The Hottest Misogyny of All Time:

A study of the role of contemporary media outlets in the historical portrayal of women in popular music.

by

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Introduction

Research conducted into the development of women's role in contemporary popular music has shown a struggle to attain reverence. From published media opinions to vocalised perspectives attained via online and public sources, the music industry continues to be considered a male-dominated arena. The outnumbered statistics of female vs. male musicians corroborate with related outcries from musicians and fans, women and men alike, and recent polls and opinions do little to break the consensus of the alleged male superiority. It has been observed that whilst the development of women in the music industry has continued to significant proportions, female musicians are still grossly misrepresented, and struggle to create contributions that remain pivotal.

This discussion will analyse the results of youth radio station Triple J's 2009 'Hottest 100 of all Time' poll, which highlighted an absence of female musicians in popular audience perception, followed by delineation of publicised opinions of the inclusion. Herein, I aim to align current opinions and perspectives of the lack of women in this particular example to coincide with a history of literature of expressed issues. This emphasises that the current perceptual issues of female musicians' place in popular music are a continuation of a male-dominate culture that repeatedly segregates and objectifies women, demeaning their longevity and impact as unique and credible artistic voices.

It is of my opinion that the survey did not necessarily outline new issues, but confirmed that issues of sexism, segregation and gender-representation still continue to impact popular musicians, in position and audience perception alike. Much discussion and research exists into the developments of female musicians, in numerous contexts from band-front artists, solo featured performers, or musicians within groups. What strikes continually is the treatment of women as 'novel' additions to groups, as less-than reputable artists, and marketable products by audience perception, band construction and marketing/promotional sources alike. I will outline the directly related issues outlined by the poll, with suggestions as to the radio station's part in encouraging segregation, shown to

align with the developments that have led to women's position and struggle in popular music today, and the still present genre restrictions and nature of artists being lost in history.

It is acknowledged that the term 'popular' remains subjective to taste and opinion; hereby in referring to music as popular I refer to generic genres including pop, rock, and indie, due in part to the nature of demographic typified, the current state of popular music ranking charts, and continuing a historical perspective deliberated by some authors. For further clarification of these genres see (Shuker, 1998).

The latter of my discussion will assess the current state of several artists within popular music in comparison and relation to the historical developments of feminist culture and empowerment of female artists, predominantly from the view of Australian popular markets (however not exclusively), in order to perceive if female artists are succeeding in forging credible, memorable places in popular music history, or if current examples are continuing to create works which in time may be forgotten alongside their male contemporaries, and outlining the continual restriction to particular genres. Further, it is recognised that a predominant source of segregation are media outlets themselves, and I offer opinion and discussion on their role and position in securing historical accounts for the future.

Triple I's Hottest 100 of all Time: Case Study

In 2009 Australian youth radio station Triple J conducted a poll of their listening audiences' 'Hottest 100 Songs of All Time', the 20th anniversary of an identical poll held in the previous decade. Similar in process to the stations annual poll of the previous years' releases, listeners were asked to submit via an online form their ten most memorable, influential and favourite songs of 'all time' (ABC, 2009). When the final results were tallied and the playlist broadcast over a week, a glaring omission appeared: there were significantly fewer songs by female artists in comparison to all-male entries in the list. Upon further investigation, the absence of women became more specific: only 9 songs (9%) featured a female member in any capacity. Of these, two entries featured female vocal performances (featured in trip-hop band Massive Attack); and five bands contained female members whom played instruments (New Order, Pulp, Smashing Pumpkins, Pixies and The White Stripes,). Neither of these were found in the highly-exalted top 10 songs (Bastow, 2009).

The predominant variable in this scenario is undoubtedly the audience. Triple J, an Australian Government-funded youth radio station has a demographic market of 18-24 year olds. Typically their playlist repertoire is known for its' promotion of 'indie', outer-mainstream artists whom commercial networks have neglected or not yet recognised (Stephens, 2009). Statistics of the poll's voting released following the controversy listed a total of 545,000 individual song votes by in excess of 61,000 people, with 487,000 of these used to calculate the final figures¹ The average voting age was 21 (AAP, 2009; O'Toole, 2009). An important element to consider here is the assumed listening and voting age, and the statistics of the voted songs' time periods, as demographic material undeniably held an impact on results (Carmody, 2009). Of important note, 20% of the total 100 songs were released between 1990-2000 (Carmody, 2009). Of the top 20 songs specifically (those garnering the most votes), 25% were released between 1970 and 1985, with the remainder predominantly occurring again in the 1990-2000 period. Several post-2000 additions appeared. Further important to note is

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¹ Several categories of votes were omitted from final counting; votes for the individuals' personal material, and entries spelt incorrectly.

that of the top 25 songs, only 2 featured female artists: Massive Attack (vocalist) and The White Stripes (drummer) at entries 22 and 20 respectively. A large proportion of the songs, noted specifically in the top 20 songs, were housed in the 'rock' genre, from the 'classic' period of the 1970s to contemporary additions from bands currently active.

While the aforementioned demographic considerations partially limit the outcome of results to the interests of a specific audience, the nature of the poll recalls concern over the particular issue of the presence of women in popular music. Triple J's gathering of specific tastes highlights that in at least the eyes of one large Australian demographic, women musicians over the past 40 years have failed to create a sustainable impact, or to be recognised by today's targeted audience, and are notably absent in the majority of the polled entries of the past 20 years.

Following the results being scrutinized by online and print media, amidst cries of sexism, misogyny and segregation (Bastow, 2009; Deal, 2009; O'Toole, 2009), Triple J ran an episode of its' own current affairs program 'Hack' (O'Toole, 2009) dedicated to debating if audiences considered their listening habits sexist. Some questioned the audience itself, generalising demographics and taste; some accused the station of encouraging a male-dominated playlist; whilst others, highly subjectively, suggested female musicians failed to fit the constructs of either distinguished or an authoritative voice, or did not meet the artistic calibre set by male musicians. A common theme throughout responses was the issue of the genre presented via the station, which eventuated with a rock-genre focus, and its representation of women artists, who according to some opinions were typically not involved, either by culture or musical/physical ability. Another prominent argument was related to the time period of the chosen music, and that the lack of female musicians was due to the still-developing presence of women through the late 1990s into current periods (O'Toole, 2009).

Each point expressed here, whilst being only a vocal opinion, draws parallel to continuing debates about the role of female musicians in popular culture,

debated from the late 1990s in texts such as Bayton's 'Frock Rock' (1998), Whiteley's 'Women in Popular Music' (2000), and O'Brien's 'She Bop II' (2002). The outlining issue in the study of Triple J's poll and opinions thereof is not that female musicians are not revered in the same context as males; the concerning fact underlying is that they *continue* to be segregated and denied of longevity of influence.

When considering differences and imbalances, the bias towards men falls to a continuation of sexism and misogyny. Many constraints against women are present due to popular perception and the still-emerging developments of latter feminism. In the instance of Triple J's poll, producers claimed that no intentional persuasion occurred in suggesting songs or themed artists (AAP, 2009; O'Toole, 2009). Prior to the poll being tallied, several lists were displayed on the stations' website; one being a bare-bones timeline of influential artists from 1960, and the other a collection of presenters' and celebrities' top-10 rated songs (ABC, 2009). Both these lists, assumedly unintentionally, aligned the station in part to a perspective on ongoing sexist and discoursed attitudes.

The first, a timeline with suggestions to help "spark" the memories of voters (ABC, 2009) was published leading into the voting period and remained online after votes closed. However after online scrutiny and an apology from radio presenters, the list was amended. It too had appeared initially with a glaring omission of female artists ('lauredhel', 2009; 'orlando', 2009). Already it would appear that the stations presenters and journalists had themselves overlooked women in musical history. This raises alarm to, in part, the publishers (being Triple J personnel) unconscious perspective of the development of women artists. It also raises confusion to the claims of presenter Zan Rowe that the station's frequented playlist shortly after the poll contained 40% female artists, which supposedly suggested an overt encouragement of equal gender representation (O'Toole, 2009). In part, this may suggest an active approach to change the statistics, but says little of the task of preservation.

The second list, consisting of station presenters and celebrities' personal top 10 lists, contained a mixed gendered spread of artists with the intention of arousing interest and offering suggestions to the voting audience. Although there was a notable male emphasis, many lists contained numerous female additions, some exclusively. It was however presenter Scott Dooley whose comments outlined the most glaring perception of women, both controversial and poignant. Of his top-ten inclusion of Fiona Apple's 2000 single *Paper Bag*;

"It's not just 'cause she's hot. She's also a great guy at music."

Dooley's statement outlines two ever-present and ongoing issues; women are continually subjectified and favoured depending on their physical attractiveness, and the role of the musician is typically reserved for a man. Bayton (1998) outlined this issue earlier, who suggested that rock music is typically characterised as a masculine field, harbouring sexism in image, impression and auditory qualities. It is in this small yet crucial comment that Dooley affirms decades of repression and segregation against women musicians.

Of the issues extracted from the public and staff opinions on Hack (O'Toole, 2009), several well-worn issues emerge. These include the dominance of masculinity in rock and popular music; the subjectified perception of women artists in a misogynistic construct; and the forgettable nature of female musicians and output. Through the following I discuss some attributing developments as to the assumptions made, however due to the nature and length of this essay a full exploration cannot be undertaken.

The Masculinity of Rock

Rock music, a solid theme throughout the countdown, is a strong contributor to the segregation of women artists due to a cultural conception of it being a 'masculine' genre. Its impression as masculine is born out of gender-typing its generalised traditional specifications: reflection of its' aggressive aural qualities, discerning of its' power-driven lyrical message, and alignment to the often primal energy source transcended (Leonard, 2007). Leonard further digresses that even the nature of rock assumptions are subjective on grounds of generalising the image of the 'cock-rocker' to a basic, primal figure based on one

strain of multi-genred music. Bayton concurs; adding that male saturation in the genre, coupled with the association of 'masculine' hegemonic qualities enhance the media-driven perception of the female existing so as to appease men (Bayton, 1998).

The stereotypical impression of the 'rock star' is one that constantly challenges female musicians' entrance into the field (and less-stereotypical males for that matter); one is expected to present themselves physically and characteristically in a stylised fashion, based on historically appropriated and adapted image conceptions (Coates 1998 in Leonard 2007). The archetypal impression of a rock musician brings not only physical depictions but denotes assumptions to their association with women. The blatant derogatory stereotype of women in relation to the rock 'star' is as the doting, star-crazed groupie, often in place to care for, compliment and please the male musician (Bayton, 1998). Women as fans, known personally to the artist or in a broad pool of devotees are typically relied on for unfaltering displays of devotion to raise the image of a band or artist, to provide support and dependency from both statistically fiscal levels or on a personal, encouragement perspective. Bayton suggests women often played the role of supporting their music-playing partners through domestic duties, in part possibly suggesting that men are incapable of functioning through 'daily existence' whilst focusing on broader, career associated tasks (Bayton, 1998). The stereotype affirms Butler's depiction of the dominance over women being due to their identification as sexual objects in service of men (Butler, 1990); enhancing the males need to feel dominant and fulfilled.

Gender-Typing Instruments and their Players

Another key segregating element is the assigning of gender to static objects, specifically through the gender-association of instruments. Bayton draws parallels to the perception of male culture being loud, powerful and boisterous and instruments such as the electric guitar/amplifier combination, with "masculine power embedded within them". It is suggested in contrast that the characteristic assumptions imposed upon women that inclines their attitudes toward a culturally perceived femininity requires a restrained, subdued

calmness, encouraging subtlety over assertion (Butler, 1990). Female musicians are often typically noted for vocal contributions, be it as a lead or backing singer, a role they have been noted to occupy almost exclusively, with aural characteristics unable to be typically replicated by males. However, in contrast the female instrumental musician has a history of underrepresentation (Clawson, 1999; Leonard, 2007). Often, female singers are featured as key products, with male backing musicians accompanying them (Bayton, 1998).

One instrument that features prominently however through literature is the bass guitar. One perspective is that the bass is stylistically easier, due to less strings and only requiring one note to be held at a time; with the male playing the more complicated lead guitar in a group, the 'easier' role can be given to the female, assumed to be the less-capable musician (Leonard, 2007). Clawson's field research confirms the perception of the bass guitar as the easier of the rock instruments, and highlights the demeaning position placed on women to remain subdued in creative perception, and to fill the roles considered by men to be less interesting, or less heroic. Female musicians are segregated and regulated to typically play an instrument *allowed* of them (Clawson, 1999). Leonard concludes that the masculine character of rock culture is not just a culturally inherited, but results from a process of reproduction and continual enactment, and hereby suggesting that the segregation will continue (Leonard, 2007); a concept that within today's examples, this is evident.

A decade into the 21st century, it is evident that this restriction still plagues musician culture. Smashing Pumpkins bassist D'Arcy Wretsky correlates this in Triple J's countdown, with her contributions accounting for 33% of songs featuring a female musician; entries 78 – '*Today*', 51 – '*Bullet with Butterfly Wings*', and 35 – '*1979*'. Another instrument featuring heavily in the countdown was the keyboard, featured 3 times with entries 29 with the Pixies '*Where is my Mind*', number 81 with Pulp's '*Common People*', and *Blue Monday* by New Order

at number 32. Of note is that New Order's Gillian Gilbert was an *additional* keyboard player².

Further evidence of the gender indifference in instrumentation occurs in Clement's instructional book 'How to Succeed as a Female Guitarist', which suggests solutions to overcome physical and sociological obstacles for women who wish to learn to play other forms of the guitar, primarily electric (Clement, 2007). Clement addresses the fact that the industry is indeed male-dominated, and promotes manners to function as a valued contributing artist. The observed need to promote such a book in 2007, while being a valuable resource in breaking masculine stereotypes, shows that gender typing still impacts female musicians in a detrimental and prominent way.

The Development of Female Rock Artists

The stereotypes expressed here are a confirming snapshot of the chauvinist culture created through popular music culture. In contradiction however to many limited opinions expressed surrounding the absence of women in a popularity poll, female musicians have demonstrated a significant foray into mainstream induction. Several performers emerged as a process of securing feminist ideologies through the 1990s. During this time, female-centred indie rock bands started feminist network 'riot grrrl'. Whilst the label related itself more to journalistic interpretations (Leonard, 2007), it represented an empowering of female musicians to react to their restricted position in musical settings, from musician to audience. The movement developed with the intention of addressing gender imbalances within the indie rock genre. Similar in attitude and approach to post-second wave of feminism uprise of punk music, riot grrrl empowered women to feel independently in control of creating music, in opposition to their previously repressed position behind men (Bayton, 1998; Leonard, 2007). Whilst the underground network grew to be a force unto itself, the merge into mainstream recognition by some artists is what ultimately should

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² Band statistics have been compiled via combination of the bands wikipedia.org entries, which were correlated via their official websites, and from articles referenced herein.

be regarded historically memorable and crucial turning points in female music development. One such artist who attained such mainstream success, and former Triple J favourite (Bastow, 2009) was Hole lead singer and guitarist Courtney Love.

Love attained commercial interest as a female rock musician with stamina and aggression whose perception rivalled cultural gender stereotypes of rock music. Her credibility as a singer and performer helped propel women's ability to operate within the rock genre, with a violent, raucous vocal style, forceful and loud guitar playing, channelling power and aggression (Whiteley, 2000). The riot grrrl image brought a conceptual disobedience, rebelling against normality, political repression, and gender typing (Leonard, 2007; O'Brien, 2002; Whiteley, 2000). Love's styling and image challenges rock's impression in an ironic context. In one sense, women involve themselves on their own grounds, writing themselves into a masculine arena. From another perspective, the aggressive auditory power of the music emulates the images established by males, simultaneously feminising the male world, but appropriating masculine iconology for their own construction in defiance.

Despite the developments highlighted here, the state of women musicians in popular music continues to waiver between prominent and hidden. Kurt Cobain, singer of Hottest poll's winning band Nirvana, and partner of Courtney Love, was quoted as saying "the future of rock belongs to women", affirming the role of women musicians and the importance of the riot grrrl movement in creating creative equality (Bastow, 2009; Whiteley, 2000). Years after his death, Nirvana is credited for birthing the grunge movement, a typically political and equality-based genre responsible for creative freedom and integrity in the 1990s (Strong, 2007). While of his opinion that women would dominate futures of music, historical views differ, and Triple J listeners highlighted his musical contributions as the pinnacle of popular offerings. It would appear that artists such as Love and others of the riot grrrl movement have faded from the listeners' recollections, despite commercial success and adoration by prominent male figures such as Cobain, and the beginnings of the evening of instrument-gender

restrictions, such as the bass guitar and vocal roles (Strong, 2007). Whilst the category of grunge can be assumed as one sect of rock music, and not the sole example of women through recent popular music, the fact of Nirvana topping the Hottest listener poll of 'all time' attributes its' discerning power in the last 20 years.

Gender-Typing of Genre

On commenting on the sociology of grunge, Strong suggests that women in rock and popular music are constantly seen as 'emerging' into the culture, and that their induction occurs in cycles (O'Toole, 2009). Considering this, Strong had previously suggested that the state of journalism relies on a predominantly male perspective, assigning male artists idol stature in defining 'serious' music (Strong, 2007), also confirmed by Bayton (1998). Here women who follow similar trends of genre and emergence can be considered to be in the footsteps of paths forged by males prior; thus in contemplating the pivotal origins, the women are consciously reduced to by-products of a movement, and overlooked. A novel interest may occur as a significant influx of women artists permeate a particular genre, however this bout of interest has been shown to in time be forgotten, and constantly rediscovered; a process that has been repeated often (Leonard, 2007; O'Toole, 2009; Strong, 2007). To describe the interest as 'novel' splits the response to female insurgence in two directions. One such is subjectification on account of focus on such characteristics as physical attributes, or through being generalised and compared to other female artists. The other appears in assimilating their contributions to a less-credible genre: pop music (Strong, 2007).

The consideration of women in pop music may provide another answer to the absence of women in the Triple J countdown. As discussed, the station's playlist demographic delivers an outer-mainstream collection of material. To consider a more mainstream approach, the pop music field oft explored on other commercial Australian radio stations, provides a different surface opinion of women's involvement. However in parallel with their exclusion from notable lasting popularity, a stereotype of female musicians contributions to

contemporary music often being assimilated into shallow and meagre respect levels. In a genre perspective, women are typically assigned to the pop realm, away from notable musically respected categories (Thornton 1995; Shaker 2005 in Strong 2007).

<u>Today's Continued Placement of Women in Pop Music</u>

A statistical list by online radio station last.fm presents the opposite of Triple J's hottest songs; instead, a collection of currently charting popular material which online users are most ashamed of collating, and are rapidly deleting from their personal playlists. Interestingly, several artists feature very prominently, especially in the top 20, and all are of the pop-genred variety (http://last.fm, 2010). Included in this are current charting artists Lady Gaga, Ke\$ha (Kesha), and Britney Spears. Spears was well-documented by O'Brien in 2002, who suggested her ethic and image may sustain her into a career of longevity and esteem in the pop realm, alongside artists such as Madonna (O'Brien, 2002). While creating a prominent presence and media hype amongst pop fans especially into the new millennium, Spears was subject to extreme subjectification and obsession through paparazzi mediums, which led to a very publicised breakdown (Luckett, 2010). This was a continuing observed result of a female artist being subjected on account of personal traits, physical characteristics, and mental stability; her musical output acted as a cause of discussion, and reduced of any notable artistic merit. It must be noted that on discussion of 'merit', Spears' music existed in a produced, manufactured nature, publically without personal artistic direction and often based on polished production. Irrespective of this, the complete ignoring of her musical attributes demonstrated her perceived position in music culture.

Lady Gaga (born Stefani Germanotta), who featured heavily in last.fm's rejected artists list, has held notoriety in entertainment journalism since her emergence in 2008. Her image outside of music attracts attention through bold and unique custom-designed attire, and rumours of homosexuality and intersexuality add to a very publicised and controversial image (Sturges, 2009). Despite dramatic popularity in current record charts, Gaga often is the butt of scrutiny and

negative opinions, usually genre-based. When programmed to be played on Triple J by rock icon Matt Bellamy of Muse (winners of the 2007 edition of the Hottest 100 (ABC, 2007), audiences exploded in outrage via online forums and responses to the station³. Clearly, from this response and last.fm's account, Gaga's publicity attests negative reactions.

However aside from public perception and media scrutiny, Lady Gaga represents an often-overlooked attribute of pop stardom; she is responsible for all elements of her persona, from writing her own material and lyrics, to designing staging and props, and creating notable unique costuming, often revealing and provocative. She intentionally dresses and acts in order to receive publicity promoting her unique, often strange image, aware of the power of promotion and media hype (Sturges, 2009).

Lady Gaga demonstrates a scenario of an artist actively responding to mediahype and representation; in part feeding their desire to objectify and sensationalize, but also in projecting an individual endeavour of success and interpretation. Music taste and critique aside, her control over image and persona whilst retaining creativity and individualism places her firmly in a position to dictate her impact, and to forge a new platform for women musicians to develop on. Unknown in perception however is the outcome of her hypedpromotional strategy. Her music and brand may cement a position in history as pivotal and influential, and perhaps may be remembered; it is also possible that her contributions to music, and to themes of sexuality, gender stereotyping, and individuality may again be overshadowed by media scrutiny painting a perception of the *person*, and the *female* for that matter, not the person as *musician*. Her public rejection via forums such as last.fm indicates that her hype is indeed establishing a position in current social settings; of concern here is the incessant negativity. History may recognise her contributions, but unfortunately perhaps as a popular cultural icon, not that of a popular musician.

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What I have endeavoured to demonstrate here is that the current state of perception of female artists continues to be prejudiced on regards of gendered positions within music. Current artists are prevailing to demonstrate active involvement and to forge territory that is their own, albeit within their allowed position. Regardless of impact and intention, media outlets continue to centre their interest in the public life of artists: their activities, social welfare, and physical attributes. This was corroborated by Dooley's comments of his included artists' appealing physical appearance. In a position of authority within mainstream publicised media, with an intended demographic 18-24 year olds, Dooley was given the opportunity to highlight positive contributions to the history of popular music by various artists, and chose to list females, obviously showing his opinion of their impact. Where he failed was by listing two dominantly male-chauvinistic opinions; that his highlighted artist was physically attractive, and was welcomed into the masculine world of rock and popular music. Dooley has demonstrated the importance of recognising popular media outlets' responsibility and ability to impact the historical perception of women. Unfortunately, he failed.

The Responsibility of Media Outlets

The task of cementing the role of women in music for the future, in both appraising the past and current works of female artists and encouraging an environment where women can compose and perform free of prejudice and misogyny may fall on many contributors, from media to musician. One must consider if radio stations and broadcasters such as Triple J have the responsibility to promote the past works of women to younger audiences who are yet to understand the importance of decisions made. Alternatively, a liberal portrayal of female artists would object to overt promotion and bias towards women artists. In highly promoting a specific-genred approach to sway music taste, the push could be considered forceful and demeaning, suggesting women musicians have little power in establishing themselves. The responsibility of viewing women in equal respects must be understood however, in presenting an equal view of influential artists, both male and female, and in constructive, unbiased portrayals of the gender balance.

Conclusion

Through my research it is obvious that female artists are frequently and continually ignored and forgotten. With this in mind, one looks to artists today to determine if the task of securing a prominent role in establishing women as artists recognised in history is being attained, or destined to be forgotten. Triple J does not necessarily hold sole responsibility for the misrepresentation, and as noted currently have a large percentage of female artists on high rotation. They do however hold responsibility in educating futures of music fans, particular younger, of the historical impact of women musicians, and establishing a balanced history, viewed from the today's past, and that yet to be written.

What was highlighted through Triple J's poll is that the issues of segregation, genre typing, misogyny and sexism continue to impact today's listening culture, musicians, and media outlets. Triple J presented what was essentially an unbiased poll, but held the responsibility regardless to present music of both genders in equal light. Female musicians are active, and growing in impact and numbers, yet continually are excluded from historical perspectives, and the subject of stereotypical and limiting publicity.

This essay has intentionally not entered into critique of musical style, nor analysed many current instrumentalist and prominent musicians featured in popular culture. Much discussion remains to be held on the current impact and longevity of these movements, however the much-highlighted issue of masculine media promotion and perspective will continue to suppress movements. Until an even balance of gender perception in music occurs, the presented issues will continue to be raised.

The task of enabling women to exist in multi-paralleled positions of genre hereby is directed to media outlets, which multiple resources have overwhelmingly recognised as the source of masculine bias (Bayton, 1998; Leonard, 2007; O'Brien, 2002; Whiteley, 2000). Through acknowledgement and education of the roles of women in history, and in current culture, it may be feasible to rewrite historical perception for future generations. The Hottest 100 of all Time certainly

highlights omissions, but furthers the realisation that audiences are unfamiliar, or have forgotten, the developing role of female musicians. Triple J have highlighted this rift; it is yet to be seen if they utilise their position now to educate, equalise, or continue to masculinise. One can hope history will bring forth a change in perspective, rather than another process of repeating the same 'discoveries'.

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