populated country. According to a book about Finnish rock history written by journalists who eye-witnessed the 1970s punk scene, the musical events of the first wave took place both in the countryside and urban areas (Bruun et al. 1998, p.262–305). According to Juuso Paaso (2015), the punk fanzines, and the associated letter-exchange, created a scattered network of punks all over the country. The first wave of punk in Finland was a national scene that was constructed in a trans-local fashion with various local punk clusters and even local scenes in larger cities. The clusters were interconnected via fanzines, media representations, and musical events that were not limited to cities.

The symbolic interactionism perspective on subcultures perceives subcultures to be cultural and abstract entities with symbolic borders. Williams cites in length Gary Alan Fine and Sherry Kleinman (1979) who introduced the perspective in 1979. Fine and Kleinman discuss communication interlocks where “information and behavior options are diffused, resulting in the construction of a common universe of discourse throughout the social network in which they spread. The writers add that the social network serves as a reference point for the subculture members (Fine & Kleinman, 1978, p.8). The common discourse universe is able to carry messages to be picked up and interpreted by the receptive receiver. One of the messages was equal social rights among the genders.

4. Data

The record and line-up information has been obtained from Finnmusic.net and supplemented by a few records not listed on the page. The line between punk and new wave music is thin. In addition, some of the bands who started their career during the 1970s had transformed into rock and post-punk acts by 1982. In this paper, as punk records have been categorized all recordings released between 1977–1982 by bands who started their careers playing punk rock. In other words, the records were born in the wake of punk and its do it yourself -message, which encouraged to both play yourself and release music by the artists own terms (Frith, 1987, p.138–160). From the record data, all promotional records and compilation album releases were excluded

because no information on the musicians was obtainable. All in all, the data includes 209 records released between 1977–1982. The fanzine information is from the Finnish fanzine bibliography 1977–1982 finalized by Paaso in 2016. The bibliography includes information about punk fanzines, comic books and other small press magazines but the emphasis is on punk fanzines. The bibliography lists the essential makers of the fanzine but not all contributors and is thus partly defective. The fanzine questionnaire data comes also from Paaso. The data includes 46 responses from 45 different informants. E-mail correspondence with nine girl participants in the 1970s scene was carried out in the spring of 2018. The correspondence is circa 15 pages in default typeset. In addition, the data includes freeform reminiscence about the punk era.

5. Method

According to Alessandro Portelli (1979, p.67), oral history accounts tell about past events but also the meanings ascribed to them at the moment of reminiscence. The subjective nature of oral history is both a hindrance and an advantage as memories – or the recollection of them at a give moment – allows the research of the subjective experience. The data has been analyzed by categorical qualitative content analysis. The data was first read and coded. The coding process evolved into established categories such as “Few girls,” “The role of girls as bystanders,” “No girls” and “Equality”. Unless noted otherwise, all of the categories referred in the analysis include several uniform categories in the data. For more detailed takes on the method see for example Margit Schreier (2012).

6. Analysis

6.1 Punk records

The data includes 209 records released between 1977 and 1982. Six punk records include female musicians: *Päät*, *Bust Outs* and *Mik Monto* had female vocalists and *Kollaa Kestää* invited Lora Logic (from X-Ray Spex fame) to play saxophone on their album *Jäähyväiset aseille* (1979). *Päät* had also a female keyboardist from 1980 onwards and the bass player of *Se.* was female. With a broader definition of punk that includes also new wave acts, the list would lengthen with a few female vocalists and instrumentalists. To summarize, among the hundreds of male musicians of the scene the few girls were a tiny minority. The second single by *Päät* [“Heads”] and the song *Rotat* [“Rats”] (1979) – addressee’s issues related to gender and womanhood. The bands singer Pivo wrote the lyrics. The song starts with the chorus, which translates as:

*All men are rats
And their heads are potties
I don't need them
Rat, don't beget children*

The following verse addresses the role of women in the society by mocking ironically the girls’ role as pleasers of men and subjects of sexual desire. The

theme continues in the next verse. In the last verse the song brings forth its most critical edge:

*The more you sleep with women,
the more handsome boy you are,
but us, you call whores!*

Here the lyrics address the double standards of male and female sexuality and social contempt women are subjected to. *Rotat* song is a prime example of how a person is able to express social critique that stems from their experience of society. Although the song is the only that addressees' themes related to gender, the song brings forth that the punks were conscious about the gender roles and related inequalities in the society. This is supported by an interview of the lyricist where she notes that the audience responds to the song "all right" and guys in the band "smartly" (Suomen paras Musiikkilehti 1979:1, p 10).

6.2 Punk fanzines

The bibliography of Finnish fanzines that started publishing between 1977–1982 includes 929 issues from 246 fanzines. The fanzines include dozens of female contributors. Precise information on the contributors is not possible to attain from the bibliography that includes only the central persons making the fanzines. Using pseudonyms (or "punk-names") was common for the era and thus the exact number of female contributors is difficult to impossible to pinpoint. It is possible to say that girls were present as contributors in many of the (boy-led) fanzines but only as a minority, or a tiny minority.

Fourteen of the fanzines were made by female primus motors. Female-lead fanzines include more girl contributors, but some have a mixed group of editors. A majority of the fanzines made by girls do not differ in any notable sense from their male-lead counterparts. Almost all of the fanzines made by girls include articles, interview questions and pondering about female artists, appearances, relationships and sexuality – just as the fanzines by boys. However, four fanzines stand out with distinctively stronger gender-presence. The fanzines include a lot of content related to womanhood and some "girly" aesthetics. The fanzines are *Fani* ["A fan"], *Madame Punk*, *Ihana raato* ["Lovely corpse"] and *Osattomien oikaisu* ["The Straightening of the Deprived"]. *Fani* describes itself as "feminist-stalinist" and *Madame Punk* makes explicit statements about being made by girls to girls – or "punkettes". The fanzines include social critique – that resembles the message of *Rotat* – delivered in a multitude of forms including essays, novels, interview questions, parenthesis in record and concert reviews, artwork and recontextualized newspaper clippings.

Four categories emerge in the analysis: Sexual objectification, sexual harassment, the subordination of women and the challenging of the gender role of women. The following quote is part of a train of thought novel and addresses sexual objectification and harassment.

*On the city streets the wind swirls snow and trash.
I walk and lean against a wall. I stare at people
like photographs and the wondering gazes turn away.
A man takes my hand and asks, 'how much?' What 'how
much'? 'Are you poor?' My brain flashes. What should*

I say? I'd rather die than do anything for money.

(Osattomien oikaisu 1983, p.3-5.).

The subsequent excerpt is part of a story about a hitch-hiking trip to a music festival where the girl experienced sexual harassment.

As the day matures the cars and the persons change. Many pig-faces tell perverted stories, make gestures about intimate intercourse and play cassette after cassette humppa [a traditional Finnish dance music genre considered lame]. (Ihana Raato 1982, p.1-3.).

In the next quote the theme of criticizing widespread social norms continues. The writer challenges the legitimacy of the narrow and restrictive gender role of women by simply describing – or making explicit – the social norms of the society in a caricatural fashion.

Here you can truly see what the woman is. The woman takes care of the things the man decides on. The man decides with another man how things are done. The men go out again and take care of the big stuff. The woman runs behind and taps the machine and runs after numbers and the men, asking when you will come again. The man asks like a boy from his mother where he is and how. (Osattomien oikaisu, 1983, p.3-4).

The theme continues in the following excerpt where the writer acknowledges and challenges the unequal role of women in a society that had just bypassed the verge of modernization. The writer pinpoints the blame on the conservative attitudes in the society. The writer's social analysis resembles the results of Leena Koski (2000, p.30–32). The parents of the punk girls were taught in school books that the girl is a small, weak and feeble, and needs nourishing in the private sphere. The boy was taught to be the strong (social) fighter in the public who brings sanctuary.

This is of course just a part of subordination of women where women are bound to the kitchen and children. We are demanded orgasms, femininity, attractiveness and who knows what shit. We can't talk about any kind of equality as long as women are paid less for the same job, as long as a woman can be fired because of pregnancy. The reason for inequality is the old attitudes that WOMEN teach their children and accept. Girls should be nice and weak, boys are allowed larger wildness and freedom. (Ihana Raato 1982:1, p. 15.).

The fanzines with stronger female viewpoints include also discussion and stands on feminism, solidarity between women and the women's movement. The different fanzines don't have a unified stance on the subject but when tackling it, the fanzines tend to emphasis a strong independent woman and mock, criticize or be skeptical about collective efforts.

To be born as a woman is a privilege on our brief time on Earth. Feminists complain how they are mistreated but real women keep men under their heels. (Madame Punk 1979:1, p. 27.).

One can say that feminism sells good. So, what? I've been asked to evaluate persons I highly appreciate from a feminist perspective. And that I won't do. The amusing thing is that everyone wants to see things from the perspective of women, and then you need to leave out THOSE WOMEN, whose perspective is DIFFERENT. Of course, you wonder why this magazine is still promoted as feminist-stalinist and will continue to do so. Well, the fact is that otherwise this magazine wouldn't sell. Who would buy a magazine made by WOMEN – no one – at least not before we began to call this a feminist publication. (Fani 1981:30, p. 5).

The fanzines shed also light on female musicianship. The fanzines include mentions of female rockers who never recorded or made only cassette recordings that have gone missing – maybe forever. It is also unclear what kind of music they made and whether it was punk, new wave, rock or something completely else. In addition, the fanzines made by girls include several fictional all-female bands in the form of novels, reviews and even interviews. On the pages of *Madame Punk* one can follow the antics of *Hieromasauvat* ("The Dildos"), which is the most widespread of the fictional bands as it pops up several times in the three issues of *Madame Punk*. In a largely autobiographical but over-exaggerated story set in Helsinki, the maker of *Madame Punk* tags "*Hieromasauvat*" on the seat of a bus, which is a clue that the band lived in the group's social life outside of the fanzine. All in all, the several fictional all female bands indicate that the idea of a band was in the minds of the female fanzinisters.

6.3 Fanzine questionnaires

The 45 fanzine makers' questionnaires include both female and male respondents. In the analysis four main categories emerged: The scarcity of girls, the absolute lack of girl participants, the absolute equality of girls in the community and girl contributors in the fanzine. The last category refers to girls who write and draw in the fanzines but were not linchpins for the zines. In the category mentioned first, the respondents acknowledged the rarity of girls as fanzine makers. The nine mentions of absolutely no girls tell the same story – the lack of girls in the fanzine scene. The differing experiences of female presence in the scene may derive from the fact that the Finnish scenes were scattered around the country in smaller scenes – and groups – that could evade encountering each other. According to Stacy Thompson (2004, p.78), the post-1970s punk scenes on a global scale have been constructed in a homosocial fashion. In other words, the scenes have been dominated by the same gender (males, the exception being riot grrrl). In other words, the absolute lack of female participants in some of the local Finnish punk scenes – or groups – is plausible. The large number of fanzines made only by boys reinforces this interpretation.

The other as absolute answer was the one-word statements saying the fanzine community was equal in relation to gender. One could argue that these answers might also be explained by the heterogeneity of the punk scenes. In other words, in some scenes the gender relations were equal and in others not. However, as the following discussion about the number of girls who were part of the scene as the audience and facilitators of activities demonstrates, the number of active girls does not correspond to the portion of girls involved in the punk scene and thus it is implausible to suggest that the role of girls was equal to the boys. In other words, the respondent's experience of equality in the fanzine scene does not correspond with what happened in the scene. The paper will get back on the subject later.

6.4. E-mail correspondence

According to seven of the nine girl participants of the scene interviewed by e-mail, there were more boys than girls involved in the punk scene. Two answerers described the gender distribution as half and half. The correspondents described the role of girls as bystanders.

The punk girls I knew took part mostly in organizing shows for example via live music organizations. Maybe selling of badges and records was left to girls as the girlfriends. (F1966_Q8:2).

In the small municipality I lived in, girls' role was to be the audience or fanzine subscribers. (F1964_Q5:2.).

Still, when asked directly, the respondents did *not* experience gender as a hindrance to become active in the punk scene. Furthermore, answerers perceived punk as an emancipatory force in relation to gender and gender roles.

Yes – when punk resigned itself from old stereotypes, for example religious. (F1952_Q1:8.).

Punk was very liberating. The female artists (Patti Smith, Nina Hagen, Graze Jones) didn't follow the traditional female image. In addition, they made their own songs / played instruments in bands. (F1963_Q4:3.).

6.5 Interpretation: Equality, experienced equality and individual emancipation

There seems to be an inconsistency between the girl's experience of emancipatory qualities ascribed to punk and their default bystander status in the scene. As mentioned above, the girl participants did *not* perceive their gender as an obstruction to become active in the scene. Nevertheless, most of the girls in the punk scene did not pick-up an instrument or start a fanzine – unlike hundreds of boys. In addition, as previously stated, the fanzinists who

took a stand on the gender-relations in the scene perceived the role of girls as absolutely equal. In this chapter, some clues on the subject are discussed to understand the equality experience of the girls.

First of all, the bystander role of girls was described as natural occurrence. In other words, the position was taken for granted as “the way it is and has always been”.

It was the boys' world, but we were still in. (F1962_Q3:5.).

I have tinkered some badges and tried to sell zines, but girls didn't fit in the creator group. Miniskirt was an everyday outfit and we had to annoy by-passers a little on our way to the gigs by guys. (F1965_Q7:1.).

A respondent summarizes the equality experience of the girls: “It was equality of that time.” (F1965_Q6:9.) In this response lies the key to understand the experience of the punk girls. Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (2002, p.216–219) describe how the mods and the hippies of the 1960s and 1970s reproduced the mainstream values of society. While punk in Great Britain introduced new roles for women in popular music, punk as music inherited the masculine contemporary world of rock music (Chambers, 1985, p.179). The same happened in the late 1970s Finland, the equality of the punk scene was not broader than the general norms and values of the mainstream society. Three respondents described the thought of a female musician as impossible for the times mentalities.

For a girl to ask money for an electric guitar was close to the same as ask parents for a shotgun because they want to start shooting as a hobby. (F1963_Q4:6.).

I didn't even imagine myself playing in a band. (F1965_Q7:3.).

They didn't put us down so much as girls. But they never offered the guitar to us. I had played seven years of violin and could play an acoustic guitar as well. I never even got to touch an electric guitar. Oh yeah, the bass I got to try: D (F1965_Q7:3.).

In addition, being punk was considered as more stigmatizing for females than males. According to Dick Hebdige (1979), the punk style of the 1970s was created intentionally to shock and differentiate its carrier from the mainstream society. The style challenged the normative rules of the contemporary western world. According to the doctoral dissertation of Janne Poikolainen (2015, p.212–213), the youth of 1960s–1970s used popular music and its phenomenons such as style to differentiate themselves from the previous generations. In other words, popular music was part of the intergenerational conflict. According to Poikolainen, a

Finnish female rock fan during the 1970s faced stronger disapproval than males. Two respondents described how girls restricted themselves from punk and active roles in the scene out of a fear for social sanctioning.

Thus if a girl took the punk route, she got very far from the mainstream. [--] I know a case where a musically talented girl studying to become a teacher was asked to become a vocalist in the late 1970s but she didn't dare because she was afraid for her future working positions and the relative's response – exclusion. (F1952_Q1:3.).

I think that the girls' small amount of participation was because they still lived at home. After all, Finland so backwards that it took a while before things started to happen. The idea must have been in many girls head for a while. Later in the 1980s they moved to study/work to larger places, which opened doors to all directions. I myself got to play in a band when I "got" [as in the chance or the permission] to move to Helsinki. I also started to assist another punk fanzine and draw comics. But this was in the 80s. (F1963_Q4:4.).

Therefore, it was the general society and its gender-bound expectations that drove girls both out of participating in the punk scene and the active roles the scene offered. In other words, the punk scene(s) reproduced the gender roles and thus inequalities of the wider society. Since the informants had not experienced the punk scene to be *more* unequal than the general society, when confronted with the question of the girls' role in the punk scene, their experience of the scene was one of equality.

Nevertheless, the punk subculture carried with it a message of emancipation to girls, but it was an individual one that did not manifest itself in the punk scene(s) as new or different roles for girls. However, the 1970s fanzines criticized norms in the wider society and include the idea of an independent, strong and emancipated woman but opposed to collective efforts, conformism and organized interest groups. Therefore, the punk girl emancipated via an individual and inner process with long-lasting effects.

[Growing up] in a small industrial town I was 'bound to be' a working-class wife: a hubby from the factory, a few toddlers and a flower-patterned dress. The freedom to look like I want has given me strength to face gazes and I continue shaking up expectations related to my gender. Maybe from this derives the fact that I want to be myself and not part of a uniform mass in every instance. A woman can be a woman without a hundred lipsticks in her pursue. A small feminist sits on my shoulder and pogoes devilishly :) (F1966_Q8_8.).

7. Conclusion

The information about the makers of the punk records and fanzines tell a clear story. Only a tiny minority of girls participated as active scene members in the 'first wave of punk' in Finland. Only five Finnish girls were present as musicians on punk records between 1977 and 1982. Among the over 200 fanzines that started between 1977 and 1982, 14 fanzines were started by girls, and a maximum of few dozen girls assisted the over two hundred fanzines started by boys. The fanzines made by girls hint about non-publishing female artists who might have played punk. The girl participant's responses indicate that the dream was unfulfilled because of deeply embedded social norms of the society that ruled out rock musicianship from girls by restrictive social norms that were enforced both by their peers and the older generation. The girl participant's responses suggest that girls were more active in the punk fanzines than bands because the acts of writing and drawing suited better the gender role ascribed to girls.

In the fanzines, punk girls addressed the subordinated position of women and criticized the gender roles and relations in the contemporary society. The girl participant's responses second this interpretation by acknowledging the punk subcultures emancipatory message. One can summarize the fanzine writings and responses of punk girls by stating that punk's emancipatory potency was individual (as opposed to a collective movement) and lead to self-consciousness and psychologically "rising above" the inequalities apparent in the society. Nevertheless, the Finnish 1970s punk scene(s) reproduced the norms of the wider society and thus drove girls both out of participating in the punk scene and the its focal roles. Of course, it is therefore possible to suggest that girls were not unequal in the scene but partook differently than boys. However, the fictional female bands that appear in the female-lead fanzines indicate that some girls did desire to play in a band. Ultimately the unbalanced gender roles were experienced so natural and deeply embedded parts of the society that when confronted with the question of the girls' role in the fanzine scene, the respondents offered their experience of the events, which was one of equality. The informants did not experience the punk scene to be *more* unequal than the general society, or to differ (in relation to gender) from the general society.

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