# Girly Boys and Boyish Girls: Gender Roles in Rock and Roll Music

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Abstract: Though gender has been a common theme of analysis in the Rock and Roll music industry, little is known on how the nature of the music industry itself contributes and perpetuates these stereotypical gender expectations. Due to this, this article explores and proves that Rock and roll is not as rebellious and open to all counterculture as it portrays itself to be. Instead, it pushes the artists within its genre into stereotypical gender roles that restrict the music and expression of the artists. For example, men are pushed into masculine roles that emphasize aggressiveness, strength, and loudness; Women, on the other hand, are pushed into the stereotype of the traditional feminine, as they are pushed to emphasize submissiveness, quietness, seductiveness and domesticity. The music industry forces its artists into gender roles due to the industry's self-consciousness about its sense of masculinity. This self-conscious nature of the rock and roll music industry shows the true rock stars are the androgynous ones, as they actually embody all the rock music industry pretends to: a true sense of rebellion and freedom from traditional society.

Rock and roll has long been thought to greatly and positively influence traditional societal norms and expectations. Rock and Roll was a genre created by the people as it was the spontaneous combination of various other types of music such as blues, gospel, jazz, folk, and many others. Due to this grassroots creation of rock and roll, the genre has developed its own very unique culture and values they define themselves by. This influence is ultimately due to its inherently rebellious nature and culture of question-asking and self-expression. However, this particularly optimistic view of the genre may in fact be an illusion. Rock and roll not only continues to exist in accordance with these traditional societal ideas, but in fact, plays a significant role in further contributing to the

perpetuation of these normative stereotypes specifically in the realm of gender and gender expression. The gender stereotypes prevalent in the rock and roll music in America and Great Britain not only restrict musicians of both genders to particular performance styles and types of music, but are also especially exclusionary towards women and those who identify with the feminine. Though these terms such as masculine and feminine are used quite commonly, it is important to define them so not to confuse their various connotations. Masculine in this context implies the traditional stereotype that "masculine" traits should be held exclusively by men. These qualities include being loud, aggressive, rebellious and strong. Feminine on the other hand by these standards society holds, are desirable qualities for a woman to have, such as: being submissive, nurturing, patient, and emotional. Although in the last fifty years feminine musicians have made great strides toward gaining access to the music industry, rock and roll still tends to hold more masculine connotations. There are many reasons why rock and roll has chosen the masculine expression of sexuality, however the basic root of this preference of masculinity over femininity is a preference towards the various traits associated with each gender; for example, freedom and rebellion are often looked at as "masculine" terms, while dependency and submission are more commonly associated with femininity. Due to this, rock and roll's general characteristics push the musicians into traditional masculine or feminine stereotyping, demonstrating that rock and roll reflects contradictory ideals and consequently still acts in accordance with the same social norms the genre is supposedly rebelling against.

#### The Nature of Rock Music

Rock music is completely unique in how it is both exclusionary towards women in its nature as well as oppressive to men. Rock music dictates how men ought to perform by ultimately controlling the sound level of their music; if men want to retain their masculinity and sense of power, they must adhere to playing at loud volumes. There are several reasons behind why rock and roll music is so extremely masculine, many of which are described by Mary Ann Clawson in her article,

"Masculinity and Skill Acquisition in the Adolescence Rock Band." In this article, Clawson examines the aspects of rock music's nature that make the genre so unwelcoming to the feminine; most of these aspects revolve around a central idea of power. The feminine in our society is expected to be submissive and quiet around males and masculinity, and due to this, there is a gap between the feminine and loud music. This sense of power manifests itself in the control of sound space, therefore playing one's music so loud that it affects all those listening. As Clawson describes, "Playing rock music is by definition an act of aural-spatial domination, the production of sound so loud there is literally no room for anything else to be heard" (Clawson 108). As this quote brings to light, rock music is a way in which to project power through music. Though many women can perform rock music as well as many men, this quote supports the idea that it is not a matter of talent but more a conflict over power, something that the feminine has been denied access to throughout history. Thus, rock music reinforces traditional gender stereotypes by perpetuating the idea that women are inferior and powerless. Lisa Rhodes explains this further in her book, Electric Ladyland: Women and Rock Culture. She states, "Performing music at a loud volume means different things to women than it does to men. As women we are (usually) told all our lives in subtle and not so subtle ways to be quiet in public..." (Rhodes xiv). This quote shows the core feature of rock music that perpetuates the tradition that loudness and power are not for women according to our cultural stereotypes. Performing on center stage is completely in conflict with society's expectations of women being submissive to men, and thus, this is intimidating and unacceptable. Men claim the realm of loudness in order to assert their masculinity and sense of power. This control over one's volume is an assertion of power as the musician is in direct control over the sound level of their music, instead of having to rely on a sound crew at a gig. This allows the musicians to have power over their music and how deeply it penetrates the mind and space of those present. Stereotypically, women are not allowed to have such immediate access to power, and instead are regaled to parts of rock music that depend on men

to monitor their sound. For example, women most commonly enter roles as singers. In this case, the singer is directly dependent upon the men of the sound crew to project the music, reflecting acceptable gender norms of our society.

Another major characteristic of rock and roll music is a sense of rebellion, which contributes to the exclusion of women from the genre and the push for musicians to perform within their gender stereotypes. The feminine is considered to symbolize everything that ties down the hero rock star: social norms and domesticity. Ever since the early days of rock and roll, rebellion against mainstream culture and the feminine has been a strong theme in rock music, as shown by Elvis Presley, Led Zeppelin, the Sex Pistols, and so on. Many believe that rebellion is such an important part of the genre rock music is a way for teenagers to develop their identity through music. Since it is mainly male teenagers who participate in rock at that age, these boys are developing their sense of masculinity and using the inherent masculinity of rock and roll to quell their self-doubts about their own growing sense of masculinity. This sense of masculinity can become a problem for accepting the feminine into the genre, as the feminine is considered the antithesis of masculinity due to its connection with domesticity and a stationary home life. Reynolds and Press describe this phenomenon more in depth in their book, The Sex Revolts: Gender, Rebellion and Rock'N'Roll, by explaining that "the rebel's main grievance is that a particular patriarchal system doesn't let his virility flourish freely, but instead offers a life of mediocrity. He languishes as a cog in the machine, while dreaming of a life fit for heroes" (Reynolds and Press 3). This is the root of the rock musician's rebellion against popular culture, and by association, women and the feminine construct: modern society binds them to a life of tedious monogamy, while these men dream of a life in which they have no boundaries and no constraints. This is another issue of power, as men feel as though they have lost their manhood to a society that has taken all major choices away from them. Men feel as though they have become less masculine, as our society depicts the masculine man as a 'hero' who

cannot be tamed and lives a free and rebellious life. As the quote states however, the stereotypical man "languishes as a cog in a machine," thus showing feelings of helplessness, a lack of control, and therefore a loss of the sense of masculinity (Reynolds and Press 3). It is due to this fear of losing one's sense of masculinity that the music industry strikes with such force against all things feminine. They strike out of a self-conscious fear that they are considered lesser men if they are not as overtly masculine as possible. Rock music is one way to demonstrate and prove one's sense of masculinity.

Rock music's continual rebellion against the feminine and mothers in particular, is due to a cultural idea that blames women for society's ills because of their connection with popular culture and domesticity. This theory, called "Momism," demonstrates how women are blamed for social problems such as increases in deviance, crime, single parenting, and trashy entertainment, in conjunction with a decline of morality in America. Women are blamed most of all for being overbearing and controlling to the men in their lives, providing a concept for male rock musicians to rebel against. Some believe this leads back to issues with one's own mother, as many rock artists represent ideas of simultaneously feeling smothered by the love from their mother that pushes them towards a rebellious freedom and a desire to maintain that maternal bond and connection to the womb. In The Sex Revolts, the authors attempt to explain this, as they state, "male rebellion is a re-enactment of the primal break that constitutes the male ego: the separation of infant from the maternal realm, the exile from paradise" (Reynolds and Press 2). According to this idea, males inherently seek freedom as early as possible from their mother, something that many times they later regret, as shown by the "exile from paradise" aspect of the above quote (Reynolds and Press 2). This feeling of chaffing against a mother's love is something described in another article, "The Monstrous Feminine", as the author shows the representations of negative side of the womb. She states, in "Christian art, hell was sometimes represented as a putrid womb and place of torture" (Creed 30) . This representation of hell as a womb, and therefore a place of torture, shows the extent to which the idea that the smothering mother is a thing to escape has permeated our society. It is from this idea that men feel the need to escape and be smothered, or forced into the matriarchy machine of domesticity. It is this idea and portrayal of women as the enemy that forces men to rebel against women in the rock music industry. It is much of a "you are either with us or against us argument," in which men must subconsciously continue this sexist tradition in order to be accepted into the rock and roll world.

#### **Rock Journalism's Treatment of Masculine and Feminine Artists**

As already discussed, the very nature or inherent characteristics are restrictive of the musicians by forcing them to perform within the confines of gender stereotypes. However this does not end at the nature of rock, but continues into the realm of rock journalism. There are several different ways in which journalists deal with feminine and masculine musicians that contribute to their restriction from certain practices and types of music. Although both genders are affected, the realm of rock journalism deals with both sexes in different ways. For example, rock journalism limits male expression as it holds all men to the ideal of hyper masculinity, and then derides men who are not hyper masculine; also, it revokes the musical consecration of any man who exhibits any traditional feminine qualities by deeming him weak and a part of the mainstream society. Although the journalists and rock and roll media are restrictive to both men and women, women face a greater amount of prejudice and misrepresentation from the media than their male counterparts do. On the other hand, women are dealt with by continuing an atmosphere of chauvinism and masculinity. This chauvinism is something perpetuated by the journalists as they write about female musicians in six main ways according to an article by Helen Davies, "All Rock and Roll is Homosocial: the Representation of Women in the British Rock Music Press": ignore them completely; always treat women musicians as a novelty; group all females into one homogenous group; insult female musicians as women, not musicians;

describe successful females as versions of a male; and focus on their appearances (Davies 302-305). Perhaps due to these actions, or in addition to them, rock journalists also create an atmosphere that is embarrassing for women to participate in. As Auslander describes in "I Wanna Be Your Man: Suzi Quatro's Musical Androgyny", in Rock and Roll, "sexual expression is characterised by a startling, matter-of-fact adolescent chauvinism. For a woman to participate in such an overtly masculine subculture is often seen as embarrassing from a gender-political standpoint" (Auslander 5). The chauvinist nature of rock is something that is embarrassing to women due to the roles it so obviously casts them in if they want to succeed, something few women want to put themselves through. Thus, this is one of the many ways rock journalists affect the initial participation and later self-expression of women in rock.

Two important ways in which women are addressed by music journalists that influences how they express themselves are ignoring them completely and continually treating them as novelties .. Though this seems like a fairly innocent way to exclude women, as nothing offensive is being said, this is just as detrimental to the cause of allowing women to become a larger part of the music industry, as it disavows the history of female music. Due to the journalists' ignoring of female musicians, they are endlessly perceived as novelties in the music world, as there is no written record of past female musicians and the evolution of their work. Due to this, female musicians never receive the same appraisal and are instead featured as a novelty piece, as opposed to actual male musicians. Mary Ann Clawson explains this with a quotation from Mim Udovich stating, "'In rock, as in life, what is male continues to be perceived as known, normal and natural, whereas what is female is taken to be a mystery in need of explication" (Clawson 99). By this quote, Clawson implies that the very fact that an artist is male immediately offers him the use of the full heritage of music to spring board off of, while a woman cannot even be considered in the same ranks of those male musicians, thus impeding her ability to use previous musical innovations. Since women have no sense of a musical history that they are considered as

Udovich states above, "a mystery in need of explication", and hence a continual novelty that takes away from their actual musical talent (Clawson 99).

Another tactic employed by the music media is to focus overtly on female artists' physical attractiveness instead of their music; thus devaluing the talent of the female performers and giving power to the male journalists. This continued focus of the media upon the appearance of a female performer perpetuates the idea that the clothing and attractiveness of women are more important than their musical ability. As stated above, women and the feminine are considered an oddity in the rock and roll world, something which Railton describes as she relates this idea to how the feminine body is portrayed by rock journalists. She states, "Women who make successful pop music are a source of fascination, and their music and performance are likened to prostitution, while their bodies are described as grotesque" (Railton 327). Though this quote describes pop music, pop and rock and roll music have become linked in recent years, due to rock's decreasingly rebellious behavior, as well as how rock and roll music is now a part of mainstream music. This quote also helps to better illustrate the power games being played by the male rock journalists who feel the need to belittle female musical achievements in order to assert their sense of masculinity and power. If a woman becomes successful in the world of rock and roll, the predominately male journalists not only employ some of the techniques stated in the above paragraphs, but also describe the woman as a "grotesque" oddity, proving that apparently the gravest insult one can give to a woman is one which calls her ugly. This point again shows how American and British culture often only see women as useful for their sex appeal. According to this mindset, without sex appeal a woman is useless. This idea is better explained by the article "The Gendered Carnival of Pop, which states, "In a world of sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll, women's role was to provide the sex" (Railton 323). Thus, in rock and roll, women are supposedly only useful as sex objects, nothing more. They can have no contribution to the rock and roll music aspect.

The rock journalists did not just limit and devalue the music and expression of female artists, they also deeply affect how men act and perform. The focus upon all things masculine has pushed men into expressing themselves in the traditional masculine ideology of having, "competitiveness, restricted experience and expression of emotions, toughness or aggression, self-sufficiency, non-relational sexual attitudes ('being a stud'), homophobia, power and status seeking, and the rejection of femininity in men" (Laver 437). These characteristics are what our society has deemed inherently masculine, and due to that, the rock culture has picked them up and deemed them the proper characteristics of a rock star. The case of Darren, a singer and musician in the band, Kylzer Sozer, particularly exemplifies the external forces upon male rockers that push them towards a hyper-masculine rock star model. Darren had a common theme in his lyrics of discussing feelings and relationships, something that is firmly placed by our society in the realm of the feminine, as shown by how men are supposed to have "restricted ... expression of emotions" (Laver 37). Due to this, Darren was frequently made fun of by his fellow bandmates in what Darren described as a "slightly homophobic and judgmental manner," as they could not understand why Darren wanted to write songs about such feminine topics as sexuality and emotions (Frith, Straw, Street 228). By wanting to express his emotions and reflect upon his experiences and life, Darren was violating the gender code that only allows women to be sensitive enough to have such self-reflective thoughts. The divide this caused in the band itself shows the dichotomy of how the rock and roll industry respects creativity expression, but also limits its artists to conform to pre-established gender casts. As explained by Frith, Straw, Street, Darren and his band "were encouraged to be 'different' but at the same time to conform to familiar gender types, recognizable nichemarkets and tried and tested promotional strategies" (Frith, Straw, Street 239). Darren and his band, if they wanted to succeed in the rock industry then faced a choice: conform into the preset stereotypes that the public is comfortable with, or let the creativity run free and perform

in an ambiguous masculine and feminine no-mans-land. Therefore the hyper-masculine stereotypes imposed upon the artists not only forced them to conform into "recognizable niche-markets", but also limited their creative expression in a genre that is famous for having no boundaries (Frith, Straw, Street 239).

## **Artists in Compliance with Gender Stereotypes**

There are many musicians who acted and performed their music in compliance with society and the music industry's gender expectations, and one example of this was Ronnie Spector. Ronnie Spector expressed herself by being as overtly sexual as possible and designed her look for the gaze of heterosexual men. One author, Donna Gaines, discusses Spector's clothing choices and how they affected her rock star image in her article, "Let's Talk about Sex". In this article, Spector is quoted as saying, "I thought the higher my dress went and the more guys were having orgasms, the better it was. And I was right!" (Gaines 2). This quote shows how Spector chose to be as overtly feminine as possible, and ensure that no one forgot about her sexuality. Though Spector made a concerted effort to be provocative, the fact that she believed she needed to broadcast her sexuality in a provocative way in order to be successful shows how the music industry spring-boarded off of traditional gender stereotypes and into the unconscious minds of the artists. This is also the case in a popular song called "I'm a Woman," recorded by Peggy Lee in 1962. It also shows how women are confined to expressing themselves and dressing in a certain way, as analysis of the song states, "Although ...[the] song is assertive in its own way, it requires the female singer to present herself as a male fantasy of womanhood, simultaneously breathtakingly seductive and completely domestic" (Auslander 9). Thus this is the ideal role for women in the music industry: to be both seductive and domestic. Acting outside of this role will cause the artist to not be considered authentic, as our traditional social roles tell us that is what an authentic woman is. The quote even shows how restrictive this is, as it uses the word "requires," thus showing the influence of the music industry upon its artists if they want to be successful.

Led Zeppelin also exemplifies how artists act when in compliance with the traditional masculine and feminine rock stereotypes. Robert Plant, the lead singer, chose to express himself in the most overtly masculine way possible, and due to this, is the embodiment of the male rock star ideal. Robert Plant acts in the traditional masculine way, as he exudes a heterosexual sense of sexuality during his performances. Plant is known for assuming the typical hypermasculine mode, as he stands "legs apart, straight and firmly grounded, bare chest, pelvis jutting outward and right hand raised, bent at the elbow, finger pointed, a gesture that underscores his confident pose, the raised and pointed finger especially stressing the importance... of what he has to say" (Fast 276). This pose embodies all the characteristics of a masculine rocker: latent power, overt sexuality, aggression, and power. This stance shows Page asserting his dominance and sexuality, something done in order to ensure no one questions his masculinity. Due to Page's compliance with and celebration of the gender roles of the rock industry as a masculine artist, this places him firmly into the realm of powerful masculine icon. By acting out the characteristics the rock industry obviously pushed the men towards, Page has shed his humanness, and become a rock god, who towers over all the humans who come to watch him strut and display the great source of his power: his penis and therefore masculinity.

## **Gender Bending and the Real Rock Stars**

Although it is the hypermasculine musicians who are considered the epitome of the perfect rock star, the true rock stars are those who defy gender boundaries and participate in 'gender bending.' These gender benders are the ones actually following the neglected ideals of the rock and roll culture: they live outside of the mainstream culture, and rebel against anything that wants to restrict freedom. This takes great courage to live without regard to society's norms, especially due to the societal condemnation all gender benders will at first experience. As Frith, Straw, Street quoted in her article, "Real men don't wear make up,", exemplifies the culture in which musicians reject artists who do not fit gender molds (Frith, Straw, Street 237). In addition to this, this

also shows how our culture assumes feminine things, such as makeup, are distinctly nonmasculine, and instead treated like a form of weakness to show any feminine traits. Due to gender benders' independence and free expression, they are the true rock stars, as they rebel against gender stereotypes that restrict one's music into gender appropriate forms and therefore, one's freedom.

Though from a first look, one might consider that the act of gender bending devalues one's sense of connection with their natural sex; however this is not the case, as the audience never forgets the biological sex of the artist. The act of gender bending actually enhances their display of sexuality, something that rock and roll artists aspire to, as it draws more attention to it. As Auslander describes in "I Wanna Be Your Man: Suzi Quatro's Musical Androgyny", when Suzi Quatro, a female cock-rocker, performs, "her body and voice, socially encoded as feminine, convey songs and gestures culturally encoded as masculine. Neither signification absorbs or negates the other "rather, they form an unstable compound whose own internal tensions open up other possibilities for signification (Auslander 9). As this quote explains, because Quatro's gender is complex, her feminine sexuality is enhanced because it becomes a construct the audience cannot quite understand, as it is outside of their comfort zones of gender boundaries. The fact that she is a woman acting as a stereotypical man not only does not absorb a masculine identity, but also opens Quatro up to more personal freedom, and "possibilities for signification."

Due to their exclusion from rock music due to the industry pushing women to perform in gender stereotype appropriate ways, many of the women that broke into the industry had to find creative and different ways to express their feminine sexuality. Though every performer dealt with this in a different way, there are major patterns that can be seen. For example, one way many women chose to express their sexuality is by dressing androgynously and playing with traditional gender roles. An example of this is Annie Lennox, as described by Sheila Whiteley in her book, Women and Popular Music: Sexuality, Identity

and Subjectivity. Lennox went in this direction to assert the masculine side of her sexuality and tap into the male music world. Whiteley states, "As a women conventionally defined by her body, her [Lennox] wearing of the male suit masked her femininity but, rather than constituting a denial of her identity, it was an assertion of autonomy" (Whiteley 125). As the quote above shows, Lennox's choice to dress like a man allowed her to take control of her public persona, and be judged on her music and talent, creating an "assertion of autonomy," instead of her being judged only for her body. Lennox's expression of her sexuality in a masculine way demonstrates how Lennox empowered herself by not submitting to the rules of sexism in society by allowing the media to judge her predominately upon her attractiveness before her talent. By then dressing as a male, this gave her power, and changed the dynamic in which journalists only regarded female musicians in a sexual way. Lennox stated how her choice of androgyny gave her power as she said in She Bop, "Being in a middle place that's neither overtly male nor overtly female makes you threatening, it gives you power" (O'Brien 241).

One does not have to be as glitter-covered or outgoing as Annie Lennox or David Bowie to be considered a gender bender, however. Anyone whose identity does not conform to the traditional gender stereotypes, as well as rebels against these molds and influences others to reconsider their gender identity can be considered a gender bender. Due to this distinction, Roy Orbison is a gender bender although his appearance and performance style are very tame and conservative in comparison to other gender benders. Roy Orbison was the epitome of a non-conventional rock star, as he was the opposite of all the characteristics the rock industry pushed upon men. Orbison was connected to his feelings and these were the predominate themes in his songs. Also, Orbison was pale, heavy, double-chinned, and exuded an overall feeling of frailty. As Laver stated, "In his almost spectral frailty, Orbison's body is anathema to the phallic vigour and virility of the rock and roll ideal" (Laver 438). Orbison's appearance and frailty was considered distinctively non-masculine, and due to this, Orbison

struggled to achieve popular acceptance for his music, since it did not obviously fit into either category of masculine of feminine. Due to this, Orbison was critically neglected for many years, and only in the later years of his life did he gain recognition for his work. In addition to this, Orbison's voice also did not fit the stereotypical angry, aggressive voice of many male rock singers, and therefore only pushed him further into obscurity. Orbison often incorporated a falsetto, something usually reserved strictly for women due to its necessity for control and practice, (i.e. something that cannot be self-taught and therefore is not counterculture) (Laver 438). The combination of all these non-masculine components contributed to Orbison's ignored status for many years. Despite this, however, Orbison had the ability to influence others to break out of their usual gender role specific actions. For example, Bruce Springsteen, 'The Boss,' a muscular, working-class man who often is seen as the embodiment of American values and manliness, was changed by Orbison's presence. Laver explains in his article "Gender, genius and rock and roll in 'Roy Orbison and Friends: A Black and White Night,'" that "star power and phallic 'self-assertiveness, aggressiveness, and competitiveness' of the other musicians is almost entirely mitigated by Orbison's presence" (Laver 443). This was shown at an all-star collaboration with Springsteen, Orbison, and others. Despite the allstar power and dynamic performance style of Springsteen, while on stage he was submissive, waiting for cues, and casting glances often at Orbison for direction (Laver 443). This shows that rock and roll reflects contradictory values for two reasons. First, rock and roll is based on the assumption that power and masculinity are inextricably linked, and that without a strong sense of masculinity, one cannot have access to power. Orbison proves this wrong, as even though Orbison is the least masculine, all the other musicians defer to his guidance and authority. Second, male rock stars do not inherently possess these themes of aggression, rebellion, hyper-sexuality as a part of their personality. These performers only employ these characteristics in order to better fit into the molds of the rock and roll industry. Thus, the actions of the masculine

rock stars are not organic, but faked in order to be better accepted into the rock world.

Though rock and roll portrays itself as the forever rebel and a counterculture from which one can escape the confines of society's expectations, this is a false image. Rock does not actually practice what it preaches. Instead, rock and roll demonstrates conflicting values in which it perpetuates the gender stereotypes of conventional society, and pushes its artists to perform in gender-appropriate ways that exclude women. It is easy to conclude from this gender exclusivity that rock is something negative due to how it actively excludes women through the use of gender roles. The larger problem with the rock and roll industry's gender stereotyping is that it is almost completely done in a subconscious way. Men in the rock music industry are not choosing to exclude women, they are merely following the lead of those around them. Even the journalists in rock, who seem like the main culprits in the continuation of this trend, act only as they see others act around them; as a result, we are stuck in a vicious cycle of antiquated ideas on gender. This shows how deeply these gender stereotypes go into the mindsets of both men and women, and is a useful area to study so one can better understand the music industry. By understanding the forces upon the singers and musicians, we can better understand and connect to their music. As rock is inherent in nearly every part of our society, it is a tremendous social force and has the power to enact great change. Though women have come far in the realm of gender equality in both larger society and rock and roll, the fact that these stereotypes are still so prevalent shows the amount of growth our society still needs.

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