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## Ever Fallen In Love (With Someone You Shouldn't Have?): Punk, Politics and Same-Sex Passion

David Wilkinson

**Abstract:** This article critically examines existing queer theoretical takes on punk and same-sex passion, highlighting the politically troubling implications of retrospectively romanticising punk's transgressions. Drawing on a range of examples including the fashion designs of Vivienne Westwood and Malcolm McLaren, the punk subcultural nucleus of the Bromley Contingent and the work of the Buzzcocks, it argues that a new approach is needed: one that provides an accurate historical portrayal of the complex and varied relations between British punk, sexual politics and identities and the conjuncture of the late 1970s. Such analysis makes possible an assessment of the ways in which these relations might inform crucial issues faced by LGBTQ people and countercultural forces in the present. What resources of hope might punk offer, and how might we learn from its missteps and dead ends, which, to be fair, are always easier to see in hindsight?

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The 2013 festival of the LGBT arts and social justice organisation Homotopia, held in Liverpool, featured an exhibition entitled 'England's Erotic Dream/Germ Free Adolescents'. It consisted of a selection of archival photographs of British punk in London, upon which its curator had 'focuse[d] a queer gaze'. Pleasingly described as an 'unapologetically homosexual exhibition on British punk', it made an important contribution to highlighting the under-historicised role of sexual and gender dissidence in the movement. The contextualising panels, though, were marked by various difficulties. In them, the specificity of the photographs was largely elided in favour of queer theoretical interpretations concerned with 'binaries' and 'failure', with a casual inattention to historical detail; for example, the band X-Ray Spex was said to have existed within the context of 'Thatcher's Britain', but had broken up by 1979. Punk approaches to sexuality, meanwhile, were celebrated as 'transgressive', 'deviant' and 'parodic', though not, interestingly, as liberating. Furthermore, there was no mention of the disturbing crossover of same-sex passion with the far right in certain strains of punk that were documented by the photographs on display.

I found that the exhibition set in motion a train of thought about the influence of queer theory beyond the institutional setting of academia on LGBT subculture more broadly.<sup>1</sup> Whilst accepting that the meanings and implications of intellectual work can change according to the context in which

they are received, I want to understand what part this intellectual production in and of itself has played in giving rise to the problems of the exhibition noted above, and what alternatives might be possible to such situations.

Here, then, I consider existing queer theoretical approaches to punk in order to show that the limitations of such takes render them not simply inadequate and problematic in terms of their influence on LGBT subcultural production, but curiously similar to some of the most negative political consequences of certain ways of living and framing same-sex passion within punk itself.<sup>2</sup> A cultural materialist approach offers different possibilities. In particular, I am sympathetic to the strategy proposed by Alan Sinfield as one way for left intellectuals working on cultural production to 'make themselves useful' at a time when a neoliberal alliance of class interests has overturned many of the gains of the postwar settlement and severely weakened organised working class opposition. This is the suggestion that our efforts should 'work with and through [...] a subcultural constituency'.<sup>3</sup> In the long run, such an approach cannot be a substitute for a counter-hegemonic strategy rooted in class politics. However we negotiate that daunting terrain though, cultural and political engagement with those who are in some way marginalised by the dominant would seem to be an important and complementary task. I therefore wish to instigate a more conscious subcultural dialogue on the question of punk and same-sex passion than the example I began with, and one that avoids its pitfalls.

I aim to achieve two things: first, an accurate historical characterisation of punk approaches to same-sex passion, given the ahistoricism of queer accounts and the fact that the issue has so far only been addressed sporadically elsewhere;<sup>4</sup> second, a consideration of the ways in which those approaches might inform crucial issues faced by LGBTQ people and countercultural forces within the present conjuncture. What resources of hope might punk offer, and how might we learn from its missteps and dead ends, which, to be fair, are always easier to see in hindsight?

## No Future: Punk and Queer Theory

Despite the decidedly queer beginnings of British punk,<sup>5</sup> the first wave of cultural studies scholarship on the movement<sup>6</sup> was fairly quiet on the question of distinctively 'punk' approaches to same-sex passion.<sup>7</sup> Even in the 1990s, with the concurrent rise of queer theory and a further wave of published academic work on subcultures and popular music, the work of Mark Sinker was a rare example of sustained attention to the issue.<sup>8</sup> Sinker's idiosyncratic and provocative reading of punk through the anti-relational turn in US queer

theory was, it seems, an early example of the terms in which subsequent discussions of punk and queerness would be framed. This anti-relational or antisocial turn can be summarised as a theory of sex, especially gay sex, as 'anti-communitarian' and 'self-shattering', bound to the death drive and supposedly dissident in its connection of pleasure with 'selfishness', irresolution and 'destructive power'.<sup>9</sup> Its roots are in psychoanalytic and poststructuralist thought on the one hand and a particular canon of queer literary production, including figures such as Jean Genet and Marcel Proust, on the other. Key exponents include Leo Bersani and Lee Edelman. As I later conclude, there are historical reasons why there may be a resonance in the connections made between punk and anti-relational theory by writers such as J. Jack Halberstam and Tavia Nyong'o. Nevertheless, there are two main difficulties with these often strained equations between the specific moment of punk in Britain, and the very different context of a body of intellectual work first popularised within US academia from the 1990s onwards.

The first difficulty is one of method. The running together of punk with the work of writers such as Bersani and Edelman is one more example of a persistent tendency within certain formations of cultural studies that reduces the 'complex historicity' of formations and their cultural production to 'the status of mere evidence' for particular theoretical positions.<sup>10</sup> Nyong'o, writing for *Radical History Review*, clearly feels some pressure to justify the decision to analyse punk as being in some ways representative of anti-relational theory. Yet the passing claim that both punk and anti-relational theory 'originate' in 'the 1970s' is somewhat tenuous.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Halberstam's argument, even simple historical details matter little: the Sex Pistols' 'God Save The Queen' is described as their 'debut song'<sup>12</sup> (it was their second single, released six months after 'Anarchy in the UK' and the infamous Bill Grundy incident which catapulted both the band and the punk movement into the media spotlight). Here I am reminded of comparable historical inaccuracies in the example of the Homotopia exhibition with which I began. The second difficulty is the political consequence of such an approach: once punk is separated from rooted judgement through failure to locate it within a particular conjuncture, its politics can be celebrated as uniformly positive. Halberstam approvingly describes the Sex Pistols' 'God Save the Queen' as constituting a 'politics of no future', asserting that the song rejects 'the ideological system which [...] takes meaning away from [...] the queer'.<sup>13</sup> Nyong'o, meanwhile, shares with Halberstam the belief that punks 'and other anti-social types' share a queer 'bad attitude'.<sup>14</sup> Halberstam's straightforward association of punk with an oppositional queer politics is in stark contrast to some of the movement's more troubling articulations of same-sex passion. It is ironic, then, that the final chapter of *The Queer Art of Failure* is an investigation into the historical

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crossover of same-sex passion and Nazism in which Halberstam states that 'we have to be prepared to be unsettled by the politically problematic connections that history throws our way', yet which misses precisely such 'problematic connections' in punk.<sup>15</sup>

The problem here is actually more serious than an uncritical stance on punk's sexual politics. Despite their gestural radicalism, the politics of queer anti-relational theory are incompatible with any project of leftist transformation, including liberation at the level of sexuality and gender. Edelman's understanding of futurity as purely heteronormative and conservative is not only blinkered, but also leads him into the argument that queers should embrace their ideological positioning as representative of the death drive, of negativity, nonsense and limit.<sup>16</sup> Whilst Halberstam is rightly doubtful of Edelman's claims to stand outside politics altogether, this does not lead to a rejection of his terms. Instead, Edelman's work is folded into Halberstam's aim of 'a more explicitly political framing of the antisocial project'.<sup>17</sup> Leftist politics, however, are constitutively dependent on both alternative conceptions of the future and some kind of meaningful intervention in the world. Similarly, whilst it may be the case that the future of humanity is dependent upon the reproduction of the species, reproduction need not be a hegemonic expectation. Nor must it necessarily be a heteronormative pursuit, as shown by the theories and living experiments of gay and women's liberationists in the 1970s and the less utopian, sometimes incorporated but potentially prefigurative development of 'families of choice' since that moment.<sup>18</sup>

It's important to reflect on how such an abstracted, unsustainable political position actually manifests itself in anti-relational theory. The somewhat tame rhetorical gestures toward transgression in the tone of Edelman and Halberstam seem to be an important component: Edelman, for example, writes 'fuck the social order [...] fuck Laws [...] fuck the whole network of Symbolic relations',<sup>19</sup> begging the question of whether to bother taking his argument seriously, whilst Halberstam loosely sketches 'a truly political negativity' which would 'fail [...] make a mess [...] fuck shit up [...] shock'.<sup>20</sup> These formulations recall Alan Sinfield's questioning of such an approach as far back as 1998 in his critique of Bersani's *Homos*: 'Transgression', he writes, 'is always in danger of being limited by that which it transgresses'. Sinfield characterises transgression as an 'individualist [...] romantic gesture', recommending instead a project of 'shared subcultural work' to which I am sympathetic, as I indicated earlier.<sup>21</sup> Sinfield also makes the obvious but necessary point that an 'anti-relational' position is a myth: as social animals existing within a material environment, it is impossible that any of our actions, experiences and feelings could not in some sense be relational.<sup>22</sup> We could go further and identify one source of this

myth in the powerful hegemonic hold of US liberal individualism within which anti-relational queer theory is usually produced.

As this point indicates, there are determining pressures on the theory and politics of queer studies, anti-relational and otherwise, which I do not have the space to explore fully here, though it seems to me that such a sustained investigation is long overdue. Halberstam's advocacy of the word 'failure' to characterise the cultural politics pursued in *The Queer Art of Failure*, however, is telling of one of the most significant of these dimly acknowledged pressures: that of the large-scale defeat of the left as political force and significant counter-hegemony since the 1970s, leading to an embattled and pessimistic discourse of 'resistance' still unbroken by the biggest economic crisis in eighty years, and the incorporation of gay and women's liberation by way of consumerist subcultural development and a heteronormative focus on gay marriage.

Nyong'o gives signs of being more conscious of such matters in his observation that 'in the early twenty-first century [...] the possibility of socialist revolution appears to be off the table, to put it mildly' and that 'we' – presumably a reference to queer theorists – 'seem to succumb very easily to a disorienting left melancholy that attempts to substitute a radical critical negativity for the absence of a robust radical politics'.<sup>23</sup> Yet Nyong'o's insistence on a celebratory elision of punk and a particular theoretical inflection of queerness is, like Halberstam's, suggestive of Todd Gitlin's claim that much cultural studies scholarship has exaggerated the radical potential of popular culture as a compensatory move in response to the declining fortunes of the left.<sup>24</sup> It is this combination of 'radical critical negativity' and false optimism that seems to be partly responsible for the positive stress which the 'England's Erotic Dream' exhibition placed on transgression at the expense of liberation, and its inattention to the political problems of certain punk approaches to same-sex passion. To summarise then, such an approach is unconducive to a balanced, reasoned and historicist assessment of punk and same-sex passion. Just as Matthew Worley has argued that punk was resistant to dominant and lasting definition and ownership by political forces on the right or the left,<sup>25</sup> so its sexual politics were complex and varied. It is to those various approaches and their conjuncture that I now turn.

### Liberation, Disillusion and 'Terrorist Chic'

As established by Jon Savage's still exemplary history of early British punk, *England's Dreaming*, the duo of Malcolm McLaren and Vivienne Westwood were, if not the originators, the undoubted catalysts for the movement in Britain. Their activities would therefore seem a good place to begin. To understand the

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pair's take on same-sex passion, it is necessary to situate it within their broader take on sexuality.

In the first half of the 1970s, McLaren and Westwood's Kings Road shop in Chelsea existed within the ambit of the cultural formation identified by style journalist Peter York as 'Them'. Savage notes that the 'Them' were 'too young to benefit from the full sixties explosion but old enough, by 1976, to have established themselves as London's leading artistic/bohemian circle'.<sup>26</sup> York characterised the sensibility of this formation as a reaction against the mass consumerist dissemination of 'Applied Art' influenced by twentieth-century modernism and of US culture into British popular culture. This process had its roots in the expansion and changing curriculum of British art schools in the 1950s and '60s.<sup>27</sup> An elitist breakaway formation with no patience for the 'boring mainstream trendiness' of 'James Taylor' and 'knotty pine', the 'Them' merged Pop Art's enthusiasm for pastiche, Americana and 'trash' ('Euro and arty became démodé and middlebrow') with the ironic distancing of camp. Developing a proto-postmodernist style, which York dubbed 'Art Necro', the 'Them' began to supplant their disdained predecessors as 'their quick-change revivalism [...] became very big business around the turn of [the 1970s], when [...] people were looking for something *silly* to take their minds off depressing things'.<sup>28</sup>

York's emphasis on the word 'silly' suggests the overall frivolity of 'Them'. This was a sensibility that served them well in market terms, as an anxious embrace of hedonistic escapism took hold in response to early signs of the collapse of postwar consensus. It was, however, 'apolitical'<sup>29</sup> and 'jaded' with regard to 'odd sex'.<sup>30</sup> Politics and sex were the two pressure points upon which McLaren and Westwood leaned to effect their own break, swimming with the tide of increasing polarisation as the decade progressed, economic crisis sharpened and dislocation set in. Savage notes, for example, that 'their interest in fifties clothes had nothing to do with fun or camp' and argues that 'in their different ways, Westwood and McLaren were politicised: this gave them a *moral* purpose in their approach to clothes'.<sup>31</sup>

But theirs was an idiosyncratic, peculiarly hybrid kind of politics, especially in relation to sexuality. McLaren and Westwood clearly had a nose for hypocrisy, recognising the mass market incorporation of the 'sexual revolution' of the 1960s, and the 'real dynamics of desire [...] and repression which were being "fudged" by this "window dressing"'.<sup>32</sup> Their response drew from a variety of sources. One such was McLaren's bohemian habitus. This began with a strong childhood relationship with his eccentric grandmother and continued through his involvement in Soho nightlife, travels in France and a series of uncompleted art school courses in reaction against the career-focused expectations of a middle-class upbringing. From this came the



long-held bohemian understanding of sexuality as an instinctive, irrational force capable of disrupting social norms once unanchored from the private sphere,<sup>33</sup> resurgent once more in the counterculture of the 1960s. Thus the pair's shop was renamed Sex in 1975, and its stock began to include the kind of fetish wear usually only available by mail order, with the tongue-in-cheek slogan 'rubberwear for the office'.<sup>34</sup> T-shirts attempted to go one further, with designs including an image from a paedophile magazine and a picture of the mask worn by a serial rapist from Cambridge who was then still unconvicted and active. Similarly, the re-use of subcultural styles of the past as one resource for expressing this understanding of sex (such as the associations of biker gear with 'sexuality, violence and death'<sup>35</sup>) may well have been driven less by the Pop Art pastiche of 'Them' than by the belief that 'bohemia is always yesterday', a nostalgic impulse for authenticity arising from the founding contradiction which continually re-animates the bohemian myth, that of the role of art in industrialised capitalist society.<sup>36</sup>

It is this contradiction, too, which produces the love-hate relationship between bohemia and the wider bourgeoisie of which it is often a class fraction.<sup>37</sup> McLaren and Westwood's tempestuous relationship, and their personalities, are microcosmic metaphors on this score. Each combined elements of the bourgeois – their restless entrepreneurialism and Westwood's Calvinist work ethic rooted in her petit-bourgeois background – with the bohemian – McLaren's erratic lifestyle and their shared desire to shock. In an *NME* interview after the shop was raided by police, Westwood claimed: 'I'm trying to de-mystify these silly taboos [...] you don't make people think unless you upset them emotionally.'<sup>38</sup> For all such talk (and there was a lot of it from both of them), not to mention McLaren's past involvements with explicitly politicised manifestations of the counterculture such as the Situationist-inspired King Mob group, their conflicted stances meant that the designs they produced were often squarely within the terms of the conservative orthodoxies they provoked. Indeed, Savage shrewdly observes the parallel between Westwood's 'moral authority' and class background and the ascendancy of Margaret Thatcher, opining that 'they are mirror images of the same national archetype'.<sup>39</sup>

McLaren and Westwood shared an understanding of sexuality as a waywardly disruptive force with significant fractions of the liberation movements that had sprung up and overlapped with the counterculture from the late 1960s; Elizabeth Wilson, a key participant in gay and women's liberation, even quotes the same entry from the diary of playwright Joe Orton to encapsulate this attitude, as Savage does in relation to the name of McLaren and Westwood's shop: 'Yes. Sex is the only way to infuriate them. Much more fucking and they'll be screaming hysterics in next to no time.'<sup>40</sup> The conviction that this force could



be harnessed for transformative political purposes marked the point at which the pair diverged. The Gay Liberation Front in Britain, for instance, produced in its short lifetime a bewildering and still captivating range of theory and praxis which merged libertarian attitudes to sexuality with feminism, a critique of the nuclear family and a humanistic, often radical socialist collectivism.<sup>41</sup> Not for nothing was the movement's paper named after the Beatles' 'Come Together'. As previous mention of Sex clothing designs indicates, McLaren and Westwood had no such normative stance. On a visit to the shop in 1977, York was told by Westwood that the clothing implied 'commitment', upon which he drily commented 'commitment to *what* is less clear'.<sup>42</sup> Commitment to transgression could well have been the response: rather than consciously alternative or oppositional values, the designs deliberately inhabited dominant understandings of unsanctioned sexuality as perverse, sordid and violent in order to provoke a reaction. Furthermore, though the pair had broken with 'Them', a shift symbolised by a violent and confrontational early Sex Pistols gig at the loft party of artist Andrew Logan in February 1976, a residual affectlessness carried over from that formation in the particular images and styles selected in order to shock. Referring back to the performance, Nick Kent evoked the 'air of heavy-duty ennui', feeling that the Sex crowd's 'aesthetic gang warfare' was as 'sexless and desperate' as the formation it opposed.<sup>43</sup>

This was an approach to sexuality that was at once inchoate, not consciously ideological and highly emotively charged, presenting difficulties for analysis. The concept of 'structure of feeling', understood as a means of explaining the social determinations of that which is usually mystified as implicit, subjective and felt,<sup>44</sup> and grasping the development and implications of cultural trends at moments during which they have not fully taken shape,<sup>45</sup> is useful here. Westwood and McLaren's approach exemplified a mood that York was on to, characterising it as 'leisure nightmares' and tracing it back through the fashion world's flirtations with terrorism, sado-masochism and fascism earlier in the 1970s.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, York also referred to the thesis of US academic Michael Selzer, who named this structure of feeling 'terrorist chic' and characterised it as 'a fascinated approval of violence' which 'apotheosises meaninglessness'.<sup>47</sup> Via a series of case studies that included punk and gay sado-masochist clubs, Selzer argued that one determining factor in the development of 'terrorist chic' was the focus within the counterculture on new experiences combined with pushing boundaries. After a time, and in a less idealistic conjuncture, such impulses had taken increasingly extreme and amoral forms in their attempts to achieve novel kinds of sensuous stimulation. Importantly, however, even these forms struggled to connect within the alienating environment of consumer society, often resulting in cynical detachment and nihilism. Selzer's judgement of the phenomenon was conservative, but his analysis had a degree

of accuracy. Savage notes that the 'overt sexuality' of Sex designs 'became an abstraction of sex', referring to a 'distinctly unsettling' shirt that featured a cut-out photograph of a pair of breasts at chest height. Attributing a polemical intent to the designs, Savage views them as a comment on 'industrialised sex districts like Soho, where, by the mid-1970s, the great promises of liberation had been honed down into a series of stock postures'.<sup>48</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain what McLaren and Westwood viewed as the alternative to what David Alderson, adapting the work of Herbert Marcuse, has theorised as 'repressive incitement': a provocation of sexual awareness and desire which commodifies, fetishises and alienates sexuality in the pursuit of profit.<sup>49</sup> What is clear is that it was within the approach to sexuality that I have so far described that McLaren and Westwood situated same-sex passion. Thus designs might feature the 'fervid lesbian fantasies'<sup>50</sup> of Scottish writer Alexander Trocchi, whose work and activities bridged 1950s bohemia and 1960s counterculture. One of the most well-known Sex designs, meanwhile, brought together transgression, affectlessness and intimations of violence: two men in cowboy outfits, minus the trousers, face each other outside a dance hall. One is grabbing the other by the lapels and their penises are almost touching. As Savage observes, their genitals are at the same height as one cowboy's pistol in its holster. The caption reads: 'ello Joe, been anywhere lately? Nah, its all played aht Bill, gettin to (*sic*) straight.' Through its explicit depiction of two semi-naked men, the image aimed to shock. Simultaneously there is a hint of 'terrorist chic' in the forceful gesture, the elision of pistol and penis and the debt to gay pornographic artist Tom of Finland, whose illustrations featured eroticised images of Nazis. Yet the image also conveys a jaded artifice, an absence of connection, in the cowboys' weariness with the scene, the fact that they are actually Cockneys dressed up as cowboys and the small but all-important gap between cocks.

Given this positioning of same-sex passion as alienated, perverse and violent, it is unsurprising that McLaren and Westwood not only seemed to have little interest in the radically transformative aims of gay liberation, but were also prone to homophobic gestures that were calculated to shock in their contempt of even reformist demands for respect, understanding and openness. Westwood's response to her belief that Derek Jarman's punk film *Jubilee* had misrepresented the movement was to produce a rambling 'open letter' on both sides of a t-shirt. It claimed that the costumes had 'something to do with a gay (which you are) boy's love of dressing up [...] ("does he have a cock between his legs or doesn't he" kinda thing)' and compared the film to 'watching a gay boy jerk off through the titillation of his masochistic tremblings. You pointed your nose in the right direction then you wanked'. McLaren plays the predatory homosexual stereotype for comic effect in the Sex Pistols film *The Great Rock*

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'n' *Roll Swindle*, and the pair's attitudes transferred unevenly to their protégés: at a gig in Texas, John Lydon wore the cowboys t-shirt whilst Sid Vicious heckled the crowd by shouting 'you cowboys are all a bunch of fucking faggots!'<sup>51</sup> Jordan, the imperious and startlingly dressed shop assistant at Sex who played the character of Amyl Nitrate in *Jubilee*, was once interviewed by Julie Burchill for the *NME*. Discussing Jarman's milieu and her attitude to gay subculture, Jordan claimed to have 'hated' Jarman's film *Sebastiane*, saying 'it was full of prancing, whining queens'. A diatribe against '*Gay News* readers and all that lot' followed: 'they're so precious [...] so *weak* [...] the ones who don't need to mention it I don't dislike.'<sup>52</sup>

As I suggested earlier, McLaren and Westwood's approach to sexuality was closely bound to the historical conjuncture of late 1970s Britain, and would not have provoked a broader response had this not been the case. As resentful structures of feeling began to surface in response to economic crisis, amplified and given reactionary shape by a newly vociferous tabloid media,<sup>53</sup> so the progressive advances of the 1960s and early 1970s were homogenised and demonised by the ascendant New Right as a corrupting, destabilising 'permissiveness'. Same-sex relations were no exception: even before the downfall of Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe and Mary Whitehouse's successful legal campaign against *Gay News*, the 1975 documentary *Johnny Go Home*, which implicitly associated homosexuality with paedophilia,<sup>54</sup> provoked a media furore that engulfed Alan Jones, a young gay shop assistant at Sex. Arrested by plain-clothes policemen for wearing the cowboys t-shirt in public, Jones was prosecuted and the arrest reported on the front page of *The Guardian*.<sup>55</sup> In what amounted to a dress rehearsal for the Bill Grundy incident just over a year later, McLaren and Westwood achieved the publicity they sought. As with the intensification of McLaren's manipulation of the Sex Pistols once the band became headline news, his response to Jones's arrest was accompanied by a level of self-interest which betrayed a certain cynicism regarding shock tactics: Jones claims that McLaren promised 'a really good lawyer [...] What happened? Fuck all'.<sup>56</sup>

## Early Punk Subculture in London: The Bromley Contingent

Despite the somewhat sceptical account I have offered so far, the presence of queer imagery in McLaren and Westwood's designs was undoubtedly a central factor in the coalescence of what *Melody Maker* journalist Caroline Coon dubbed 'the Bromley Contingent' as the original nucleus of punk subculture.<sup>57</sup> For this collection of largely teenage sexual dissidents, mainly originating from the middle-class southeast London suburb, the nascent formation later

codified as punk offered a classic metropolitan escape route, irrespective of Westwood and McLaren's questionable commitment to gay politics.

Punk also offered an emergent form of subcultural belonging for a new generation of sexual dissidents at a moment of backlash, when the initial impetus and publicity of gay liberation had declined and its countercultural links had weakened as reformist identity politics came to predominate over the radical concerns of the movement's early years. The Bromley Contingent, it should be noted, set the precedent for the frequent regional germination of punk subculture on the gay scene. In Manchester punks congregated in the Ranch, the basement of a club belonging to drag queen entertainer Frank Foo Foo Lammar, a boxer and son of an Ancoats rag-and-bone man.<sup>58</sup> Jayne Casey of Big in Japan recalls that 'in Liverpool you went to gay clubs like the Bear's Paw'<sup>59</sup> and Marc Almond, later of Soft Cell, noted the crossover during his punk years at Leeds Polytechnic.<sup>60</sup> Even in far-flung Norwich, gay club the Jacquard was adopted by punks.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, the Bromley Contingent's introduction of the Sex Pistols to the gay scene influenced the early portrayal of punk in the weekly music press, the most powerful cultural intermediary when it came to defining and representing punk.<sup>62</sup> A camp gossip column in the *NME* written under the pseudonym 'Velda', for example, reported John Lydon's attendance at London gay club the Sombrero and his involvement in preventing a robbery – 'such a *plucky* act, don't you think?'<sup>63</sup> – and featured an interview with Jordan in which she claimed obliquely of Lydon: 'He doesn't have actual girlfriends.'<sup>64</sup> Though the press would later collude with the masculinised, heterosexist and sometimes blatantly homophobic turn of certain punk bands,<sup>65</sup> such early articles may well have been influential on the fostering of subcultural connections.

There was an affinity, though, with the activities of McLaren and Westwood at various levels, including fashion. The pair had drawn inspiration for their designs from the grassroots innovations of those young people, including the Bromley Contingent, who frequented the Kings Road, pioneering new subcultural styles of their own. There were also resonances that would lead to more awkward consequences. The predominantly middle-class background of the Bromley Contingent meant that there was often a shared residual bohemianism as regards same-sex passion: Bertie Marshall, who renamed himself 'Berlin' aged 16 in 1976, opined of a homophobic assault he suffered that 'it wasn't queer bashing, it was freak bashing'.<sup>66</sup> Prior to punk, the Contingent had been fans of the art school glam associated with 'Them', including Roxy Music and David Bowie. Savage noted in 1980 that the model of same-sex passion that Bowie had introduced into British pop slotted into the broader images of decline in his 1970s output, which chimed with the breakup of postwar consensus: 'The puritan hangover still bit; homosexuality had to be perceived

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as part of some greater decadence [...] if it's all ending, anything goes.<sup>67</sup> There was a shared fascination amongst the group for the film *Cabaret*, and Marshall mythologises the Contingent's early days by comparing them with Isherwood's *Goodbye to Berlin*.<sup>68</sup> As in McLaren and Westwood's designs, then, same-sex passion was both one component of a broader transgressive sensibility and loosely conceived within the bounds of conservative ideology. There was a comparable attraction to publicity too, bound to the same New Right dynamic: members of the Bromley Contingent appeared on the front page of the *Daily Mail* on 19 October 1976 under the headline 'These People Are the Wreckers of Civilisation' after they attended the opening of performance art group COUM Transmissions' (later to become post-punk industrial act Throbbing Gristle) 'Prostitution' exhibition at the ICA. The exhibition included framed pages taken from pornographic magazines and used tampons, and the scandal it provoked led to the Arts Council withdrawing support for COUM.<sup>69</sup>

The structure of feeling known as 'terrorist chic' was also present. There may well be occasional creativity with the truth in Marshall's memoir *Berlin Bromley*, evoking Elizabeth Wilson's emphasis on a kind of mythologising performance of everyday life as a central component of bohemia.<sup>70</sup> However, its overall depiction of Marshall's milieu and experiences seems largely believable and accurate, and is corroborated by the recollections of others. There is a gleeful element of teenage rebellion in the anecdotes recounted, such as the occasion when Susan Ballion, later Siouxsie Sioux, posed as a dominatrix and Marshall as a dog on a lead, causing havoc in a fashionable Bromley wine bar by refusing to leave until a bowl of water was provided. Yet the power relations played out here hinted at a darker undertow, as various members of the Contingent, including Marshall, became romantically involved at a young age with a lifestyle of prostitution and drug abuse. Marshall also experienced a string of exploitative relationships and encounters, the most extreme of which was a sado-masochistic threesome which led to his being raped.<sup>71</sup> The affectless distance present in Westwood and McLaren's clothing designs, and which separated them from what was depicted, appeared at first glance to have been dramatically closed by the Bromley Contingent. Savage claims that 'the women and men that Vivienne collected acted out their wildest fantasies [...] they became part of the Sex Pistols and gave punk its Warholian edge'.<sup>72</sup> But there was something unnerving about the character of these fantasies, both in the risks they entailed and the fact that, though there was nothing sexless about experiences such as Marshall's, a callous, violent and amoral affectlessness continued to permeate them. It was one that frequently spilled over into other kinds of relations too, as in Marshall's claim that, inspired by Pier Paolo Pasolini's film *Salo*, he shat in the grocery cupboard of neighbours

described as 'a crip and his God-fearing Aussie nurse' who had attempted to report Marshall and his flatmate to the police for prostitution.<sup>73</sup>

The structure of feeling was perhaps most clearly visible at the level of cultural production in Siouxsie and the Banshees' 'Carcass'. The song depicts a protagonist who, in his desire for 'raw love', butchers his objects of desire and hangs them in 'cold storage'. Its chorus ('be a carcass [...] be limblessly in love') neatly encapsulates the transgressive violence and alienation that characterised certain of the Bromley Contingent's socio-sexual relations, including instances of same-sex passion. Meanwhile, the song's tongue-in-cheek humour – in a reference to the food company Heinz, the victim is referred to as the '58th variety' – generates an affectless distancing. Paul Morley's generally positive account of *The Scream*, the LP on which 'Carcass' featured, nevertheless worried that 'there is a twisted passion but no compassion'.<sup>74</sup>

Another way in which this want of compassion expressed itself was in the exclusivity of the Bromley Contingent. Siouxsie Sioux recalls that 'it was a club for misfits [...] no one was criticised for their sexual preferences'.<sup>75</sup> The inclusiveness of the latter statement, however, belies the earlier use of the word 'club'. Same-sex passion was often lived through this elitism. Some, like Marshall, adopted an identity that passed the test with its references to Genet, Isherwood and Warhol.<sup>76</sup> Others, such as Phillip Sallon, were considered to be 'screaming' and 'unbearable'.<sup>77</sup> It is also telling that Polari was spoken amongst the milieu. Rather than its connotations of a solidarity developed in response to oppression, it was the slang's potential for exclusion and its historical use to criticise others without them knowing<sup>78</sup> that appealed. A residual bohemianism was evident in both instances: in the case of Phillip Sallon, I am reminded of Pierre Bourdieu's argument that competition over cultural capital is often especially fierce amongst those avant-garde cultural producers with whom bohemia is associated.<sup>79</sup> As regards Polari, the opposition to populism often generated by a romantic suspicion of the mass market can be detected in Marshall's description of those who began to frequent the Soho lesbian club Louise's once punk became popular, not only as 'cattle' and 'riff-raff', but also as 'naffs'.<sup>80</sup>

Like McLaren and Westwood's approach to sexuality, the Bromley Contingent's framing of same-sex passion at the level of desires, identity and subcultural belonging had implications that went beyond their milieu. In the late 1970s, the fascist National Front experienced a growth in popularity through racist scapegoating for the economic and social dislocation of Britain. It was in this context that same-sex passion was being lived in transgressive, exclusive and often compassionless ways. Alan Sinfield has argued that whilst our political alignments may be at odds with the character of our sexual desires, we must nevertheless accept that such desires are determined



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by social forces. Contra to attempts such as those of Foucault to distance practices like sado-masochism from direct social and political resonances, it is important to recognise continuities between desires, interpersonal relations and the unequal and exploitative power relations of the dominant.<sup>81</sup> Thus the fact that Marshall's response to Pasolini's *Salo* was not to share in the film's understanding and critique of the links between fascism and libertinism but to shit in the cornflakes of someone he held in contempt takes on an even more worrying aspect. And so Marshall's memoir romanticises, more than any other of his encounters, his relationship with Martin, a 19-year-old 'bloke' who had been in a youth detention centre, passed through the Navy and was a member of the National Front. For Marshall, Martin was 'pure Jean Genet'.<sup>82</sup> This flirtatious referencing of the historical crossover of fascism and same-sex passion extended to members of the Bromley Contingent wearing swastika armbands at Louise's against the wishes of the DJ, a Jewish lesbian.<sup>83</sup>

### Parallel and Subsequent Developments

Reassuringly, the punk scene recognised and auto-critiqued such leanings almost immediately. Jon Savage's *London's Outrage* fanzine featured cut-ups from Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and worried that 'the English have always been great ones for emotional and physical S&M – now we are as weak as so many kittens, nationally, the bully-boy sex-power of Nazism/fascism is very attractive'.<sup>84</sup> By 1978, Rock Against Racism, set up by members of the Socialist Workers Party partly in response to Bromley Contingent hero David Bowie's 1976 claim that Britain might benefit from a fascist leader, had become one of the key infrastructural supports in the regional dissemination of punk.<sup>85</sup> Especially during 1978 and 1979, its influence shaped the ideological character of punk and post-punk, and RAR's concerns tended to extend beyond racism to encompass issues of gender and sexuality, reflecting the cumulative effect of the new social movements on the left. Telford's *Guttersnipe* fanzine, facilitated by local RAR activists, earnestly featured an interview with a lesbian aimed at furthering understanding amongst its largely teenage readership,<sup>86</sup> whilst RAR's official fanzine *Temporary Hoarding* promoted gay protest singer Tom Robinson and included fascist persecution of gay people in its nightmare scenario of a Britain ruled by the NF: 'If we're gay we're locked away [...] sexual orthodoxy, patriotic ditties on the radio, mashed potato for tea.'<sup>87</sup>

In Manchester, punk's second city, forms of same-sex passion took on a very different character from those of London even before the increase in momentum of RAR. This was due in large part to Pete Shelley of the Buzzcocks, whose activities and cultural production showed a strong residual connection



with the methods, preoccupations and institutions of gay liberation. Shelley was born in the Lancashire mining and cotton town of Leigh, where Coal Board clerk Alan Horsfall had established the North Western Committee for Homosexual Law Reform (later the Campaign for Homosexual Equality) in 1964.<sup>88</sup> Shelley himself had been involved with gay and women's liberation whilst studying at Bolton Institute of Technology in the mid 1970s.<sup>89</sup> He gave an interview with *Gay News* in 1977 and openly discussed his bisexuality in the music press.<sup>90</sup> Echoing the emphasis of liberation politics on pride, he wore a badge which declared 'I Like Boys' for the Buzzcocks' first *Top of the Pops* appearance the following year.<sup>91</sup> The early scepticism of gay liberation regarding clear-cut sexual identity, and the desire of its more radical elements to 'change the sexuality of everyone, not just homosexuals',<sup>92</sup> may well have played a part in Shelley's repeated emphasis that the lyrics of Buzzcocks songs were deliberately non-gender specific in an attempt to maximise their potential for empathetic response. Shelley's own fanzine, *Plaything*, was concerned with 'personal politics', one of the hallmarks of gay liberation and of the libertarian left in general. It argued that punk or 'new wave' was 'not just about music' but 'a challenge to consider everything you do, think or feel [...] the way you react to the people around you. The ways that you love them, fuck them, hate them, slate them'.<sup>93</sup> Manchester's key post-punk fanzine *City Fun*, run from the office of the New Hormones record label set up by Buzzcocks' manager Richard Boon, featured adverts for Manchester Gay Centre and national advice line, Friend. It displayed the influence of both gay liberation's irreverent countercultural style and Shelley's witty and heartfelt interrogations of desire and romance in articles such as 'The Joys of Oppression – By Mouth or by Rectum'.<sup>94</sup>

Despite this distinctively Mancunian take on punk and same-sex passion, and the success of RAR and related movements such as Rock Against Sexism in claiming the movement as broadly progressive for a time, the fascist flirtations first explored by the Bromley Contingent persisted and developed more concretely in isolated pockets of the fall-out from punk. By the early 1980s a consciously fascist sub-genre of punk had crystallised that had direct links to the National Front and was led by Blackpool band Skrewdriver. It later transpired that the band's roadie Nicky Crane, a skinhead with a series of convictions for racist violence, had been leading a double life on London's gay scene and working as a doorman for a sado-masochist club.

## Conclusion

As I indicated earlier, the weakness of queer theorists' treatment of punk and same-sex passion so far is not simply a question of historical amnesia. It is also to do with the way in which that historical amnesia allows for the celebratory backwards projection of a naive 'anti-relational' sexual politics of transgression and negativity onto punk. If we consider the differing components of punk as a broad movement explored here, it is the approaches of McLaren and Westwood and the Bromley Contingent that would seem to resonate closest with such a politics. The emphasis of each on transgression rather than oppositional alternatives matches the focus on negation and the rejection of futurity in the anti-relational perspective. It is not just the ideological features of the positions of McLaren and Westwood and the Bromley Contingent that might be seen, at a push, as pre-emergent instances of the anti-relational, but the broader structure of feeling which characterised them. Halberstam artificially separates out the 'affective' character of queer negativity into 'ennui' and 'ironic distancing' on the one hand and 'rage', 'spite' and 'intensity' on the other,<sup>95</sup> though it could be said that the 'terrorist chic' which marked the designs of Sex and the activities of the Bromley Contingent united both such tendencies in its dialectical interplay between affectlessness and the fetishising of violence.

Rather than fetishising punk in turn as an instance of queer anti-relational politics, a gratifyingly romantic move which risks unwitting political endorsement of some unsavoury historical positions, it is worth concluding by considering briefly what queer and countercultural subcultures might learn from punk in the contemporary conjuncture. Despite the ahistoricism of Nyong'o and Halberstam with regard to punk and sexuality, both acknowledge the pressures of the present on their arguments, Nyong'o in the previously quoted claim that a revolutionary left currently seems untenable and Halberstam in the location of a 'politics of negativity' in opposition to 'a US imperialist project of hope'.<sup>96</sup> This latter might be less myopically framed as the dominant tendency of neoliberalism in the States, Britain and most of Europe to have dealt with recent systemic crisis economically via what David Harvey presciently identified as a project of 'recapitalisation' and the further consolidation of ruling class power through the socialisation of financial sector losses in the form of brutal cuts to public expenditure.<sup>97</sup> Ideologically this has translated, at least for the moment, into a renewed hegemonic claim on the future by the neoliberal, socially conservative right after a brief crisis of legitimacy in the years immediately following 2008. In Britain this tendency has recently made itself felt in the ability of the UK Independence Party to appeal

to both disaffected Labour and Conservative voters, performing reasonably well in local elections and frighteningly successfully in European elections.

In this context, it would be not simply irresponsible but also fatal for queers and countercultural forces to abandon the notion of a future which might also be won by a reconfigured left (such as the hopeful successes of Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain), or to flirt with transgressive, aggressive and alienated structures of feeling which tend to fetishise unequal power relations. This risks the consolidation of both the scapegoating appeals to bigotry currently being made by the right with ever greater intensity and a residually persistent postmodern cynicism regarding the possibility of progressive change. I am unavoidably reminded of the gay smartphone app Grindr, dominantly populated by professed 'tops' and 'bottoms' and the supposed innocence of a consumer preference for Caucasians, the sensibility topped off by a mixture of aggressive negation – 'no x, y and z' – and a listless cynicism: 'no agenda', 'not interested in [...]' and 'nothing serious' are all common phrases.

Instead, we might look not to the 'anti-relational', but to the productive, collectivist and potentially counter-hegemonic connections made between punk, queer subculture and populist political movements like RAR for inspiration regarding the fostering of comparable links in the present. The continued focus on some form of transformative sexual liberation in certain quarters of punk, inherited from an earlier countercultural utopianism, is likewise a salutary feature of the movement in an era in which notions of sexual freedom are now colonised by the market. Like Pete Shelley's Buzzcocks, I am still 'nostalgic for an age to come'.

## Acknowledgement

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## Notes

- 1 'Subculture' is understood as a collective though not homogenous social identification between those who have found themselves in some way at odds with the dominant culture. The ways of life and cultural production of subcultures may be oppositional, in the terminology of Raymond Williams, but this is not guaranteed – they may simply be alternative or, as Alan Sinfield puts it, 'ways of coping'. See Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Postwar Britain*, 3rd edition (London: Continuum, 2004), 175 and Raymond

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- Williams, 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', in *Culture and Materialism: Selected Essays* (London: Verso, 2005), 41–2.
- 2 The term is Sinfield's and is used to avoid the historically specific and identity-based connotations of 'gay' or 'homosexual' – see Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century* (London: Cassell, 1994).
  - 3 Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture*, xxxv–xxxvi.
  - 4 Two useful accounts are Jon Savage, *England's Dreaming: Sex Pistols and Punk Rock*, 2nd edition (London: Faber and Faber, 2005) and Lucy Robinson, *Gay Men and the Left in Postwar Britain: How the Personal Got Political* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
  - 5 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 183.
  - 6 See, for example, Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979); Dave Laing, *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985); Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art Into Pop* (London: Methuen, 1987); and Angela McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
  - 7 Though I use the profoundly multi-accentual term 'queer' as an umbrella term for various lived instances of sexual and gender dissidence, I concentrate here on same-sex passion in order to focus the argument within a limited space. There is no doubt, however, that punk entailed a far greater range of sexual and gender dissidence, as well as anxious and exaggerated re-assertions of heteronormative positions.
  - 8 Mark Sinker, 'Concrete, So as to Self-destruct: The Etiquette of Punk, its Habits, Rules, Values and Dilemmas', in *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, ed. Roger Sabin (London: Routledge, 1999), 120–40.
  - 9 J. Jack Halberstam, 'The Anti-Social Turn In Queer Studies', *Graduate Journal of Social Science* 5, no. 2 (2008), 140.
  - 10 John Higgins, *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism* (London: Routledge, 1999), 162–5.
  - 11 Tavia Nyong'o, 'Do You Want Queer Theory (Or Do You Want the Truth?) Intersections of Punk and Queer in the 1970s', *Radical History Review* 100 (2008), 106.
  - 12 J. Jack Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 107.
  - 13 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 107.
  - 14 Nyong'o, 'Do You Want Queer Theory?', 115.
  - 15 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 171.
  - 16 Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
  - 17 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 106–7.
  - 18 Jeffrey Weeks, Brian Heaphy and Catherine Donovan, *Same Sex Intimacies: Families of Choice and Other Life Experiments* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2004).
  - 19 Edelman, *No Future*, 29.
  - 20 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 110.
  - 21 Alan Sinfield, *Gay and After* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1998), 141–2.
  - 22 Sinfield, *Gay and After*, 141.
  - 23 Nyong'o, 'Do You Want Queer Theory?', 116.
  - 24 Todd Gitlin, 'The Anti-political Populism of Cultural Studies', in *Cultural Studies in Question*, ed. M. Ferguson and P. Golding (London: Sage, 1997), 27.
  - 25 Matthew Worley, 'Shot by Both Sides: Punk, Politics and the End of Consensus', *Contemporary British History* 26, no. 3 (2012), 333–54.
  - 26 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 147.
  - 27 Peter York, *Style Wars* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980), 114.
  - 28 York, *Style Wars*, 116.

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- 29 York, *Style Wars*, 119.
- 30 York, *Style Wars*, 122.
- 31 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 9.
- 32 Savage, *England's Dreaming*.
- 33 Elizabeth Wilson, *Bobemians: The Glamorous Outcasts* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000), 179.
- 34 <http://viviennewestwood.co.uk> (accessed 9 May 2014).
- 35 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 52.
- 36 Wilson, *Bobemians*, 3, 9.
- 37 Wilson, *Bobemians*, 7.
- 38 'Seditionaries T-Shirt Raid', *NME*, 18 November 1978, 3.
- 39 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 19.
- 40 Elizabeth Wilson, *Mirror Writing: An Autobiography* (London: Virago, 1982), 125; and Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 92.
- 41 See Lisa Power, *No Bath But Plenty of Bubbles: An Oral History of the Gay Liberation Front 1970–73* (London: Cassell, 1995).
- 42 York, *Style Wars*, 129.
- 43 Nick Kent, 'Malcolm McLaren', *NME*, 27 November 1976, 20–1.
- 44 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 128–35.
- 45 Alan O'Connor, *Raymond Williams: Writing, Culture, Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 84.
- 46 York, *Style Wars*, 9–10.
- 47 Michael Selzer, *Terrorist Chic* (New York: Hawthorn, 1979), xiv.
- 48 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 101–2.
- 49 David Alderson, 'Postmodernity, Hegemony, Sexuality', *Theoretical Studies in Literature in Art* 33, no. 1 (2013), 116.
- 50 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 100.
- 51 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 449.
- 52 Julie Burchill, 'The Kid Who Wouldn't Wear Clarke's Sandals', *NME*, 15 April 1978, 7–8.
- 53 Stuart Hall, 'The Great Moving Right Show', in *The Politics of Thatcherism*, ed. Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1983), 19–39.
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- 55 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 102.
- 56 Savage, *England's Dreaming*.
- 57 Caroline Coon, 1988: *The New Wave Punk Rock Explosion* (London: Omnibus, 1982).
- 58 'Farewell, Foo Foo', *Manchester Evening News*, 12 August 2004, <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/farewell-foo-foo-1156337> (accessed 19 May 2014).
- 59 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 298.
- 60 Marc Almond, *Tainted Life: The Autobiography* (London: Pan, 2000), 67.
- 61 'The Jacquard', [http://norwichmusic.wikia.com/wiki/The\\_Jacquard](http://norwichmusic.wikia.com/wiki/The_Jacquard) (accessed 19 May 2014).
- 62 Dave Laing, 'Anglo-American Music Journalism: Texts and Contexts', in *The Popular Music Studies Reader*, ed. Andy Bennett, Barry Shank and Jason Toynbee (London: Routledge, 2005), 333–9.
- 63 'Love Lines', *NME*, 22 January 1977, 12.
- 64 'Special Friend of J Rotten Reveals All (Shock)', *NME*, 16 April 1977, 12.

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- 65 JJ Burnel of The Stranglers commented disdainfully of his punk peers: 'There are a lot of ponces involved, and a lot of poofters, and a lot of posers who have never dirtied their hands.' Harry Doherty, 'The Stranglers', *Melody Maker*, 17 September 1977, 38.
- 66 Bertie Marshall, *Berlin Bromley* (London: SAF, 2006), 71.
- 67 Jon Savage, 'David Bowie: The Gender Bender', *The Face*, November 1980, 20–2.
- 68 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 185.
- 69 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 252.
- 70 Wilson, *Bobemians*, 38.
- 71 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 117–9.
- 72 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 183.
- 73 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 141.
- 74 Paul Morley, 'In Defence of Siouxsie and the Banshees', *NME*, 23 December 1978, 39.
- 75 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 183.
- 76 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 21.
- 77 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 63.
- 78 Paul Baker, *Fantabulosa: A Dictionary of Polari and Gay Slang* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).
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- 80 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 113.
- 81 Alan Sinfield, *On Sexuality and Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 77.
- 82 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 108.
- 83 Marshall, *Berlin Bromley*, 67.
- 84 Jon Savage, *London's Outrage*, 1 December 1976.
- 85 Savage, *England's Dreaming*, 484.
- 86 Anon., 'In This Issue We Talk To A Lesbian About Her Homosexual Life', *Cuttersnipe* 5 (1979).
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- 92 Gay Liberation Front activist Michael Brown quoted in Power, *No Bath But Plenty of Bubbles*, 25.
- 93 *Plaything 2* (1978).
- 94 Anon., 'The Joys of Oppression – By Mouth Or By Rectum', *City Fun* 3, no. 3 (March 1982).
- 95 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 110.
- 96 Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure*, 106.
- 97 David Harvey, 'Their Crisis, Our Challenge', *Red Pepper*, April/May 2009, <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/Their-crisis-our-challenge/> (accessed 1 June 2014).