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Underground Pedagogy of Hope? German Punk-Feminist Festivals as Education in Feminist Theories and Actions

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Abstract: In this article, I approach German punk-feminist festivals as underground spaces for informal teaching and learning practices. In doing so, I participate in a discourse of understanding festivals not merely as events where an audience socializes and consumes live music, but also as an educational stage. Drawing on former research on grrrl zines activism, I question the influence of bell hooks' "pedagogy of hope" on punk-feminist movements. I demonstrate how German punk-feminist festivals foster a hopeful activism that aims to transform both the independent music scenes and the society at large. Yet, I also explore the ways in which these festivals keep centering white people's experiences, which limits the forcefulness of their activism.

Keywords: Pedagogy, Social Movement, Women's Movement, Feminism, Music

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Introduction

I attended a Ladyfest for the first time in Germany during the summer of 2017. At that time, I had just completed my MA in Arts and Cultural Industries and was about to start a PhD. I had already begun studying these punk-inspired feminist festivals, but I had not yet had the chance to visit one and could only imagine what they were like based on their program booklets. The first activities I attended were presentations and debates, organized for the afternoon. There, we had the opportunity to discuss LGBTQ struggles, feminist movement history, and women's representation in music. Yet, the first thing that struck me was a sense of similarity to academic conferences. I remember being amused by how each presentation was accompanied by a slideshow. The audience was waiting until the speaker had finished talking to ask questions. Some people were taking notes. On the door of the room, someone had hung a paper asking for silence during the presentations. Everyone seemed quite serious. Only the punk looks of people in the audience and the surrounding atmosphere of the autonomous center where the event was held made it seem different, if not uncanny, as the walls of university rooms are not usually covered with graffiti.

Looking at a different type of punk-inspired feminist activism, Alison Piepmeier's account of grrrl zines (2012) extensively draws on bell hook's pedagogy of hope (2003). Considering both (1) that grrrl zines were a huge part of the Riot Grrrl movement's activities (Dunn/Farnsworth 2012) and (2) that the Ladyfest network shares a lot of features with the Riot Grrrls (Schilt/Zobl 2012), this article seeks to determine to what extent a similar pedagogy of hope may be found to be an influence in the contemporary punk-feminist festival network. To investigate this question, I will focus on the German scene, in which I am conducting my PhD fieldwork.

In the following, I first recount the Ladyfest network's history and explain my methods of investigation. Later, in "theories and concepts", I outline the main features of bell hook's pedagogy of hope and Piepmeier's application of the concept to grrrl zines. Moving on to my own analyses, I explain how German punk-feminist festivals foster a hopeful activism that encourages its participants

to engage with different feminist theories and actions in relation to both independent music scenes and society at large. Finally, I explore the limits of this connection by addressing the invisibilization of racism and white supremacy.

The Ladyfest Network and the Punk-Feminist Scene

The first Ladyfest was organized in Olympia, Washington, in 2000, 10 years after the birth of the Riot Grrrl movement in the same city. The event was introduced as "a non-profit community-based event designed by and for women to showcase, celebrate and encourage the artistic, organizational and political work and talents of women" (Ladyfest.org 2000). The idea eventually spread to the rest of the world, reaching Germany in 2003. During that foundational year, three festivals were organized – Berlin, Leipzig, and Hamburg. The number has kept growing ever since.

A great majority of these festivals are based around a shared schedule: The evenings and nights are dedicated to concerts and spectacles, while during the daytime, the audience is encouraged to attend workshops, debates, and discussions on a large range of topics, including feminist history, anti-racism, and anti-fascist struggle as well as music and fanzine making.

The field of punk-feminist festivals has already been investigated by Elke Zobl (2005), Susan O'Shea (2014), and Alexandra Ommert (2016). All of them draw on previous work that either focused on the Riot Grrrl movements (Rosenberg/Garofalo 1998; Wald 1998; Marcus 2010; Dunn/Farnsworth 2012; Downes 2012) or looked at alternative music scenes through gender studies (Cohen 1997; Griffin 2012; Sharp/Nilan 2015). None of the researchers mentioned confronted this topic in relation to education, but feminism, the punk movements, and early forms of the Riot Grrrl movement all have links with a certain conception of pedagogy.

Before I get deeper into that topic, it seems important to outline how these events relate to the concept of gender. German punk-feminist festivals conceptualize gender at the crossroads of a materialist approach and a queer, deconstructionist approach. Putting it in very simple terms, a materialist perspective considers gender to be a social structure opposing two classes, with one (men) socially and economically dominating the other (women). A queer perspective sees gender also as a social construct but considers that labeling people "men" and "women" is an oppressive norm, which is why such a perspective calls for the deconstruction of these categories. Emeline Fourment (2017) found that within contemporary German feminist movements, these two approaches intersect and influence each other. As a result, activist collectives have, for instance, adapted their inclusion policy, founding "women, lesbians, and trans" groups

instead of "women-only" groups. I have been able to observe similar apparatuses during Ladyfest and other punk-feminist festivals.

Method

My research relies on a mixed-method approach. I combine a statistical analysis of the programs of 86 Ladyfest-inspired festivals held in Germany between 2003 and 2019 with a qualitative study of the events' promotional materials (flyers, posters, websites) and ethnographic fieldwork at 10 festivals organized between 2017 and 2019. Drawing on feminist and queer approaches to ethnomusicology (Barz/Cheng 2019; Koskoff 2014), my ethnographic observations have so far focused on gender in relation to both the music and the social context and aims of the festivals and I have paid specific attention to the ways in which the events' organizers and participants describe the weight of gender norms in their daily lives. I have also sought to observe how the Ladyfest-inspired scene aims to build an environment free of these social rules. To do so, I have observed music workshops as well as group practices focusing on daily-life themes. In this article, I will draw on two specific observations of a DJing workshop and a group discussion on motherhood. The qualitative study of the event's promotion materials complemented the ethnographic analyses and has been used to underpin an understanding of the festivals' aims and self-depiction.

I selected the festivals that were titled Ladyfest, made a reference to the culture of punk-feminism in their promotion materials, or had a feminist focus and followed the typical Ladyfest schedule with workshops during the day and concerts in the evening.

Once the limits of the sample had been established, programs were collected from the festivals' promotional materials (websites, social media, flyers, posters), and gathered in a database. That database allowed me to extract quantitative information from the resulting corpus. Moreover, it also helped me identify less recurrent but nonetheless interesting elements within the festivals' programs and engage in further qualitative analysis. Traces of the history of these festivals were found thanks to online calendars and databases such as http://ladyfest.org, the Ladyfest Wikipedia page, and http://grassrootsfeminism.net. Most of the current festivals were identified through social media or by word of mouth.

During fieldwork, I tried to attend different types of workshops, debates, and concerts. Following Luis Manuel Garcia's (2019) advice to researchers conducting fieldwork in queer nightlife, I never recorded nor directly took notes during the events. Nevertheless, I tried to write notes down as soon as I returned to the place in which I was staying. I used my notes to complete my

analysis of the festivals' programs, for they allowed me to compare the events' advertisement to their effective organization.

Theories and Concepts

This article draws on bell hooks' (2003) concept of "pedagogy of hope" and its application to the analysis of grrrl zines by Alison Piepmeier (2012). I begin this theoretical section by explaining what hooks understands by a pedagogy of hope. I first lay out what the concept is opposed to and then move on to discuss its main guidelines. In a second subsection, I show how Piepmeier adapted the concept for application to grrrl zines and pursue that discussion regarding punk-feminist festivals.

Pedagogy of Hope

According to bell hooks, who first conceptualised a "pedagogy of hope" in her book "Teaching Community. A Pedagogy of Hope" (2003), education is a site for radical political work.[1]

Indeed, hooks develops her concept in opposition to a pedagogy of domination led by cynicism, authoritarianism, and competition between students. As she argues, a pedagogy of domination reinforces the structures of capitalism, sexism, patriarchy, racism, and white supremacy. Such a pedagogy of domination is spread in society by mass media, amongst other sites. hooks draws on examples such as the aftermath of 11 September 2001, in which mass media spread fear among people, reinforcing the structures of racism and participating in a pedagogy of domination (hooks 2003, 12).

Cynicism reinforces this framework by making any possibility for transformation invisible, as if everything were doomed by the structures of social domination and resistance were impossible. According to Piepmeier,

> "[f]ailure of imagination seems integral to this phenomenon: hope and a vision of a better future can come to seem almost pathetically naïve. In this way, cynicism forecloses social justice activism; it functions to make all forms of challenge to the status quo seem hopeless in the sense that many of us are unable to imagine something better, or to imagine that better thing actually coming into being. This translates into a cultural moment in which resistance seems limited or impossible." (2012, 252)

1 Such a claim might be widespread in educational sciences. Nonetheless, I find it worth remembering, especially when addressing music education, a field that often hides its proselytizing for white middle- and upper-class male composers behind an "art for art's sake" perspective (Schmidt 2005, 5).

Within classrooms, an authoritarian education relies on "contempt, disdain, shaming" (hooks 2003, 87) hidden behind claims of "seriousness". Yet, according to hooks, this only "dehumanizes and thus shuts down the 'magic' that is always present when individuals are active learners" (43). Similarly, competition encourages a culture of fear that "undermines the capacity of the students to learn" (132), especially when these students are from oppressed groups (for example, women, LGBTQ people, and people of color).

On the contrary, a call for a pedagogy of hope is a call to "teach with love, combining care, commitment, knowledge, responsibility, respect, and trust", developing values that "[do] not reinforce systems of domination, of imperialism, racism, sexism or class elitism" (xiv). hooks' pedagogy emphasizes the importance of joining theory and practice and looks forward to making students actors in their own education. Additionally, hooks draws on Paulo Freire:

> "Speaking of the necessity to cultivate hope, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire reminds us: 'The struggle for hope means the denunciation, in no uncertain terms of all abuses ... As we denounce them, we awaken in others and ourselves the need, and also the taste, for hope.' Hopefulness empowers us to continue our work for justice even as the forces of injustice may gain greater power for a time." (xiv)

With this, hooks shows a conception of hope that is strongly connected with social struggles and transformation. She writes, "My hope emerges from those places of struggle where I witness individuals positively transforming their lives and the world around them." (xiv)

Although hooks has spent a fair part of her career teaching at North American universities and colleges, such a feminist and anti-racist pedagogy is not aimed only to take place in traditional classrooms. To achieve its political goal, advocates for a pedagogy of hope have to "seek to write theory that would speak directly to an inclusive audience" (xii). This inclusive audience may very well be found in colleges or universities but is without doubt also present in feminist activism and community spaces.

Grrrl Zines, Grrrl Activism, and Pedagogy of Hope

The Riot Grrrls' engaging in zine making was also a form of feminist pedagogy. Indeed, Piepmeier argues that grrrl zines might "[model] a hopeful, resistant subjectivity – what I term a 'pedagogy of imagination' – and invites its readers to try it on. This pedagogy is doing political work." (Piepmeier 2012, 251) Here, Piepmeier draws on bell hooks' concept that "[describes] the creation of hope and possibility within the realm of the classroom", but she states that the con-

cept has "viability far beyond literal pedagogical spaces" (252) and adapts the term in order to "encompass the political work of grrrl zines" (252).

In her essay, Piepmeier looks at one specific series of zines titled "Doris". She aims to "consider the cultural and political work that zines like *Doris* do, the kind of interventions they make into the world around them" (251). She further describes these interventions as "hopeful".

Yet, if "Doris" is a hopeful zine, it is not concealing structures of domination or their impact on individuals' lives. But rather than looking at them with cynicism, following hooks, Piepmeier posits that "grrrl zines like *Doris* are uniquely situated to awaken outrage and – perhaps more crucially – imagination" (252) and declares that the zines show their readers "ways to resist the culture of domination" by "emphasizing self-reflection and becoming fully human" (251).

Moreover, Piepmeier explains that "pedagogies of hope – manifested in a variety of ways in grrrl zines – function as small-scale acts of resistance. By modeling process, active criticism, and imagination, grrrl zines make political interventions." (252) According to the author of "Doris", Crabb, grrrl zines carry the possibility "of helping people 'to explore more options in their life'" (258). In doing so, the effect of "Doris" on its readers directly refers to political work and, more specifically, to a pedagogy of hope.

Yet, by taking the pedagogy of hope outside of traditional classrooms, grrrl zines also reinvent the teacher-student relationship. Indeed, according to Piepmeier, "[grrrl zines] break away from linear models" (253). Here, I understand that statement as not only referring to grrrl zines' opposition to pedagogies of domination but also as related to the way in which they step away from the classroom organization. This is, in my opinion, also how "[z]ines like *Doris* can [give] individuals a sense of their own power, helping people 'not just go where they're told to go'" (258).

While framing this article within the scope of bell hook's pedagogy of hope, I will – like Piepmeier – not use the terms "teacher" and "student", because blurring the boundaries between the traditional roles of teachers and students is part of the ways in which grrrl zines and punk-feminist festivals sometimes develop a feminist pedagogy. Later, I will show how this is possible with an analysis of consciousness-raising groups.

Reinventing Music Scenes and Industry through Punk-Feminist Festivals

Having set the theoretical and methodological grounds of this article, I will now begin my empirical analysis with a look at how punk-feminist festivals seek to

reinvent music scenes and the music industry outside of gendered norms. Their programs offer, side by side, theoretical reflections on music scenes and the music industry as well as concerts and music workshops dedicated to women and marginalized people.

In the first subsection, I explain how these events analyze the gendered division of labor within music scenes and the music industry and thereby make the structures of male domination visible. In the second subsection, I move on to music practice and demonstrate how music workshops help to counter "shame as a barrier to learning" (hooks 2003, 93) and how they stimulate women and queer people to hope for, imagine, and build more inclusive music scenes, following hooks' pedagogy of hope.

Shedding Some Light on Gender Inequality in Independent Music Scenes

The idea driving punk-feminist festivals is that men[2] are more visible than women within the punk scene. The few active women in the scene are often charged with services positions, while men occupy creative and visible positions (men take care of booking or sound, they stand and play on stage, etc.), allowing other bands or the audience to identify them for what they do.

Punk-feminist festivals therefore aim to tip the gender inequality scales within the punk scene, as this abstract from the Ladyfest Darmstadt manifesto illustrates:

> "When it comes to organizing cultural events, women* often cook, build decorations or take care of finances and budgets while men* are standing on stage, booking bands or taking care of sound and lights, etc. Thus, we reclaim our right to occupy these key positions too." (Ladyfest Darmstadt 2012)

Indeed, women in subcultural scenes, when they are not absent, are often denied their technical knowledge. The work seems thus divided into two parts: The men's part is technical and visible, while the women's is made of invisible services positions. And while the tasks usually assigned to women are absolutely necessary in order to set up a concert properly, they happen to come with less prestige than the roles assigned to men. Various studies have backed this perception and shown that women are underrepresented in alternative music scenes (for example, Cohen 1997; Downes 2012; or, more recently for the metal scene, Berkers/Schaap 2018). While I was able to find some exceptions, according to both the experiences related by feminist festival organizers and academ-

2 Especially straight white men. Similar movements, such as Queercore and AfroPunk, also emerged in the 1990s in opposition to the dominance of straight white men.

ic analyses, the gendered division of labor in music scenes globally tends to disadvantage women and queer people. And while these results are easy to explain, punk-feminist festivals aim at going further and acting concretely for more equality. Their organization can be separated into two steps, the methods and goals of which differ.

In the first place comes theory. Theoretical debates in punk-feminist festivals are generally open to everyone regardless of their gender. They aim to present and argue the aforementioned ideas. The goal is to make everyone – including men – more aware of gender issues in the scene. Some of these discussions are aimed at questioning the masculine hegemony in underground music scenes. For example, the Ladyfest Berlin 2010 organized a "Masculinity & Hardcore" talk (Ladyfest Berlin 2010), the Ladyfest Leipzig 2011 a "Männerrollen im Hardcore" (men's roles in the hardcore scene) presentation (Ladyfest Leipzig 2011), and the Antifee Festival held a debate in Göttingen about "Männlichkeit und Whiteness im Emo/Hardcore" (masculinity and whiteness in emo/hardcore scenes) (Antifee 2012). Meanwhile, other talks have sought to enhance women and queer people's visibility within music-scene spaces: Ladyfest Leipzig 2011 organized a "Frauen im Hip Hop" (women in hip-hop) presentation (Ladyfest Leipzig 2011), Ladyfest Berlin 2006 a "Vom Riot Grrrl zu Ladies: Geschichte und Geschichten" (From Riot Grrrls to ladies: history and histories) talk (Ladyfest Berlin 2006), and Ladyfest Kiel 2017 a discussion entitled "A stage of her* own?! – queerfeministische Lichtblicke und Strategien in Punk und Pop" ("A stage of her* own?! – Shedding some light on queer-feminist presence and strategies in punk and pop music) (Ladyfest Kiel 2017).

In her account of a pedagogy of hope, hooks identifies "shame as a barrier to learning" (2003, 93) and explains that "members of subordinated groups [must] cope with the negative stereotypes imposed upon them in practically all circumstances where dominators rule" (94), leading these members of subordinated groups to internalize negative stereotypes and self-shame. hooks further identifies that "[m]ass media messages equate blackness with being bad, inadequate, unworthy" (94). Similarly, Marie Thompson (2016) has highlighted that music media equate female musicians with bad and noisy musicians – a noisiness that is, moreover, "intensified by certain co-constitutions of race and class" (86).

hooks (2003, 100) also draws on "Coming out of Shame", a book written by therapists Gershen Kaufman and Lev Raphael, who "state that 'the principal effects of shame on the self are hiding, paralysis, and a feeling of being transparent'". Similarly, in white male-dominated music scenes such as those identified by the Ladyfest Berlin, Ladyfest Leipzig and the Antifee Festival, women, queer people, and people of color may feel as if they were transparent, hidden

from a potential audience by the structure of patriarchy and white supremacy that forces them into invisible service positions – as also stated in the Ladyfest Darmstadt manifesto.

But instead of looking at the situation as if nothing could change and drowning in cynicism, punk-feminist festivals offer their participants the possibility of making a difference.

Music Practice toward Feminist Empowerment

Approximately 44% of the festivals in my database gave their attendees the opportunity to join workshops concerning music practice or sound techniques, placing this topic among the most addressed. These workshops are generally open to only a specific part of the audience: women, lesbians, and trans and queer people. Sarah Cohen (1997, 20–22), in her research about the indie music scene in the UK, states that music-related knowledges (technical set-ups, production, etc.) usually spread in men-only groups. Women, who are left out of these circles, struggle to access the same competences, as do queers who do not fit the idea of traditional and hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995). The idea behind punk-feminist festivals is to give all of these people the keys to tip that scale.

In 2018, I attended the DJing workshop at Ladyfest Karlsruhe (2018). It took place at a local radio station that usually did not have any specific access policy. Nonetheless, at this particular occasion, the space we occupied was dedicated to women and queers. It brought us to a place where we could discover, try out, and practice DJing in a "safe space", without being mocked or watched by an experienced male audience. Though I am myself a musician, I had never touched a turntable, but I had been curious about DJing for a long time. As a teenager, I taught myself how to play the guitar. As I was close to discovering a new musical activity, I could only remember how hard my first steps in learning an instrument had been alone. Getting help from a person who had mastered the practice of DJing, and for free, was more than welcome. The person who was holding the workshop gave us documentation concerning the DJ equipment, showed us the basics and, at each step, let us ask questions, choose music from a wide repertory (we could also bring our own vinyl discs), and try things out ourselves. Trying was not mandatory and succeeding even less so. Knowing that we were not going to be evaluated based on our skills might have helped us feel more comfortable in the space.

While the theoretical debates on masculinity in independent music scenes I highlighted earlier attempt to render the sexist structure of those environments more visible, practical workshops offer a possibility for reinventing a more in-

clusive music scene. By centering and celebrating women's presence in music scenes and the music industry, punk-feminist festivals counter the "feeling of being transparent" (hooks 2003, 100) that comes with shame, as identified by hooks, following Kaufman and Raphael. And while hooks explains that "[i]n many cases simply the experience of being 'judged' activates deep-seated feelings of shame" (101), punk-feminist festivals constantly try to offer their participants a space to experiment with music making without having to face the fear of being judged on their lack of experience. The fact that none of us felt compelled to try something we were not comfortable with during the DJing workshop affirms music education "as the practice of freedom" (103).

Following the principles of a pedagogy of hope, punk-feminist festivals do not only question male dominance and the gendered division of subcultural labor, they also and even more importantly offer the possibility of reimagining the punk scene. Additionally, the music workshops help participants to network together and form bands or music collectives, drawing their inspiration from the Girls Rock Camps (for more information on these camps, see Ali 2012). In fact, while it is hard for women and queers to gain access to technical musical knowledge, they might also strive for finding like-minded individuals with whom to practice music. Not only are punk-feminist festivals introducing themselves as counter-acts to masculine homosocial music networks, they also participate in building feminine or queer equivalents. In doing so, they oppose a cynicism that would lead to leaving the punk scene because it is doomed by male dominance and look instead to build spaces where they can teach themselves and learn music. In this way, they are "helping people 'not just go where they're told to go'" (Piepmeier 2012, 258), driven by the hope for better music scenes and a better music industry.

Yet, though I emphasized here the "punk" part of "punk-feminism", these collectives are not only interested in gender (in)equality within music. They also address everyday life issues.

Feminist Knowledge in Action

The anecdote I recounted as part of the introduction to this article aimed to highlight similarities between punk-feminist festivals and academic conferences. Yet, most of the activities and workshops organized during punk-feminist festivals rarely resemble university conference rooms. Rather, they draw on methods developed in activist circles.

In this section, I explain how punk-feminist festivals draw on the feminist second wave and on grrrl zines to re-enact consciousness-raising through workshops and on the concert stage. I show how, by collectively framing personal

experiences in a structural view and encouraging participants to take action, consciousness-raising is related to a pedagogy of hope. Nonetheless, in the final subsection of this article, I also highlight the limits of the connection between a pedagogy of hope, grrrl zines, and punk-feminist festivals.

Consciousness-Raising in the Punk-Feminist Scene: from Zines to Workshops

In a 2005 article, Elke Zobl establishes a first connection between Ladyfest and the history of consciousness-raising groups. Indeed, consciousness-raising is not a tool that was developed within the punk-feminist scene. Its invention goes back to the late 1960s and the concept further developed in 1970s through collectives linked to second-wave feminism

Consciousness-raising groups were first launched by New York Radical Women and, later, the Redstockings Collective before they spread all over the US and beyond. In 1968, Kathie Sarachild presented the concept to the First National Women's Liberation Conference in Chicago. Her "Program for Feminist 'Conscisousness Raising'" was later published in the radical feminist journal "Notes from the Second Year" (New York Radical Women 1970). Similar publications were released in the following years. For instance, the Women's Action Alliance published "Conscisousness-Raising Guidelines" in 1975. Such media helped the circulation of the concept during the 1970s and after.

Such consciousness-raising groups have been defined as "voluntary, usually women-only, regular discussion groups focused on recounting and interpreting the experiences of participants, generally by presenting members' experiences around a defined topic, then drawing out similarities and structural relations to the oppression of women" (Firth/Robinson 2016, 346). Consciousness-raising groups had nothing to do with therapeutic meetings. Rather, they aimed to be rooted in political dynamics and become tools for social change, drawing on "round[s] of personal experiences and reflections" (346) in order to place personal experiences "into a structural picture" (347).

Before the development of punk-feminist festivals, Stephen Duncombe had already qualified zines as "[tools] for consciousness raising" (1997, 190). This description seems even more true when it comes to feminist zines. By producing queer-feminist materials, Riot Grrrl and Queercore activists allowed girls, women, and queer youth to become aware of the impact of their own social condition (Creasap 2014).

Without directly mentioning consciousness-raising, Piepmeier engages in a similar reflection about the grrrl zine "Doris" and its author. She explains how

"Doris" showcases Crabb's mental-health terrain and "lets her readers see inside her own efforts at processing and making sense of the world" (Piepmeier 2012, 257) in order to invite her readers "to emulate her process of self-reflection, because she shows all the seams there, as well" (257). Crabb shares stories with her readers as a participant of a consciousness-raising group would. The readers are then encouraged to reflect on the zine's content via their own life experiences and reproduce the author's process. Both the "conversation" between Crabb and her readers and the process of consciousness-raising workshops in punk-feminist festivals recall, once again, hooks' concept of democratic educators, who are central to the development of a pedagogy of hope. Indeed, hooks states that "[c]onversation is the central location of pedagogy for the democratic educator. Talking to share information, to exchange ideas is the practice both inside and outside academic settings that affirms to listeners that learning can take place in varied time frames" (44). The importance of conversation and sharing our stories also reflects what happens during some punk-feminist festival activities.

During Ladyfest Mainz/Wiesbaden in 2019, I attended a workshop on motherhood, the organization of which reminded me of the settings and goals of consciousness-raising. After a short presentation, the participants were split into small groups of four to five people. We were given an envelope in which we found several questions, written on small pieces of paper. One after the other, we were invited to pick a piece of paper, read the question, and discuss it within our groups. The questions were quite personal: How do you grasp household labor divisions? How is mental workload distributed in your relationship? What does "free time" mean to you? For what kind of changes would you wish for yourself?

All of them were somehow linked to parenthood or, more specifically, motherhood. Though some of us did not have children, the discussion formed a favorable moment for us to share our personal experiences and frame them in an implicit political scheme: the gendered division of household labor and parenthood. As we talked, we identified temporary solutions to the gendered division of household labor, especially in heterosexual couples. Sometimes, the question of sexist double-standards was also raised by the participants: Who is seen as a good mother in a patriarchal society? Who is seen as a good mother by feminist activists? Such questions mostly target the case of stay-at-home mothers.

During the workshop – because we were talking to each other, exchanging our points of view on a variety of topics, and sharing counter-strategies – we came to analyze and learn about the structures of patriarchy. Some discussions highlighted the possibility of different kinds of parenthood – for instance, com-

munal parenting. As we were learning about them, we were able to outline how we would like to see things change on personal and social levels. This resonates with a pedagogy of hope. But the links between punk-feminism, consciousness-raising, and progressive pedagogies might need further elucidation here.

By re-enacting consciousness-raising groups, punk-feminist festivals also inscribe their action into the "herstory" of feminist movements as defined by bell hooks, who writes that "[f]eminist scholars, and this includes black women, were the ones who resurrected 'herstory,' calling attention to patriarchal exclusion of women and thus creating the awareness that led to greater inclusion" (2003, 4). More importantly, they also cross boundaries between the so-called second and third waves of feminism.

Consciousness-Raising to the Front! Bringing Consciousness-Raising to the Concert Stage

Punk-feminist festivals not only re-enact the "traditional" consciousness-raising group process, they also invest in songs as consciousness-raising material, as one of the musicians of the German band Friend Crush, who played the Noc Walpurgii and the Antifee festivals in 2014, explained in "Our Piece of Punk" – a book that gathers stories of those involved in the DIY queer-feminist punk scene in Germany:

> "We mostly sing about encounters with various forms of violence and love. And talking openly about my own experiences of violence makes that other people with their own experiences can connect with them. These are in my opinions the most magical moments, when people with their own experiences can relate to mine. Yet I feel really connected and feel like we can collectively make things change." (Lüdde/Vetter 2018, 73)

For Piepmeier, pedagogies of hope and imagination may also discuss traumatic narratives (260), not framing them with a cynical conclusion but instead drawing on them to call for change. They carry "the faith of activists" (261). The statement made by the musician of Friend Crush recalls a similar commitment. Placing the consciousness-raising process onto the stage modifies all of its basic principles in line with the way punk musicians approach the concert space and time: Not only do they give political talks between the songs, but I have also observed that they often make themselves available for personal discussion with their audience after each show, offering special moments where their experience sharing allows them to connect, relate, and give rise to attempts to "make things change" (Lüdde/Vetter 2018, 73).

After consciousness has been raised comes the time for action. Punk-feminist festivals therefore sometimes encourage their participants to take their concerns to the streets. In 2011, the first year of the international Slutwalk movement[3], Ladyfest Berlin offered its attendants the opportunity to take part in the Slutwalk that was organized in town the same week (Ladyfest Berlin 2011). The festival also held workshops for making signs and banners in order to give its attendants all the tools needed to march.

Though they mostly remain small-scale events, punk-feminist festivals encourage their participants to take action to change the world and structures of domination. As much as the grrrl zines that interested Piepmeier, these events seem to "offer tools for awakening outrage and engaging in protest" (253). They invite participants "to step into their own citizenship" (253), and thereby, once again, connect theories with democratic actions.

De-Centering Whiteness?

There is nonetheless a gap between hooks' theory on pedagogy of hope and Piepmeier's adaptation of the concept to grrrl zines. Piepmeier does not address the question of race at all, which is central to hooks' work and various initiatives, from the fanzine "White Girls, We Need to Talk" to academic work by Mimi Thi Nguyen (2012) and Kristen Schilt (2014), who have highlighted that the worlds of Riot Grrrls and Ladyfest have mostly been the worlds of white middle-class feminists. This is worth investigating regarding punk-feminist festivals as well.

33% of the festivals I have studied offered at least one workshop addressing race or racism. Contrary to the music-practice workshops, which were only open to women, lesbians, and trans people, the large majority of workshops, discussions, and debates addressing race and racism were open to white people and people of color without distinction.

In some cases, race was introduced through "critical whiteness" workshops. Indeed, 14% of the festivals engaged with the topic from the angle of critical whiteness only – meaning that no other workshop was dedicated to racism.

At festivals such as Ladyfest Karlsruhe 2016 and Ladyfest Heidelberg 2015, the critical whiteness workshops were held by activists of color. However, when

3 The Slutwalk is a form of feminist protest that first appeared in Toronto, Canada. Joetta Carr (2013) relates that, after a police officer had told a group of students that if women wanted to avoid rape they should "stop dressing like sluts", a group of women organized and held the first Slutwalk in order to protest sexual violence, rape and rape culture, and victim stigmatization. The word that made this protest happen does not represent a simple and isolated accident; rather, it referred and still refers to an idea of women as "sluts" that is widely spread and commonly accepted – hence the international development of Slutwalk protests the very next summer.

the Antifee festival proposed a similar workshop, the program of the event stated, "We would like to focus on a common development of strategies of interaction with our own privileges in the everyday life. Therefore, people with experiences of racism are also invited to get actively involved." (Antifee 2013[4]) It should be noted here that this workshop sheds less light on people of color than on white people, as it seems to be aimed at explaining to the latter how to become good allies to the former.

While the organization of such a workshop was probably motivated by social justice and a will to deconstruct the privileges of whiteness, the workshop nonetheless appears to center the experiences of privileged people (here, white people), thereby sending people of color back to the margins of the anti-racist struggle. This kind of engagement resonates with hooks' analysis of how white people sometimes engage with race and racism:

> "White folks who talk race, however, are often represented as patrons, as superior civilized beings. Yet their actions are just another indication of white-supremacist power, as in 'we are so much more civilized and intelligent than black folks/people of color that we know better than they do all that can be understood about race.'" (hooks 2003, 27)

According to hooks, considering as "all-white" a group in which people of color form a tiny minority contributes to erasing their presence. While punk-feminist festivals seem to perfectly understand and apply this idea to gender by emphasizing the minority of women and gender non-conforming people in independent music scenes/music industry, some of them fail to do the same with race and instead maintain whiteness in the center of their activities. Moreover, almost none of the festivals I have studied fostered spaces for women and queer people of color only[5], while most of them offered at least one workshop for women and queer people only.

Conclusion

In this article, I first looked at music. I explained how punk-feminist festivals provide analyses of male dominance in independent music scenes and music industries through manifestos, presentations, debates, and theoretical workshops. According to the events' organizers, men in independent music scenes are more likely to hold visible and creative positions, while women are often

4 This text was available online until 2018. Unfortunately, the website of the festival is currently down, and the Internet Archive does not provide access to the page. I personally accessed it in 2017 and saved its content to my personal computer.

5 One exception to this is Ladyfest Karlsruhe 2019 and its "Empowerment für Frauen* of Color" (empowerment for women* of color) workshop (Ladyfest Karlsruhe 2019).

stuck doing invisible work. Yet, in order that the festival's participants not cynically see the future of their music scenes as doomed by male domination, they try to step away from that scheme and offer a music education dedicated to empowering women, lesbians, and trans people. This way, they counter the feelings of shame and fear that people can experience when they are marginalized in traditional education spaces – as I have been able to observe by participating in a DJing workshop.

Next, I drew a link from consciousness-raising groups of the late 1960s and 1970s to punk-feminist festivals via grrrl zines. While punk-feminist festivals mostly re-enact consciousness-raising groups during workshops, some bands and musicians also bring the concepts to the concert stage, making a link between activism and music making. Drawing on my participant observation of a workshop on motherhood, I highlighted the importance that punk-feminist festivals give to self-reflection and personal experience sharing, thereby crossing the boundaries that separate them from the second wave of feminism. This practice allows the framing of the personal within a structural picture but also underpins personal and social solutions to counter the pedagogy of domination. In doing so, I have shown that consciousness-raising workshops and their facilitators also act as democratic educators. Finally, a connection with social movements also aims to encourage festival participants to take their concern to the next level and engage in larger-scale protests.

Both of my analytical approaches show how punk-feminist festivals encourage imagining a music scene, and a society, free from the structures of domination. They join theory and practice and look forward to making their participants actors in their own education. They participate in "helping people 'to explore more options in their life'" (Piepmeier 2012, 252), which may involve learning how to play music, exploring new forms of parenthood, or engaging in social protest. In doing so, punk-feminist festivals continue the work of grrrl zines and engage with a pedagogy of hope.

Yet, Piepmeier's analysis of grrrl zines and pedagogies of hope invisibilizes the question of race, which is central to hooks' work. Similarly, race remains at the margins of punk-feminist festivals' field of action. But while in the last few years, new events dedicated to punks of color have happened, such as London's Decolonise Fest[6], one can expect that the coexistence of both types of events will give women and queers of color better visibility and recognition in the punk scene. In their manifesto, the Decolonise Fest organizers mention two import-

6 While I am only mentioning the Decolonise Fest collective here, it should also be noted that, throughout punk history, there has been a variety of "punks of color" movements, not all of which had shared goals (see, for instance, Duncombe/Tremblay 2011).

ant things regarding the analysis I provided earlier. First, they claim that they "will talk about racism but not in a way that centres whiteness or prioritises the feelings of white people" (Decolonise Fest 2020) (contrary to what I have observed in the German punk-feminist festivals programs). Second, they also emphasize that they "will not tolerate racism, ageism, sexism, transphobia, classism, ableism, homophobia or fatphobia" (Decolonise Fest 2020), underpinning the necessity of an intersectional approach.

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