LAVENDER SOUNDS

From Lesbian Radio to Queer Feminist Soundwork

stacey copeland

Lavender Sounds

Lavender Sounds

From Lesbian Radio to Queer Feminist Soundwork

Stacey Copeland

University of Michigan Press

Ann Arbor

Published in the United States of America by the
University of Michigan Press
First published July 2026

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Copeland, Stacey, 1991– author | Michigan Publishing (University of Michigan) publisher
Title: Lavender sounds : from lesbian radio to queer feminist soundwork / Stacey Copeland.
Other titles: Lesbian radio to queer feminist sound work
Description: Ann Arbor [Michigan] : University of Michigan Press, 2026. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2026008521 (print) | LCCN 2026008522 (ebook) | ISBN 9780472078141 hardcover | ISBN 9780472058143 paperback | ISBN 9780472905935 ebook other
Subjects: LCSH: Gay broadcasters | Homosexuality on radio | Radio programs for gay people | Women in radio broadcasting | Lesbians in mass media | Podcasting
Classification: LCC PN1990.9.H64 C67 2026 (print) | LCC PN1990.9.H64 (ebook)
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2026008521
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2026008522

DOI: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683

The open-access publication of this book was supported by The Eugene B. Power Fund.

The University of Michigan Press's open access publishing program is made possible thanks to additional funding from the University of Michigan Office of the Provost and the generous support of contributing libraries.

Cover image: *Radio Girl* by Katie Chester, original print (2024)

The authorized representative in the EU for product safety and compliance is Easy Access System Europe, Mustamäe tee 50, 10621 Tallinn, Estonia, gpsr.requests@easproject.com

To all the queers, lesbians, and dykes past and future daring enough to take the microphone, thank you.

Contents

Digital materials related to this title can be found on the Fulcrum platform via the following citable URL: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683

Illustrations

Tables

Figures

Author's Note

You are warmly invited to listen to the audio companion to this book—*Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives*—available online:

Part 1 Love, Radio, and Lesbian Separatism:
https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.7

Part 2 A Box of Tapes:
https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.8

Part 3 A Queer Feminist Call to Ears:
https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.9

Introduction

Tuning the Temporal Static

A few years ago, I found myself in an awkward position. I decided I was a lesbian, but I didn't know any other lesbians, and I was unaware a lesbian community existed. When I found out about *The Lesbian Show*, I tuned in faithfully. The radio, at first, was my only connection to other lesbians.

—Cathy, *The Lesbian Show* (1989 or 1990)[1]

Community. Lesbian. Radio. Connection. Found. Caught in an ephemeral wash of radio fuzz, Cathy's words wriggle into my ears and against my skin. Their voice, my ears, our bodies pull time askew. Though Cathy of Vancouver Co-Op Radio's *The Lesbian Show* is speaking from a different time, their voice, extended through my computer speakers, becomes part of our contemporary media soundscape, slipping through the temporal static to jump-start affective connection anew. I first heard Cathy's voice when I stumbled upon *The Lesbian Show* in the Archives of Lesbian Oral Testimony at Simon Fraser University. I wasn't there to listen to *The Lesbian Show* (if a website can be a "there"). My virtual visit was entirely for another project, but my history with community radio pulled me in. As I sat in my tiny apartment living room listening to these archives of lesbian feminist radio, I could hear the same voices and stories so familiar to my own experience as a lesbian in present-day Canada despite the decades between us. The relationship one can build with voices past is an assemblage of uncanny imagined connections and a closeness without being close. A relationship made ever more complex through radio's sociopolitical role as communication technology, mode of entertainment, and household companion. Our relationships with media technologies are never neutral. It is a tricky mess of feelings to unpack, this closeness, but a feeling at the very heart of media experience.

You, reader, are about to delve into a sound-centered assemblage of histories, experiences, technologies, and media. An assemblage that welcomes you as earwitness[2] into the world of queer feminist soundwork.

Queer feminist soundwork is a sound-based media form, typically produced for radio or podcasting, which is perceived or claimed to be part of queer and feminist cultural activism by the public and the creator(s). Drawing on Michele Hilmes's definition of *soundwork*, these media artifacts consist of three base elements of sonic expression—speech, music, and noise—to "create a lively economy of sound-based commodities and institutions."[3] This book, *Lavender Sounds: From Lesbian Radio to Queer Feminist Soundwork*, weaves its way through media past and present to uncover the political, aesthetic, and technocultural principles of queer feminist soundwork. Writing across generations, histories, and changing logics of media and technology, this work contributes an ear-oriented queer and feminist approach to studying media and culture. As you read and listen, you are invited to ask, "What does it mean to listen back to lesbian feminist radio in conversation with our queer digital present?" "What embodied and experiential factors are shaping *your* listening?" Despite differences in media distribution and contexts of queer life, listening to *The Lesbian Show* archives for many is not so different from listening to a queer podcast or radio show today. When tuning in with a queer feminist ear, there is a sense of familiarity with the stories shared. It's a familiarity always shaped and reshaped by our individual relationship to feminism and queerness. Each listener's relationship to a soundwork can differ from another's. So, here I invite you to bring *your* ear into the world of queer feminist radio and podcasting as experienced and presented by queer and lesbian soundworkers past and present.

From Allen Ginsberg's 1956 American broadcast of *Howl* on KPFA to the establishment of Canada's first commercial LGBTQ station, 103.9 Proud FM, in 2007, radio has played a vital role in the communication and construction of LGBTQ+ culture and activism within a historically heteronormative media soundscape.[4] It is this history and continued soundwork of queer and feminist creators that inspire the title of this book. The concept of "Lavender Sounds" grows out of the historical ties between the color lavender and LGBTQ politics. In North America, for example, two key events can be found noted across queer history. First, the McCarthy era homosexual moral panic dubbed the "Lavender Scare," which was paralleled by the "Red Scare" Communist hunt at the beginning of the Cold War, treated gays and lesbians as national security risks and Communist sympathizers.[5] Second, and of particular note to the queer feminist bent of this book, is Betty Friedan's denunciation of lesbian membership in the National Organization

for Women as a "Lavender Menace" she believed to be threatening the feminist movement. As a result of Friedan's actions, Lavender Menace became the chosen name for a group of pro-lesbian radical activists at the 1970 Second Congress to Unite Women; they attended the event adorned in Lavender Menace T-shirts to protest the exclusion of lesbians and lesbian issues from the event.

While the iconic rainbow flag is best known as the color symbol for LGBTQ+ community today, lavender continues to simultaneously represent the fear and hate experienced toward the LGBTQ community throughout history *and* the reclamation of the color as a symbol of queer power. I chose the title *Lavender Sounds* to pay tribute to this history by bringing soundwork rooted in lesbian feminist and queer activism of the 1970s into conversation with queer and feminist politics in the soundwork of podcasting today. The lavender sounds featured throughout this text collectively embody and sonify what lavender stands for in queer community. Lavender sounds are soft activism. Lavender sounds are liberation. Lavender sounds are ecstasy and pleasure. Lavender sounds are experimental and playful. Lavender sounds are both private and public. Lavender sounds are the sounds of lesbians, queers, and dykes taking up the microphone to make audible their everyday experiences with and for each other.

Today, as "diversity" becomes an increasingly valued part of North America's culture industries, online searches for lesbian and queer podcasts return a rich listing of shows from across the globe. But how did we arrive at this particular moment? And what makes a radio show or podcast "queer" anyway? In conversation with present-day queer soundworkers, this text builds upon two historical and understudied lesbian radio and queer women's media collectives in Canada—*The Lesbian Show* (TLS) and *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs)—to interrogate the role that radio has played in queer media activism and the formation of counter techno-logics for the circulation of queer desires, experiences, and voices through amplified sound.

Rather than a broad scope overview of queer and lesbian radio or podcasting, this book offers a theory of lesbian and queer feminist audibility through a close, interpretive selection of works that are unique but also representative of a wider movement. The works included here tell of histories tethered geographically to the archives accessible and found through community-building over the five-year span of this project. Queer feminist and lesbian radio histories are not easily accessible, often having been lost to the ephemeral past. Queer studies, as Jack Halberstam puts it, often require a scavenger methodology of "different methods to collect and produce information."[6] When we can only find fragments of the histories and ideas at the

core of our communities, we must care for and resourcefully work with what we have. There can be abundance in scarcity and in the messiness of what is and is not present if we attend to the possibilities of making sense through multiple methods of close critical study.[7] My hope is that the careful work of tracing this networked thread of queer feminist soundwork rooted in the Canadian context might spark others to build upon these theories of queer feminist audibility as you hear them elsewhere. Such a geographical tethering of the works included allows for a more nuanced prismatic understanding of the infrastructural and political aspects of making radio, given that national and local regulations and news events play critical roles in how this form of media is produced and by whom. To take up such a queer feminist collectivity and articulate these techno-logics and their corresponding experiential frames, you and I are not alone in our listening back. Former hosts of *The Lesbian Show* and its Montreal counterpart *Dykes on Mykes*, alongside contemporary queer podcasters, join us throughout this text to provide experiential grounding to the archival materials and theoretical ideas presented here. This work is as much theirs as it is mine. Without their insightful contributions and unapologetically queer soundwork, Canada's media soundscape would be a duller place indeed.

Queer soundwork, specifically radio and podcasts produced for and by queer women, has been little studied in relation to the communication of gender and sexuality. Lesbian and feminist cinema, books, archives, music and visual arts have robust fields of scholarship engrossed in their study. I am indebted to Laura Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), Becki Ross's *The House That Jill Built* (1995), bell hooks' *Reel to Real* (1996), Ann Cvetkovitch's *An Archive of Feelings* (2003), Jack Halberstam's *In a Queer Time and Place* (2005), José Esteban Muñoz's *Cruising Utopia* (2009), Sara Ahmed's *The Promise of Happiness* (2010), Kristen Hogan's *The Feminist Bookstore Movement* (2016), Cait McKinney's *Information Activism* (2020), Rox Samer's *Lesbian Potentiality and Feminist Media in the 1970s* (2022), and many others. Still, soundwork, like numerous other "everyday" media, has yet to be justly acknowledged for its contributions to feminist and queer media activism. What Jody Berland notes is often referred to as a "secondary medium," radio (and now podcasting, too) is designed to follow you everywhere and allow your ears to float in and out of listening.[8] It is to be listened to as secondary or background content while you drive, clean, cook, eat, and even sleep. Nonetheless, whether closely attuned to soundwork or not, when a radio show or podcast contributes to our soundscape, it can drastically transform our experiences in and of the world.[9]

This media studies research traces shifts in queer and feminist media practices through history along two axes: (1) the creation of sonic space and identity for queer women and lesbians in the Canadian media context; and (2) the varied features, forms, and constructions that queer feminist soundwork takes across a selection of crucial radio shows and podcasts.

Soundwork and Techno-Logics

The term "soundwork" bridges the divide between the study of radio and podcasting within cultural sound studies. Soundworks are primarily aural media forms utilizing music, speech, and noise to produce a network of sound-based institutions, workers, and commodities.[10] While I touch further on the importance of the term "soundwork" in chapter 1, it is essential to note the distinct shift in focus the term provides for the study of radio broadcasts and podcasting. The employment of "soundwork" rather than "radio" or "podcast" allows one to focus on studying radio programs and podcasts as media texts akin to a film, television show, or piece of recorded music—as labored content and distribution that spans analog and digital. Where radio or podcast can refer to the technology, the industry, and the culture, "soundwork" pulls us into the labor of audio media production: the collective aesthetic, communal, and experiential labor of the people behind the works in question. Of course, broader questions of technology and industry are also thoroughly explored here through the chapters to come. In fact, by addressing these radio shows and podcasts by their specific soundwork form and the experiences behind their production, comparisons between their various industries and technologies become even more apparent. In collapsing temporal differences of the historical period and content distribution, a focus on the term soundwork invites us to question what has changed, if anything, in soundworks transfer between the radio hearth and the podcast app. Similarly, the term "techno-logics," as theorized by Sarah Sharma, is applied to encompass the medium-specific logics "that produce and maintain social differences," including gender, race, sexuality, class, and ability within and across technological platforms.[11] Throughout chapters 2, 3, and 4, the techno-logics of radio and podcasting are critically examined to flesh out how queer feminist soundwork draws on the established norms of radio and podcast media while also adapting those same practices to queer the media ecosystems they find themselves a part of across varying distribution platforms and physical spaces.

Phenomenology for Queer Feminism

Akin to the interwoven assemblage of soundwork, this project incorporates methods and theories from across the humanities and social sciences. I apply queer theory and feminist archival, textual, and phenomenological methods to the fields of cultural sound studies and media studies to contribute a balanced articulation of queer feminist soundwork for the engagement of readers from various academic backgrounds. While monographs typically do not quote or cite other authors in much abundance, you will see citations and quotes used throughout this text as a mode of feminist politic. Citation is a way of acknowledging those who have influenced your thinking, and a way of connecting with others who have equally resonated with such works. Intentionally citing authors of color, women, transgender, and nonbinary scholars in our work can help to shift whose voices are perceived as part of academic knowledge-making.[12] The endnotes and citations carefully woven into this book are your invitation to further explore the many networks of thinkers and ideas at the foundation of my work. Even when I sit at my desk writing alone, I am never thinking alone. In chapter 1, for example, foundational scholars in queer feminist theory from Teresa de Lauretis (1994) to Jennifer Nash (2019) are brought into conversation with cultural sound studies scholars such as Kate Lacey (2013) and Jennifer Lynn Stoever (2016). The chapter provides theoretical and historical context through which queer feminist soundwork was formed by weaving together radio and podcasting, queer culture, feminist activism, and the history of media and technology across these authors' varied works. Given that soundwork is inherently tied to the labor—embodied, physical, emotional, cerebral—of the workers who create it as an extension of their own identity and the listeners who resonate with their work, an experiential approach to understanding soundworks must also be considered. To this aim, I additionally apply political phenomenology to this study as a methodological foundation for understanding queer feminist soundwork as an intersubjectively experienced phenomenon rooted in media history and identity politics.

Traditional phenomenological thinkers like Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger are widely recognized for their contributions to critical discourses of consciousness, perception, and being. Nevertheless, in recent years they are equally (and justly) critiqued for their universalizing transcendental aspirations. Much like other widely adopted Western philosophical methods of inquiry, phenomenology has a problematic history of white male cisgender universalization of experience. Here I instead draw on feminist, queer, Black, and disability stud-

ies traditions that engage phenomenology as a critical method for political analysis. Jonathan Sterne (2022) defines this approach through the work of Jody Berland (1984) as *political phenomenology*, a flavor of Husserl's and Heidegger's once problematically universalizing method that abandons the transcendental in favor of situating itself "historically, ecologically, and politically."[13] Political phenomenology shares this political line of possibility with other critical methods such as ethnography or historical materialism but is unique in its focus on questions of the *self*. Critical reworkings of phenomenology from Sterne, Berland, and of course Ahmed's Queer Phenomenology (2006) help me to theorize queer as (1) an identity marker for sexuality and gender and (2) a way of "being toward" for queering how we understand our relationships to media, culture, and our embodied subjectivity. As this text argues, understanding queer in this way brings much-needed attention to the possibility of sounds and experiences in radio and podcasting as queer phenomena.

The theorization of "queer" is often traced back to the political philosophy of Michel Foucault's mid-1970s research on the history of sexuality, followed by Teresa de Lauretis's famous queer theory paper in 1990 as the coalescence of a shift in ideology within lesbian and gay studies. The emergence of Black queer studies has also established the early significance on shaping the field of Chicana feminists Cherrie Moraga (1983) and Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) and the writing of Black lesbian authors such as Audre Lorde (1984). While these roots in sexuality and gender studies are generally acknowledged, the very *queerness* of queer theory has led to a multiplicity of queer theories and understandings of "queer" within the academy. Queer theory today has been built from a multitude of queer experiences and resistance against power and knowledge regimes that aim to define and govern sexuality. "Queer" shifts and transforms with and in relation to the subject. It is an orientation, in both its definitions I articulate here, fluctuating across socially and culturally defined dimensions of identity. As Heather Love (2014) writes in their queer keyword contribution for the inaugural issue of *Transgender Studies Quarterly*:

> It is unclear whether queer is best understood as a substantial term with historical links to communities marked as gender and sexual deviants or as a more abstract theoretical term that describes a capacious nonnormativity, political critique, and resistance to identity.[14]

This lack of definitive meaning or implementation makes "queer" powerful *and* functional in equal measure as a term for studying lesbian, dyke, and queer feminist media activisms.

In asking "what is queer feminist soundwork?" we are also examining "what is the *queer* in queer feminist soundwork?" As I outline further in chapter 1, this academic formulation of queer theory is built out of and continues to renovate alongside queer, Black, and feminist activism and civil rights movements. Queer as a concept within the academy would not exist without queer movements, before and alongside lesbian, gay, and feminist sexual liberation movements. The approach to queer I take on in this work is embedded in the activist roots of queer theory. As the field has grown, the term queer has been defined as feelings of "failure,"[15] "no future,"[16] "utopianism"[17] and simply "not heterosexual or not cisgender," among other antisocial, utopianistic, and politically neutralized orientations. Instead, I approach queer through political phenomenology in its "disorientation"[18] both as identity and as a method or way of being and experiencing the world. Regardless of the claim on queer made across cultural texts, as a reclaimed identity term, queer finds that its power lies in its refusal of definition, obliqueness, and openness to theoretical and political resignification across disciplines. While this two-pronged conceptualization of "queer" as an identity category and a way of understanding diverges from what queer has meant in particular queer theory debates of the term, it also opens up space to explore and address what these antisocial and utopian frictions of queerness mean for a phenomenology of queer feminist soundwork. Within this political phenomenological approach, the embodiment of queer comes into focus. In short, the embodiment of queer is how one experiences their queerness and how they perceive or understand queerness in other individuals, objects, and forms through their queer subjecthood. In the study of queer feminist soundwork, the embodied experiences of listening and vocalizing are two key examples of the centrality that queer as identity and mode of understanding plays in recovering the intersubjective commonalities of queer feminist soundwork as a phenomenon.

But what of "feminist" in this political phenomenology of queer feminist soundwork? Like "queer," I approach "feminist" as a term bound to embodied experience. Feminism and, in turn, feminists can also find power in taking up a refusal of one universalizing definition. However, when asked what my foundational definition is, the political aims of feminism continue to require and draw strength from some strategic essentialism. I still find my grounding in the fundamental goals of feminism put forward by bell hooks, where feminism is a movement to "end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression."[19] Still, by using the language of sexism without explicitly addressing other ongoing systems of oppression, racism, homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia, ableism, and so forth, attempts to delineate a universal-

ized notion of feminism always seem to fall short. In part, this text turns to soundwork to unpack the nuances, connections, dissonances, and repetitions in how queerness and feminism are understood and experienced in work made by and for queers and feminists. Feminist work is collective work that keeps us in constant conversation with past and present feminist thinkers and activists. Throughout this book, we explore various feminisms as they take shape and resound through the soundworks of radio shows and podcasts across the decades. For example, chapter 1 takes up trans-exclusionary feminism, the whiteness of popular feminism, and provides a more in-depth overview of queer feminism for studying soundwork. While I cannot and could not do justice within these pages to every and all understandings of feminism I find essential to the movement, the strategic essentialism taken on in this work to focus on queer feminisms gives shape and direction to the narrative and the arguments presented toward what I hope can be a humble contribution to queer and feminist history, and to the crucial role that sound media continues to play in political activism.

Recovering Lesbian Feminisms in Queer Times

Political phenomenology taken up as a queer feminist practice allows for lived experiences drawn from interviews, recordings, and various incomplete pieces found in the archives to shape our understanding of the phenomenon in question while reflexively attending to the gaps, biases, and limits of academic work. We can never know the complete picture of Cathy's experience (as shared in the opening of this chapter) or the experiences of the other soundworkers heard on *The Lesbian Show* from its 1979 inception to its 2010s end. Still, these voices draw us backwards, in search of missing pieces and missing people made marginal, imaginably ourselves missing too. It's a pull of desire to "unghost" lesbian feminism's "connections, effects, and legacies."[20] While these points of connection and meaning-making manifest into the focal point of this study, in listening back, one must also attend to the tensions, traumas, and exclusionary tactics that haunt lesbian feminism and lead to the perception of "lesbian" as a passé or backward orientation. Lesbian and queer are not "born this way" orientations in feminist history as pop star Lady Gaga might claim. Queer and lesbian are movements, a political practice, and a way of living that includes but goes way beyond identity and sexual orientation. You can be a lesbian or queer without being a feminist, and you can be a feminist without being a lesbian or queer. Throughout this work, I position lesbian femi-

nism in conversation with queer feminisms and, at times, as queer feminism itself. Sara Ahmed argues that when these terms collide, "lesbian feminism gives us the tools to make sense of the sexism that becomes all the more striking when women exit from the requirements of compulsory heterosexuality."[21] Lesbian feminisms offer an orientation toward refusing singular feminist narratives to reimagine and embrace the complexities of queerness found in experiences like Cathy's in everyday media. Similar arguments are made in the value of Black feminisms, Indigenous feminisms, trans feminisms, crip feminisms, and other feminisms that engage in a refusal of a universalizing white cisgender womanhood. While this work could focus on any of the feminisms above, lesbian feminism and subsequently, as I will argue, queer feminism is strategically called here to focus on queer and feminist made media that engage in the deconstruction of heterosexuality and patriarchy toward an ethics and erotics of queer love.

While I discuss lesbian feminism and queer feminism in dialogue throughout this work, it is also essential to note some of the core defining features, tensions, and contextual differences tangled up in the connections explored between these two feminist positionalities. First, I argue that lesbian feminism and queer feminism both work to decenter the still too dominant white cis male perspective through actions against compulsory heterosexuality and the systems that uphold it.[22] Here I draw on the work of Adrienne Rich (1986) in defining compulsory heterosexuality as the presumption that women are "innately" sexually oriented toward men. Taking this further, Rich reflects on their early writing on this topic to say that the aim is not to "widen divisions" within the feminist movement "but to encourage heterosexual feminists to examine heterosexuality as a political institution which disempowers women—and to change it."[23] Where lesbian feminism aims to address both patriarchal harms and the harms of heterosexuality critically, the emergence of queer theory in the 1990s brought gender fluidity and sexuality beyond binaries of man/woman/straight/gay toward the development of queer feminism. Still, lesbian feminism has much to offer both queer theory and feminist activism today as we navigate a continuously complex global politics of institutionalized sexism, racism, ableism, transphobia, and homophobia.

In *Living a Feminist Life* (2017), Sara Ahmed boldly claims that "in order to build worlds from the shattered pieces, we need a revival of lesbian feminism."[24] Here Ahmed invites us to return to lesbian feminism to draw on the movement's inventiveness, playfulness, community focus, and unapologetic desire for a better future now. Similarly, Rox Samer (2022) calls for a renewal of the feminist world-building that can take shape through lesbian potential-

ity. Turning to the feminist media of the mid-1970s, Samer locates lesbian potentiality as "the potential that gendered and sexual life could and would someday be substantially different, that heteropatriarchy may topple, and that women would be the ones to topple it."[25] *Lavender Sounds* is my humble response to this collective appeal to revive or redux the potentiality of lesbian feminism in dialogue with our queer digital present and future histories.[26] This text contends with historical lesbian feminist radio activism alongside contemporary queer podcasts to articulate a political phenomenology for queer feminist soundwork. One text can never encapsulate the entirety of queer feminist soundworks' ever-changing practices and experiences. Nonetheless, the themes and concepts offered here aim to contribute to a further understanding of queer feminism's radical sound aesthetics, media networks, and sonic subjectivities for an ever louder joyful queer future.

The Audibility Activism of Queer Feminist Media

In this framework of queer and feminist textual, historical, and phenomenological methods, radio shows and podcasts that produce queer feminist and lesbian feminist content are political soundscapes. They are soundscapes in which we can trace intergenerational shifts in queer women's subjectivities and audio media production that put queer and feminist experiences at the forefront. This is not solely a history project, but you will find history here. This is not a speculative novel, but I hope the stories will spark the imagination. *Lavender Sounds* is a political and theoretical study of queer feminist soundwork and, as such, is also a story of *audibility activism*.

Queer activism has historically been and continues to be inextricably tied up with a politics of visibility. What I call for here is a shift from the default feminist and queer politics of visibility toward audibility activism as one potential route out of the limitations of "representation" discourse within media studies. Queer media studies scholars argue that visibility rhetoric, where representation has simply come to assume visible bodies on screen, can only take us so far regarding advocacy and advancements for historically marginalized media-makers in the creative industries.[27] Lesbian feminism, as part of the feminist movement, calls for radical transformation through action against heteropatriarchy and toward a reimagined sexual and gendered society. If we pause to think about what this means in terms of sensory experience and production of media, lesbian feminist radio shows like *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs) are focused auditory phenomena

embedded in a broader lesbian-feminist culture committed to building "women's" culture through media, bars, bookstores, restaurants, family structures, and more. Just as I focus here on audibility through soundwork, I equally look forward to future studies on lesbian culture through other sensory means and embodied experiences. Here I propose that a shift from the default politics of visibility/representation and toward audibility activism has the potential to draw attention not only to the diversity of bodies we can count on-screen or in any media space but also to how their voices and experiences are given space and constructed in the work and behind the scenes.

What I mean by audibility activism will develop as further examples are unpacked throughout the chapters to follow, but to begin let us broadly define audibility activism as the intentional use of sound to promote or intervene in sociopolitical, economic, or environmental issues toward a perceived better world. As a sonic counterpart to visibility politics, we can understand the politics of audibility as a set of debates and ideologies about how power is formed and enacted through sound and listening. The significance of audibility to queer and feminist media activism has always been there yet it has been overshadowed by the visualphilic tendencies of the Western world. While audibility activism is found across a wide array of media, as a sound-forward form soundwork provides a rich ground for studying sound's role in queer feminist activism. How are activist ideologies of visibility translated into the sound-centered world of radio and podcasting? What is made audible as lesbian, queer, or feminist? What is left inaudible as a result?

Regardless of the queer media form we are studying, the political significance of aesthetics becomes apparent when asking such sensory and production-driven questions. In *Cruising Utopia*, José Esteban Muñoz discusses queer aesthetics as evoking a "utopian force."[28] Put simply, the very queerness of queer feminist work lies in its refusal of the current state of gendered and sexual life and its ability to represent the potentiality of another world. Where Muñoz draws on the camouflage and ornamental aesthetics of artworks by Andy Warhol and Merce Cunningham, I instead turn to the sonic aesthetics of camp, queerspeak, punk, and erotic play heard in queer feminist radio and podcasting. By bringing contemporary queer feminist soundwork into conversation with lesbian feminist radio of the 1970s and beyond, this work traces this queer sonic aesthetics alongside the production, networks, and politics of discoverability that continue to be at the forefront of popular debates in contemporary soundwork industries just as they were at the start of lesbian radio. This set of sonic aesthetics speaks back to the playfulness and potentiality at the root of lesbian feminism that continues in queer feminist media today.

A "Historientation" toward Lesbian Radio

In LGBTQ+ radio history, many recall the events of the late 1950s, when the United States Federal Communications Commission demanded that Allen Ginsberg's poem *Howl*, with its homosexual overtones, no longer be aired on Pacifica radio station KPFA-FM. The broadcast of Ginsberg's work is speculated as the first explicitly homosexual content aired over American radio, opening up the possibilities of queer culture and political activism on the airwaves. By the 1970s, a variety of public and community radio stations across North America began hosting queer content to target gay and lesbian listeners, with shows like *Gaydreams* out of Philadelphia's WXPN-FM and *Gay News and Views*, said to be Canada's first regularly scheduled LGBT radio program, out of Kitchener-Waterloo's CKMS-FM.[29] Despite this history of queer voices on air, when it comes to cultural research on LGBTQ+ audio media, there is little published work to establish a field of queer radio culture.

It is important to remember that it wasn't until 1973 that homosexuality was removed from the list of psychiatric disorders by the American Psychiatric Association. It wasn't until 2005 that Canada legalized same-sex marriage by enacting the Civil Marriage Act. Even in 2025 as I write this, we're witnessing an alarming escalation of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation sweeping across North America and Europe. In Hungary, for instance, the organizer of Pécs Pride now faces possible prosecution simply for attempting to hold a Pride event. At the same time, another wave of attacks on reproductive rights and trans rights are taking over the United States. We must acknowledge these ongoing hardships faced by the queer community that constrain and discourage scholarly work on queer lives and media activism. Nevertheless, when we zoom out, we can see that from the 1970s onward, there has been a steady expansion of gay, lesbian, queer, and trans studies growing out of and resonating with the activism and movement-building surrounding such events.

Within queer media studies, an added factor to consider is the archival challenge of finding and working with audio recordings, when radio as an ephemeral medium often meant reusing tape reels or never recording. Alongside these broader impacts of archival audio scarcity and degradation within the realm of scholarly feminist theory, we might also reflect on the continued influence and dominance of psychoanalytic and visual analytic approaches developed in early feminist film studies. The popularity of visual psychoanalytic frames such as Laura Mulvey's "the male gaze," for example, over sound aesthetics or frames could play a role in why we continue to see a lack of

sound-oriented research within queer studies. There are, of course, sonic exceptions within early feminist film studies, such as Kaja Silverman's *The Acoustic Mirror* (1988), which continue to influence cultural sound studies today, but feminist cultural writing on radio and other sound media is sparse at best from the 1970s until the sonic turn in the humanities during the late 1990s and early 2000s. As a media and communication scholar, I look and listen back to queer women's experiences through the archives of soundwork to learn from their successes, imagination and innovation, and failures. Inspired by the work of Heather Love (2007) and Sara Ahmed (2006), *historientation* is a playful term I evoke here to encapsulate the disorienting experience research can evoke when one must be continually orientated backwards through reflexive engagement with historical media and the others experiences of the past. The disorientation of historientation in my experience is amplified by the folding across timelines and contexts when a feminist critical approach to situatedness, iteration, and reflexivity is outlined in chapter 1 on methodologies. Throughout this text, I focus on two foundational lesbian feminist radio shows, Vancouver Co-Op Radio's *The Lesbian Show* and CKUT Montreal's *Dykes on Mykes*, to provide a *historientation* with one ear to the past and two feet in the present.

Less known in LGBTQ+ radio history, Canadian radio shows like TLS and DoMs began to emerge alongside their American counterparts in the 1970s and 1980s. *The Lesbian Show* in 1979 was followed by *Dykes on Mykes* of CKUT Montreal in 1987. While lesbian feminist community radio takes focus in this work, it is also important to note there were already efforts ongoing prior to establishing community radio licensing under the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to dedicate time on Canadian airwaves to gay liberation programming. All the soundworks featured here are indebted to the tireless media activism of past and present broadcasters and media-makers who made community radio and independent queer media grants and support for digital audio possible. While little historical data has yet to be recovered on LGBT radio before the establishment of community radio, select show examples such as *Montréal Gay* live on in the archives through newsletter and magazine listings as a reminder of what may have been happening across the country. "A program of 'free expression' produced by local gays and bisexuals" on Radio McGill before its new licensing as CKUT, *Montréal Gay* and shows like it can be seen as precursors to *Dykes on Mykes* in establishing dedicated gay programming in Montreal.[30] Community radio in Canada began in 1974 and 1975 with four stations, including Vancouver Co-Op (CFRO-FM), licensed by

the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Campus stations such as CKUT-FM were licensed under the same campus and community radio policy shortly after that. Separate from commercial stations and the national public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and armed with regulatory mandates to reflect "the diversity of the communities served,"[31] these community stations quickly became integral sonic spaces for the inclusion of lesbian and queer voices including Indigenous, French language, and multilingual programming within local Canadian radio soundscapes.

The formalization of community radio under the CRTC occurred just as cultural feminism began to hit its peak, with feminist presses, community archives, feminist restaurants, record labels, art collectives, bookstores, and film distributors flourishing across North America. Within Canada, organizations such as the Lesbian Organization of Toronto and the Lesbian Caucus of the British Columbia Federation of Women were key groups that grew out of lesbian feminist activity spilling over from the US to demand that "feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice."[32] Thus a political movement rose against the white middle-class heteronormative mainstreaming of feminism and the exclusion of lesbian issues from organizations within women's liberation. Naturally, community radio became an exciting technotool for the feminist media-makers' toolbox as a space where making soundwork for women by women could become unbound from the high costs of radio broadcast equipment or dedicated studio space. Community radio in Canada is distinct from commercial and public broadcasting in providing community-operated and owned stations that serve the local community, including often underrepresented voices. Community stations under CRTC regulations are nonprofit alternative media spaces where shows are led by volunteer community members with volunteer outreach, station management, technical assistance, and training from a small team of station staff. Early on, the low barrier to access, aside from training and occasionally membership fees, cultivated a diversity of community programming not heard on commercial and public stations coast to coast to coast. With over 4,500 kilometers between them, *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* were on the air for over thirty years, making them two of Canada's longest-running known English-language lesbian feminist radio shows.[33]

To situate you, the reader, into the historientation required for this research, one ear to the past and two feet in the present, the following five sections provide details on each soundwork included in this study. We begin with *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* as our two foundational lesbian

feminist works. We then move into descriptions of our contemporary soundworks: *The Heart* (Radiotopia and Mermaid Palace), *Queer Public* (independent podcast), *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* (independent podcast), and *Me & AU* (Procyon Podcast Network). While TLS and DoMs could provide enough data to make up their own dedicated media study, in taking a critical approach to the study of media, I decenter the traditionally universalizing voice of the researcher (myself) by drawing instead on the voices and experiences of modern-day soundworkers. All themes and findings shared in this book were formulated through interviews with soundworkers behind the following works and from critical listening to select episodes inspired by or listened to in those conversations.

Additionally, the podcasts included in this study are not just any queer feminist soundworks. As each show outline below will establish, the four soundworks all hold community connections to *Dykes on Mykes* or *The Lesbian Show* through past affiliations or ties to place in addition to their queer feminist aesthetic politics. This theoretical tracing of queer feminist soundwork across time and place works to showcase the essential contributions of lesbian feminism, audio activism, and queer culture to how we understand the sonic communication of gender and sexuality through media and technologies. The stories below provide a starting point for the linkages between community radio and podcasting throughout this text. They also serve as a reference point to come back to for each show as you move deeper into the aesthetics, networks, and subjectivities behind the phenomenon of queer feminist soundwork.

The Lesbian Show: "By Lesbians, for Lesbians, about Lesbians"

Vancouver Co-Op Radio 102.7 CFRO-FM's *The Lesbian Show* started in 1979, just as the cooperatively run community radio station began being carried on cable to most parts of the province of British Columbia, Canada. While TLS wasn't part of Co-Op Radio's original programming roster when Co-Op went live in April 1975, the station purportedly stated its "commitment to women's needs and participation" from the get-go and had women's programming and gay and lesbian programming by 1978 when the station's CRTC license was renewed, including the gay/lesbian *The Coming Out Show* and the feminist *Woman-Vision*.[34] Before *The Lesbian Show*, Co-Op Radio's first gay/lesbian radio program, *The Coming Out Show (COS)*, was started by twenty people brought together by a call to organize from Co-Op Radio member Russell Wodell. The show's name has

changed over the years from *The Coming Out Show* to *Fruit Punch*, to *Fruit Salad* and *Out and About in Canada* since it first aired on September 7, 1978. Long-time partners and gay activists Bill Houghton and David Myers led the first eight years of *The Coming Out Show*. The duo also archived and later donated thousands of tape recordings and text materials from their time on the show to the ArQuives (formerly the Lesbian and Gay Archives of Canada) in Toronto, Canada. Their scrapbooks and taped broadcasts allowed for a rich complementary archival sibling to my research on *The Lesbian Show*. David was also generous in speaking with me and providing additional research materials via email and phone. David's writings on the Gay and Lesbian Rights March on Washington on October 14, 1979, on Vancouver's gay and lesbian history from the establishment of the Vancouver Gay and Lesbian Community Centre in 1979, and the notorious Lesbian Kiss-In at Joe's Café on Commercial Drive in 1990, give further cultural and political context behind the sustained media activism of *The Coming Out Show* and its lesbian feminist counterpart *The Lesbian Show*.

As mentioned earlier, a lesbian isn't always a feminist, and a feminist isn't always a lesbian. TLS was created just one year after *The Coming Out Show*, airing its first broadcast on June 7, 1979. The two shows were aired back-to-back on Thursday evenings weekly, making for what TLS cofounder Silva Tenenbein described as some "awkward" initial years following their move from COS to TLS. In our interview for my feminist radio show *FemRadio*, Silva shared how TLS was sparked out of frustrations with what she experienced as a male-dominated queer space at COS. While *The Coming Out Show* continued to have lesbian voices and lesbian issues covered in their broadcasts even after TLS was formed, in true lesbian feminist fashion Silva and their fellow TLS collective members desired their own sonic space "by lesbians, for lesbians, about lesbians."[35] In their 1979 manifesto, the TLS collective emphasizes the "political responsibility" and "commitment" involved in taking control of the lesbian narrative from "the straight media." However, they also acknowledge the importance of the "political differences," "experiences," and "personalities" that the collective brings to the show.[36]

While some TLS contributors continued to volunteer with COS, others came and went. Silva Tenenbein, Sherry McCarnan, Gisele Perreault, Ann Russell, and Connie Smith are the six founding members of *The Lesbian Show*. The early collective was predominantly white, coming from working-class and antiracist feminist activist backgrounds, contributing to the show's particular sound. Long-time Co-Op Radio personality Connie even expanded their efforts to award-winning music-focused women's shows like *Rubymusic*[37] that, alongside TLS and COS, carved out sustained space for

queer and women's programming at Co-Op Radio, still reflected today in the diversity of shows on air at Vancouver Co-Op Radio. *The Lesbian Show* continued from 1979 until 2014 later replaced by the "Two-Spirited, Questioning, TransLezBiGay, Queer Community" show *Gender Queeries*.[38] Whether they realized it or not, the six founding radio radicals of *The Lesbian Show* sparked a potential for queer feminist soundwork taken up by generations. In the following chapters, you will hear from past members of TLS from across its varying decades. Their voices are also featured in Lavender Sounds, The Audio Archives "Part 1—Love, radio, and lesbian separatism," which provides a deeper dive into *The Lesbian Show* and the politics behind its creation, so you can hear this story as it was told to me firsthand.[39] While early members like Silva provide insight into the lesbian feminist foundation of the show and its influence on queer feminist soundwork aesthetics and practices, members such as artist Meita Winkler and musician Eirene Cloma provide insight into the changing politics of TLS as it collided with the techno-culture and postfeminisms of the 1990s and 2000s.

Dykes on Mykes: Montreal's Lesbian Radio Radicals

Meanwhile, on the opposite side of the country, it would take another eight years before Montreal's *Dykes on Mykes* hit the airwaves to add another voice to the lavender reverberations created by *The Lesbian Show*. While McGill University has been home to campus radio since the 1940s, it wasn't until 1987 that CKUT got its FM license as a campus-community radio station after a successful application to the CRTC. DoMs was pitched alongside its gay men's counterpart, the *Homoshow*, as part of CKUT's premiere programming roster to service the "LGBT community."[40] Montrealers Robyn Badger, Voula K., and Minty are remembered as the original voices of DoMs's 1980s formation leading to its recognition by the Montreal Mirror as one of Montreal's best local radio shows in 1990.[41] The *Homoshow* changed names to *Queercorps* shortly after, and both shows were moved back to back on Monday evenings from their original Tuesday time slots five hours apart. While DoMs had no formal mandate, the show's name and archives of lesbian-queer media activism speak back to TLS's 1979 manifesto with its 1980s Montreal queer punk activist spin.[42]

Just as DoMs was finding its footing as a community radio show in the 1980s, LGBT activism turned its efforts to the AIDS crisis with ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) chapters popping up in cities across North America, including Montreal. Montreal also sees the Quebec Gay

Archives established in 1983, followed by Canada's first LGBTQ film festival, image+nation, in 1988, housed at the archive's original 4067 Saint-Laurent Boulevard location. Amid the devastating loss of community felt due to the AIDS crisis, the 1990s bring a counterqueer image to the mainstream via the form of the "chic" white middle-class lesbian. As a result, by the early '90s, lesbian celebrities such as k.d. lang are gracing magazine covers as part of this "lesbian chic" moment. Yet other members of the LGBTQ+ community deal with continued antigay violence and prejudice, such as the notorious Montreal Sex Garage Raid on July 15, 1990. The police raid, where many people are beaten and arrested, leads to demonstrations throughout the city in protest. It is out of these tensions between mainstream lesbian visibility, the commodification of identity politics, and continued violence against the queer community that *Dykes on Mykes* finds its voice on the airwaves. Similar to the reclaiming of "queer" by LGBTQ+ activists, "dyke" carries a certain antiestablishment politics that by the late 1980s and 1990s "gay" and "lesbian" as identity markers do not. A radical self-designation, by the 1970s "dyke" was a common American slur with a complicated history said to be rooted in a variety of potential cultural expressions, including the Greek "dike," tied to the goddess Athena as "man-woman," and the verb "to dike," "to attire oneself faultlessly for social purposes," particularly with men's attire popular in the mid-1800s.[43] Though I doubt anyone using dyke as a slur knows much about the term's history, it certainly adds to the reclamation of the term through dyke marches and dyke as a political working-class lesbian identity in contrast to "lesbian chic" representation.

Like *The Lesbian Show*'s mandate to create lesbian visibility, *Dykes on Mykes* focused on lesbian and queer life, particularly within their local community. As MacPhee and Hogan (2006) point out in their research on DoMs, by 2004, an "entirely new crew joined *Dykes on Mykes*" "and they conceptualized the show's target audience differently," departing "from the identity politics practiced by the former generation."[44] DoMs had critical conversations about maintaining the shows' distinct lesbian identity and dyke history while also amplifying and bridging queerness and queer identity. In "Part 2—A box of tapes" of *Lavender Sounds* audio companion, voices behind DoMs, including MacPhee and Hogan, take us back to this time of radical change as Queer becomes mainstream, and the proliferation of the World Wide Web means doing community differently.[45] As explored further in chapter 4, as the politics and needs of the queer community in Montreal shifted, so did the media activism of *Dykes on Mykes*. The shift in aesthetics and practices led to an interest in online archiving and podcasting the show during the late 2000s. It's an interest that I am grateful for as a

researcher, and I assisted in the creation of a *Dykes on Mykes* fonds donation to the ArQuives (LGBTQ+ archives of Canada) as part of this research project. DoMs members Mel Hogan, M-C MacPhee, and Dayna McLeod are vital names behind the podcasting initiative dating back to 2006 who were then brought into digital communion with their online feminist journal *No More Potlucks* in 2009, where the journal site housed "more than 70 hours of archived Dykes on Myke's radio" in its first launch year.[46] DoMs turn toward the digital podcast space is one of the various catalysts behind the cross-generational and intermedia approach I take to my study of queer feminist soundwork.

While some radio shows choose not to podcast or never could become podcasts because of their historical period of production, others, like DoMs, were interested in the temporal and spatial shifts in listening and audience reach that digital distribution could provide. Cases like DoMs do not neatly fit into radio or podcasting studies but instead slip between the static, offering a bridge between the broadcast and podcast worlds. "Podcasting" entered 2005 as Word of the Year by the *New Oxford American Dictionary*, establishing its pop culture status as an emerging medium outside traditional broadcast media's regulatory restrictions and gatekeeping. Podcasting's potentiality creates a powerful pull for individuals interested in media activism through its cultural promise to provide access to soundwork on-demand wherever one chooses to listen in from as long as they have internet access, or the episode downloaded in advance. This pull toward podcasting interestingly parallels the pull toward the potentiality of lesbian feminism that ignited shows like *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* in the first place. Potentiality is a key signification of futurity, a part of a cultural feminist uptake of "lesbian" and the promises of lesbian separatism found across feminist media of the 1970s. This potentiality found in queer feminism and podcasting also resonates in the first podcast of four featured in this study: Radiotopia's *The Heart*.

The Heart: Podcasting Intimacy and Humanity under Capitalism

The Heart is an ongoing collection of soundworks about intimacy and humanity founded by Kaitlin Prest and Mitra Kaboli. The two former Montrealers moved to New York to pursue work in the growing public radio podcasting scene in the early 2010s. The podcast is perhaps best known for its award-winning personal documentary approach to topics of love, body politics, sexual abuse, and white supremacy. Over its various

changes in team members and network affiliations, it has managed to stay steadfast in this commitment to being, first and foremost, an unapologetically queer feminist soundwork. This commitment to upholding a particular activist bent in their work didn't materialize from thin air. It came from Kaitlin's and Mitra's experiences leading up to the creation of *The Heart*, most notably their early roots as collective members in the sex-positive radio art show *Audio Smut* out of CKUT Montreal—the same campus community station as *Dykes on Mykes*. Kaitlin joined CKUT's *Audio Smut* Collective in 2008, just three years after its debut at the station, with Mitra joining just before their move to New York. *The Heart* started first under the moniker *Audio Smut* as an extension of the radio show produced remotely from Kaitlin's New York bedroom. The podcasters soon decided to change the name to remove conflict with CKUT and to rebrand the show with a perhaps more "public radio friendly" emphasis on intimacy and humanity under PRX Radiotopia in contrast to the joyfully sexy smutty queerness of *Audio Smut*.

Like *Dykes on Mykes*, the late 2000s brought interest in podcasting to the *Audio Smut* team, who would post their shows online after broadcasting them live on CKUT airwaves. The community radio show turned podcast post broadcast is now a standard part of Canada's campus-community radio system today, with numerous stations including show archives on their website for download or third-party hosting services like Soundcloud or Mixcloud to push out to Apple Podcasts and other podcast platforms. Still, as the podcast industry continues to grow as distinct from its radio sister, particular shifts in aesthetics and production practices become apparent in comparing community radio-born soundwork with podcast soundwork. *The Heart* becomes a unique case study in this collection that speaks to the same tensions between queer feminist politics and the reality of the neoliberal capitalist patriarchal system that independent podcasters trying to make soundwork for a living must navigate. In chapter 4, questions of what it means to make queer feminist soundwork under late capitalism are addressed head-on in conversation with broader new media discourses of discoverability, networks, and information infrastructure.

I position *The Heart* as part of a more significant shift in queer and feminist activism in the 2000s and into the present that is interested in ways of engaging in an intersectional feminism that center queer experiences in working to dismantle heteropatriarchal, cisnormative, and white supremacist culture. While this may not sound all that different from lesbian feminisms above, the lack of connection many queer women and genderqueer individuals feel to "lesbian," often perceived as a limiting, white, or trans-

exclusionary identity, has shifted the language used to describe feminisms that center queer sexuality. As I outline further in the next chapter, if we shift the feminist narrative away from trans-exclusionary and racist outliers and instead turn to histories of notable radical inclusion and attention to difference, then lesbian feminism is queer feminism just as queer feminism is intersectional feminism. By attending to the resonances between queer feminisms past and present, this work ultimately aims to contribute to imagining more sustained and celebrated boundary-pushing experimental activist media practices for future queers and other communities at the margins. Lesbian feminist histories in media activism provide insight by learning from past successes and pitfalls. The potentiality of queer feminist soundwork is further grounded by the postfeminist neoliberal individualist reality that has come to define podcasting. As a show rooted in the same community radio ethos and literal space as *Dykes on Mykes*, *The Heart* becomes a valuable soundwork at the intersections of community radio's DIY (do-it-yourself) punk culture and community advocacy while also attending to the global digital promises of podcasting.

Queer Public: "A Podcast about Real-Life Queer Life"

The second podcast featured in this study engages head-on with the cross-generational shifts in queer politics through its connections to community radio, podcast spaces, sonic practices, and content focused on queer kinship and documentary storytelling. Host and producer Erin McGregor describes *Queer Public* as a podcast about "real life queer life." A limited-run podcast series launched in 2019, *Queer Public* is unapologetically queer, yes, but does not proclaim itself to be a feminist endeavour. While Erin does not define *Queer Public* as a feminist work, its queer intersectionality evokes similar political sentiments against heteropatriarchy, cisnormativity, and white supremacy to other soundworks' approaches to queer feminism. The podcast features almost exclusively lesbian, queer women, and genderqueer narratives, highlights queer of color and youth perspectives, and the podcast team is made up of exclusively of queer women, nonbinary, and trans individuals.

Before entering the world of podcasting, Erin McGregor got involved with *Dykes on Mykes* in 2010 after taking courses at Concordia University, where DoMs' members Mel Hogan and Dayna McCleod were teaching. Erin had left their master's program at Brock University to take some classes, including media production classes with Professor Mel Hogan. Interested in

learning more about queer culture across generations and building a mentorship with Mel, Erin joined DoMs for a brief stint, learning how to operate the board, produce, and host. In our conversations, Erin noted that radio had always been in their life but was never what they'd thought they'd do professionally. Today Erin continues to work in the public radio and podcast industries through their work with the Association of Independents in Radio (AIR Media), the *Homoground* queer music podcast, and various other freelance opportunities. In addition to Erin's connections to *Dykes on Mykes* as a former collective member, the queer intersectional approach *Queer Public* takes in decentering gay male and white cisgender stories of queerness places particular interest on this podcast for a phenomenological study of queer feminist soundwork as it is defined throughout this text.

In production and politics, *The Heart* and *Queer Public* both reflect the influences of Canadian community radio *and* American public radio on podcasting culture. They also speak to the sonic norms that have come to be associated with hi-fi podcast forms and practices. Still, queer feminist soundwork in the podcast space does not always speak to or with the American public radio sound. In chapter 3 on the queer politics of sonic intimacy and play, our ears return to the West Coast where *The Lesbian Show* once began its lavender reverberations and where yet another queer feminist soundwork has found its political voice.

Warriors, Bards 'n Brews: Chumcasting Queer Feminism

The Lesbian Show is no longer on air at Vancouver Co-Op Radio. Still, traces of the show's queer feminist ethos can now be found in a pop culture comedy chat podcast that also calls Vancouver home—the *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* (WBB) podcast. Cohosts and domestic partners Chloe Krause and Sidney Gill[47] started WBB in 2016 as lifelong fans of the queer camp cult classic television series *Xena: Warrior Princess*.[48] While the podcast's shared geographical location (Vancouver) and local queer cultural touchpoints with *The Lesbian Show* make it a complementary study, WBB also provides insight into one of the most predominant podcast genres outside of documentary narrative-driven works like *Queer Public* and *The Heart*, the chumcast. A chumcast is a podcast format "in which two or more hosts riff off each other, chatting in a casual or rambunctious manner around a theme, making the listener feel included in a private no-holds-barred conversation."[49] Podcast scholars note the chumcast as a genre with great potential for marginalized voices.[50] However, celebrities and comedians

ultimately dominate it. The chumcast genre WBB represents is akin to some of the more conversational or banter-heavy segments of the magazine-style radio show format that categorize both *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show*. This format works to Chloe and Sidney's benefit. As a self-defined comedy podcast with an active interest in ethics and social justice, the duo record episodes in their East Vancouver apartment, typically over a few drinks, while watching an episode of *Xena* or another piece of queer media. The chumcast format is complemented by the signature style of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, which Sidney describes as "gay chaos."[51] Though, I'd certainly say that, in my listening experience, it is quite an organized chaos with thoughtful critique and lively banter set to the linear flow of the episode's chosen media, which is typically playing in the background (with a few exceptions).

As we will explore further in chapter 3, WBB draws on key tenets of queer feminist soundwork: playfulness, queerspeak, and humor. These tenets echoed from *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* speak to a broader history of comedy and play in queer feminist activism. While Sidney and Chloe are the hosts, producers, editors, and sole creators of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, they also draw on and work with a network of other podcasters, queer community members, and feminist thinkers to build the show through their feminist practices of guest hosting, sharing, and kinship. While some queer feminist soundworkers, like Chloe and Sidney of WBB, produce their shows independently within an unofficial support network, other soundworkers choose to build up more formal networks. One example is *The Heart*'s affiliations with audio art company Mermaid Palace and podcast network PRX Radiotopia. However, aside from the larger podcast network giants like Radiotopia, Gimlet, or Wondery, there is also a bourgeoning world of indie podcast networks. One such network featured in this study under the queer feminist soundwork banner is Procyon Podcast Network, the team behind the queer coming-of-age romance *Me & AU*.

Procyon Podcast Network: Reimagining Audio Fiction Labor

Me & AU is a fictional podcast following queer university student Kate Cunningham as they explore an online friendship turned possible romance with a fellow fanfiction writer living across the country. Kate is home in Kamloops, British Columbia, for the summer; meanwhile, Ella, Kate's blooming online friendship/love interest, lives in Toronto, Ontario. The story is a sweet-spoken narrative-driven limited series with light sound

design to round out its *Limetown* reminiscent audio fiction format. The Kamloops, BC, setting of the *Me & AU* plays into writer/producer Andrea Klassen's experiences living in rural British Columbia and their experiences of making queer connections through online fanfiction communities. Andrea's links to rural British Columbia and how it informed *Me & AU* content brought me back to the importance of rural content and information sharing revealed by members of *The Lesbian Show*. I initially interviewed Andrea about *Me & AU* based on the show's queer feminist aesthetics and BC connections paralleled in TLS. Still, as our conversation continued, our discussions of shared labor and queer feminist community within the Procyon Network became a primary focus of chapter 4, "Finding Queer Soundwork: On Feminist Network Labor and Discoverability."[52] In addition to writing and producing *Me & AU*, Andrea is an active member of the Procyon Podcast Network. The network takes a nonhierarchical labor-sharing approach where network members will help one another with production and marketing tasks for their various shows. For example, while Andrea is the lead on *Me & AU*, they also cowrote on the network podcast *Station to Station* and assisted behind the scenes on *The Strange Case of Starship Iris*. Formed out of frustration with the lack of developed queer, female, and nonbinary characters in the audio fiction world, Procyon comprises a core group of seven women and nonbinary podcasters from Mexico, Canada, the US, and Hong Kong. Given their focus on mutual labor, support, and promotion, Andrea thinks of Procyon as more of a collective than a network. The network's affiliation with the term "collective" situates it within a lineage of feminist organizing and shared labor practices that *The Lesbian Show* collective embraced. Brought into conversation with the lesbian feminist radio collective work of TLS in chapter 4, this collective thinking helps to unpack the resonance and dissonance between early lesbian feminist radio networks of the local community and information activism, in contrast to queer feminist podcast practices oriented toward global community and content discoverability.

The Heart, *Queer Public*, *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, and *Me & AU* provide insights into the complex politics of queer feminist soundwork in the podcast digital contemporary. In addition to these insights and shared experiences of what it means to bring queer feminism into conversation with podcast soundwork, each show brings a particular aesthetic complement to *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes*. *The Heart* represents the fundamental format of personal essays, with specific attention given to sound design. *Queer Public* showcases the strength of audio documentary as a podcast format that requires intense labor but provides a wonderful opportunity for

human-centered and sound-rich storytelling. *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* echoes the affordances of the chumcast format for celebrating the lo-fi punk and playful aesthetics key to queer feminist camp and comedy. *Me & AU* sheds light on the world of audio fiction and the potential for feminist collective practices in soundwork across continents. These formats and approaches can also be found in the vast archives of TLS and DoMs; both were experimental community-driven magazine style shows. It is from the hours of interview recordings and hundreds of hours of recorded shows listened to as part of this project that the themes of audibility activism, sonic intimacy, and feminist network labor emerged to shape this work. Despite the richness of the conversations and sounds shared, it is essential to acknowledge that these four podcasts and two radio shows cannot speak for and do not intend to universalize the entirety of queer and feminist soundwork or the diversity of content available via podcast platforms at the time of writing. Nonetheless, by slowing down and zooming in to place value on experiences from across generations and soundworks, this work contributes a political theorization of queer feminist soundwork in hopes of showcasing the significant contributions of lesbian feminism, radio activism, and queer culture to how we understand the sonic communication of gender and sexuality through media and technology.

With a familiarization with each soundwork included in this study, the following sections introduce the key themes behind queer feminist soundwork as a phenomenon. Organized chapter by chapter, *Lavender Sounds* first works through a history of queer feminism's cultural and theoretical underpinnings in the context of soundwork. From there, chapter 1 continues with an articulation of a listening-centered approach to the study of soundwork using feminist media methods and political phenomenology. Chapters 2–4 then take on the key findings of this historicized and close textual work by drawing on the radio shows and podcasts outlined above as case studies in the audibility activism, sound aesthetics, and network labor of queer feminist soundwork.

What Is Queer Feminist Soundwork?

In the early exploratory stages of listening through the 1980s and 1990s episode archives of *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes*, I could already hear parallels to the award-winning queer feminist podcast *The Heart*. The podcast was the focus of a small case study I authored in the *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media* (2018) edited collection around the same

Table 1. What Is Queer Feminist Soundwork? A Few Essentials

Trait	Definition
Queer Feminist Politics	Ethos and practice are grounded in the politics of queer and lesbian feminism.
Embedded in Queer Publics	Geographically or ideologically positioned, or both, as part of a queer community.
Punk DIY Ethos	Labeled and celebrated as raw, unedited, playful, unprofessional, or punk.
Intimacy, Desire, Sexuality	Embraces sex-positive feminism and the communication of queer intimacy and desire.
Queer Experience-Driven Content	Focuses on queer stories and perspectives.
Connected to Other Media	Positioned as part of (or in contrast to) a larger media system of newspapers, magazines, internet, television, and radio.
A Balance of Serious Politics, Camp, and Play	Politically grounded in queer activism and feminism articulated through "serious" news and narrative storytelling juxtaposed with playful and campy experimentation.
Made by Queer People	Purposefully produced by collectives, groups, and individuals who identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community.
Community and Individual Identity Work	Experienced as an ongoing extension or labored distillation, or both, of one's subjecthood and community identity.

time I began exploring the Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony's TLS collection. As a result, the choices in radio and podcast episodes did not come as one clear set before the other but rather started as a trickle of connections gradually sifted down into complementary sets through the archival, interview, and listening phases. Sets and connections, deconstructed in the chapters that follow, form a unified thematic soundwork collection of community radio shows and podcast episodes that echo one another through their choices in genre, aesthetic, and story. Together in dialogue they work to exemplify the essence of experience at the heart of queer feminist soundwork. Here I provide a starting point for understanding what makes a soundwork queer feminist based on my conversations, research, and countless hours of listening over the past decade of study. I know for me a simple table of terms and definitions can be oh so helpful when looking to understand a new set of concepts or ideologies (see table 1).

Queer feminism, and certainly queer feminist soundwork, as we will come to better understand together throughout this work, is not a tidy or simple phenomenon. Not all queer feminist soundwork checks all these

boxes, but I've found that most do. While this is not an exhaustive list of what makes a soundwork queer or feminist, or both, it gives us a starting point for understanding how queer feminist politics might be heard in the sonic aesthetics, production choices, and communities that aim to cultivate it. Throughout the chapters that follow, you will find expanded discussion and theorization of the themes shared in table 1.

Chapter by Chapter Overviews

Chapter 1. Feminism and Queer Culture in Stereo

Radio shows and podcasts that produce queer feminist and lesbian feminist content are a pivotal part of queer feminism's political, cultural, and historical soundscape. In chapter 1, I articulate the intersections between queer cultural theory, intersectional feminism, cultural sound studies, and media studies central to this project. I propose a definition of queer feminism as a feminism that explicitly includes queer sexual and gender minorities while creating space for discourse and activism surrounding intersectional queer subjectivities and power dynamics across class, race, and ability.[53] If queer cultural theory and intersectional feminism are invested in interrogating the systems and structures that perpetuate and uphold racist, classist, sexist heterosexual power, then media (in its many forms) becomes an integral site of study. Radio and radiogenic media such as podcasting play an integral role in this circulation of queer desires, experiences, and voices within our gendered political soundscape. The field of feminist media studies has a rich and continuously growing body of research on radio, podcasting, and sound technologies.[54] However, further work is needed to coalesce a theoretical foundation for studying queer women's experiences in soundwork production. In this text, I review the intersection of cultural sound studies and feminist media studies to articulate a route toward queer feminist media studies for soundwork. Discussions of voice, sonic intimacy, and the politics of sound are brought forward to revisit the still dominant conversations on the politicization of women's voices set against the tensions of public vs. private experiences of soundwork.

In creating an intermedial media industries approach to the study of soundwork, the mapped literature allows for linkages across media forms and time. Temporality and spatiality are particularly important in postmodern and queer theory. They are also vital aspects in the study and production

of media. By queering our approach to time and space through an expansion beyond a particular temporal constraint around the case studies chosen, this project works to articulate the soundworks of this study within and as a queer counterpublic network and trajectory. The concept of queer counterpublic networks is then applied to chapter 4: "Finding Queer Soundwork: On Feminist Network Labor and Discoverability." By putting the soundwork of the past into meaningful dialogue with the present, a different sort of network emerges, one that allows for feminist and queer media-makers to unbind time and listen back as a "potentially transformative part" of placemaking and movement formation.[55]

Following these discussions on queer counterpublic networks and the role of feminist media activism and soundwork within that context, intersectional feminist media studies and queer theory are brought into conversation with phenomenology and listening as a method. I describe this approach as a feminist phenomenology for studying soundwork using Alison Harvey's (2019) three-pronged criteria for feminist media critique: iteration, reflexivity, and situatedness. With these three terms deeply embedded in feminist activism and theory, I develop Harvey's framework further through new materialist and queer theory provocations for feminist phenomenological research. New materialism and queer theory contribute to a further nuancing of Harvey's approach by extending reflexivity, iteration, and situatedness into the discussion of the intersubjective, "intra-active," and performative entanglements experienced through phenomenological research.[56] I apply this methodological ground to a qualitative mixed methods approach of archival research, reflexive thematic analysis, feminist textual analysis, and audio documentation toward the development of the *feminist-embodied ear* as a concept for critical listening in practice.[57] Here I argue that listening is a Foucauldian "technology of the self," a state of political being. If listening is indeed always political, listening as an embodied practice in feminist media studies must attend to the potential for a feminist-embodied ear to critically question which voices and sounds are present and which ones are missing from the media soundscape.

Pushing back against universalizing individualist approaches to phenomenology, the voices and experiences of fellow queer soundworkers in the podcasting space provide an intersubjective ground for the themes and connection made between queer feminist soundwork past and present. Archival work and semistructured interviews are implemented to enact this intersubjectivity of experience across media generations. Chapter 1 further outlines how these concepts of queer phenomenology and the feminist-embodied ear

can feed into and shape the particular methods of data collection and analysis in sound-forward cultural research. While the archival research stage gives foundation and historical weight to this work, the conversations with the producers and hosts involved in these soundscapes open further avenues to voices and experiences not contained by the archives. Reflexive thematic analysis, an interdisciplinary qualitative method used for identifying themes, then offers an approach to coding that embraces the same open and interpretive ethos of feminist phenomenology. I apply feminist textual analysis to break down and analyze the production choices within the selected work and their elements of format, form, and genre. A method well established in media studies, the feminist textual analysis consists of close reading—or, in this case, close listening—to how particular media objects communicate gender and sexuality.[58] The final method used in this research design is the ongoing reflexive and cathartic practice of audio documentary creation. My audio diaries kept throughout the process of researching, conducting, and writing this work provided space for unfiltered creative play. The sounds and feelings shared through this diary-keeping practice formed the basis for the stories shared at the start of the various chapters in this collection. You are invited to listen to this soundwork alongside this text as a companion text that allows you to peer inside the research process and to hear the voices of interviewees and archival materials shared between these pages.

Chapter 2. Being a Public Queer

Moving from my sonic subjective methods of critical listening and the feminist-embodied ear, chapter 2, "Being a Public Queer," attends to the sonic identity, (inter)subjectivity, and audibility activism at the core of queer feminist soundwork. This chapter investigates how the queer kinship and queer public politics experienced through listening and producing soundwork is dependent upon and at odds with the form, format, and stylistic techno-logics of broadcast radio and podcasting. In questioning the what and how of queer feminist radio and podcast communications, this chapter articulates the tensions and the possibilities of soundwork as a constructed mode of sounding out queerness in public through its use of queer temporality, transgenerational kinship, and alternative approaches to narrative construction. Navigating the instances of these three queer sonic storytelling elements is rooted in what I term *sonic identity* and *sonic subjectivity* as a way to articulate the experience of sounds as embodying or representing the self. *Sonic identity* in its broadest sense (or sensing) is the sounding of the self as part of an identity group, whereas *sonic subjectivity* is the recogni-

tion of sound as part of who we are perceived to be constantly becoming under and against the dominant state and social power. It is the act of feeling your powerful queer self in speaking the way you only do to your lover versus the risk politics of such speech acts across differing spaces of power and agency. Explored and defined further concerning queer feminist soundwork in chapter 2, *sonic intersubjectivity* then comes from how our soundings resonate with each other and are heard in the chorus—to use yet another sound analogy. Whether face-to-face or through the techno-logics of soundwork, intersubjectivity—or how subjects come into being relationally—offers a way to study and articulate how individuals orient themselves collectively toward particular identity markers through praxis and politics. Here I draw on the work of Sara Ahmed to provide grounding for the rich experiences of sonic intersubjectivity experienced by soundworkers across both radio and podcast space.

Weaving through equal measures of radical and soft feminism moments in the work of *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show*, the history of visibility activism in queer and feminist movements is critically examined through a focus on the audible exclusions heard in the sonic whiteness and trans erasure experienced in applying a feminist-embodied ear to the radio archives. Queer and feminist orientations ask us to sit in such discomforts and frustrations experienced in encountering fragmentation or "glitchy-ness" to reveal what speculations and new ways of being might emerge. Through contributions made in attending to points of audible exclusion, fragmented orientations, and queer kinships across time, this chapter invites us to listen to the varied shades of queer feeling and experience at the heart of audibility activism. Furthermore, it opens us to the question driving the chapter to follow: What does it mean to shift from a politics of visibility/representation toward audibility activism that not only attends to the diversity of voices and experiences but also to *how* those voices and experiences are edited and constructed within the media form?

Chapter 3. Kisses through the Static

Chapter 3, "Kisses through the Static," draws on moments of listening to and talking with soundworkers about the aesthetics and production choices in form, genre, and narrative that make a feminist soundwork queer. There is an unmistakable queer politics of intimacy and play at the very root of queer feminist soundwork. Tracing queer feminist aesthetics across varied temporal and spatial contexts brings with it a reality of how these contexts shape the way a politics is experienced and reproduced. It also makes appar-

ent what stays the same. The different approaches to queer feminist aesthetics of play and intimacy analyzed in this chapter ultimately speak to each show's unique formations of sonic subjectivity and intersubjectivity. From camp sounds to sweaty conclusions, their playful and intimately powerful productions offer aesthetic tools to challenge conventional approaches to soundwork and call for a transformed valuing of lived experience, and the feminist "personal is political" for people of color, queer, and trans artists and soundworkers.

From lesbian camp to queerspeak to erotic power, different approaches to queer feminist aesthetics of play and intimacy in soundwork throughout chapter 3 speak to the unique formations of sonic subjectivity and intersubjectivity shows can carry. Camp, a historically rich and radically queer form of artistic expression, is explored in the radio miniseries "Dykes in Space" aired on *The Lesbian Show* (1983). Drawing on the rich debates on queer camp from theorists such as Susan Sontag and David Halperin, the sci-fi lesbian camp of *The Lesbian Show* brings sound media practices into the camp conversation. Play and playfulness are key modes through which queer community articulates identity and recognizes queer kinship in others. That play could be campy performance, sex and sexuality, comedy, or whatever style of queer play takes shape within the given context. By applying a queer theory of play and playfulness to this study, I argue that a curious balance of play and a communally defined set of guidelines is just as key to the production of queer soundwork as it is to sexual expression and identification. While "Dykes in Space" evokes a campy politics of play that embodies a particular queer time in feminist history, the *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* podcast instead applies a playful DIY queer punk reading to the arguably equally campy *Xena: The Warrior Princess* television series. The term "DIY" (do-it-yourself) can evoke a wide range of media, from the 1930s sci-fi zine, to '80s punk music, to feminist zines of the 1990s. What all of these DIY media share is an ethos, which Amy Spencer (2008) puts simply as "the urge to create a new cultural form and transmit it to others on your own terms."[59] Whether deliberate or not, this DIY aesthetic in the WBB podcast places the show within this legacy of DIY punk culture, which creates a constant fluctuation for the listener between playful provocation and sonic intimacy.

While the hosts of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* bring awareness of the patriarchy-smashing queer punk politics embedded in queer feminist soundwork, the erotic politics so key to queer feminism's sex-positive ethos—which is central to podcasting's common conceptualization as an intimate medium—is perhaps best illustrated through the work of *The Heart* podcast. I analyze selections of *The Heart* against Audre Lorde's concept of erotic

power to round out chapter 3's exploration of aesthetics in queer feminist soundwork. Lorde famously argues that through feminism, the erotic can provide a deep connection with another person, a self-connection, and an awareness of your capacity to feel joy outside of heteronormative and "virtuous" notions of marriage or the afterlife. The ethos of power in the erotic drives the aesthetic construction of *The Heart* as a continuously recycled example of podcasting's "intimacy" across podcast studies.[60] The often-invisible labor of producing sound media is exposed by attending to the queer politics of intimacy and play in queer feminist soundwork. While chapter 3 attends to the labor of aesthetic production across close listening of select works in this series, chapter 4 addresses the collective labor and challenges involved in making soundwork discoverable.

Chapter 4. Finding Queer Soundwork

Moving from the labor of aesthetics to the labor of networks and discoverability, the final main chapter in this work zooms out again to a larger picture of the networks that uplift *and* the systems that oppress queer feminist media soundwork past and present. Chapter 4, "Finding Queer Soundwork," moves back and forth across history to address the tension between the liberatory possibilities of podcasting and the reality of discoverability and financial stability for queer feminist soundworkers. As I argue, this tension requires reevaluating how historically marginalized communities approached such media practices. Chapter 4 explores lesbian community radio as a vital form of what McKinney terms "information activism." The term information activism describes a rich history of individuals and social movements across North America who, out of frustration at the lack of documented lesbian history and out of a desire for information, started generating that information themselves. Information activism is a community-driven activist practice across archives, telephone hotlines, newsletters, and various communication technologies.[61] I position lesbian community radio as part of these more extensive networks of information activism from the 1970s onwards to uncover the various efforts these soundworkers took to articulate and distribute their work as part of broader lesbian feminist initiatives to create lesbian visibility and community across geographical distance. Close analysis of archival newspaper clippings in conversation with the experiences of former lesbian radio hosts and producers brings forward critical reimaginings of how these radio makers queered technological practices toward a politics of accountability, safety, and discoverability. Through these analyses, this chapter positions radio as

an information technology that carries a feminist potential to provide safety and care in what conversations are broadcast and how or where we can listen.

Shifting between pre-internet-era radio and the digital world of podcasting brings forward questions of datafication, temporality, and differences in listenership. We must also attend to these shifts to gain a better picture of queer feminist soundwork across generations and decades of media activism. Podcast platforms such as Apple Podcasts and Spotify are driven by data collection. As a result, the platforms collect and store information about the user, which the user also often carries on their person via the smartphone, rematerializing the one ephemeral queer soundwork of queer radio into an item of potential risk to some community members. While the discoverability of radio shows like *The Lesbian Show* was part of a rich network of newsletters, tape sharing, and dial surfing, queer soundwork in podcasting can be said to have a leg up in its potentiality for awareness across distance. This is all well and good, but only if we can find the podcasts that resonate with our communities in the first place. Algorithms in the age of neoliberalism reinforce oppressive social relationships and enact what Safia Umoja Noble terms "technological redlining," new modes of racism, sexism, and discrimination in the digital world.[62] Podcast platform discoverability is compared with the historical practices of lesbian feminist radio to interrogate how the safety of radio listening has been lost in the datafied world of podcast platforms. The search functions and techno-logics of podcast platforms like Apple Podcasts are critiqued through the application of queer theory and feminist information studies toward critical applications and interventions into the world of podcast platforms. Through examples of queer media activism in and outside of soundwork, chapter 4 invites the podcast industry, podcasters, and coders alike to advocate for infrastructures of discoverability that provide more equitable or even queer customizable interfaces and corresponding algorithms that center on queer feminist values of safety and community.

The Lesbian Show Collective's 1979 manifesto reads, "The more we talk to each other, work with each other and celebrate together, the stronger we will become."[63] When I first read this quote, I was reminded of Sara Ahmed's evocative writing of the feminist call to arms in *Living a Feminist Life*. Where the collective writes of becoming stronger together, Ahmed writes of the willfulness feminists require to persist. The feminist army evokes *the arm* as "a signifier of hope."[64] Strong feminist arms become stronger

together. They work to support, hold each other close, and push back against those who aim to harm. Arms are a reminder of gendered labor politics and the feminist act of refusal in curling a fist rather than lending a hand. "Whose arms do what work?" becomes a provocation at the intersections of gender, race, and class. "When a hand curls up as a feminist fist, it has a hand in a movement," Ahmed writes.[65] Where Ahmed sees the arm as a signifier of feminist action, I equally envision a feminist ear. Listening is always political. The ear cannot curl like the hand into a fist, but the ear can bend. Women are stereotypically thought of as "better listeners," ready and willing to bend. The feminine ear, often likened to a mother's ear, is presumed as a more caring and willing ear for anyone wanting to be heard. While the ear cannot simply curl and close like a fist, the head *can* turn away in refusal. A feminist does not let just anyone bend their ear.

Listening is a powerful action. It is a quietness equally essential to feminist and queer activism as the act of "speaking out" or "up." Along these same lines, feminist media theorist Rianka Singh (2018) writes about the importance of quietness as political action, the often "illegible, quiet ways" Indigenous, Black, and queer communities engage in care and survival. When feminist activism in our neoliberal climate is dominated by amplification and digital technologies with increased risk of surveillance, political acts in quietness can be revolutionary. In complement to the rhetoric of "standing up" or "against," we might also theorize "inclination" as a posture of vulnerability and care equally needed in the activist community.[66] Just as a feminist army is made up of many different arms (literal and symbolic), feminists also lend their ears toward collective action. When feminists persist in listening to others who have not been historically given space to sound, and when queers turn their ears toward antiracist, antiableist, and trans-inclusive practices, one can hear echoes of future possibilities in even the most everyday of media forms. What will bend your ear? Let the resounding begin.

1 • Feminism and Queer Culture in Stereo

Queer Feminism and the Production of Soundwork

It's a Saturday morning in late October. Canada has hit a record-high number of COVID-19 cases as cities across the globe see further lockdown restrictions take effect. I've just moved across the country from Vancouver to Toronto, where restrictions mean celebrating my grandma's ninetieth birthday six feet apart on her snow-covered lawn, zoom chats instead of coffee dates, and lonely days working from home and talking to my cat a little *too* much. But today is a bit different than most. Settling into my new apartment in the city's West End, I sit patiently by the front window, drinking tea and watching the leaves tumble around the eerily quiet city streets. In the monotony of stay-at-home pandemic orders, today I'm expecting a visitor. A friend of a friend with a special delivery. Something I've been anxiously awaiting since I first heard the folklore of a box bursting with *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs) tapes during my chat with Mel and M-C, former DoMs hosts, earlier in the year. A box of tapes containing recordings of *Dykes on Mykes* radio shows from Deb VanSlet's time on air in the 1980s and '90s. This initial spark of archival possibility only grew as I continued my interviews with former show members. Where could the box have gone? Was it still lost somewhere at the radio station, doors locked and studios quiet in Montreal's pandemic lockdown? I finally connected with Deb herself. "I have it!" exclaimed Deb in our Zoom chat, and I laughed, "Oh, \perfect." Trying to contain my excitement with little success behind nonchalant replies, I offered to arrange transport for the box to me in Toronto for digitization and safekeeping—at least until we can find a more permanent home for these cherished agents of queer history. Brainstorming courier options in my head, I recalled meeting another former member of the CKUT Montreal radio family through a mutual friend, one Jamie Ross, a fellow queer and talented sound artist who often makes the trip between our two cities.

I notice a car pull up to the curb outside my window. "Rap-tap-tap." I grab my audio recorder and head to unlock the front door. There is Jamie, smiling ear to ear with a weathered cardboard banker's box in his arms. I can just make out "DoMs" written in faded marker across its lid. We squeal in excitement. What precious moments of queer kinship! We stand in the doorframe a few feet apart as Jamie recounts the box's journey: The experience of Deb opening their own front door just as we are, arms wrapped around this same box, and how as Jamie walked away with a promise of the box's safe travel, Deb yelled: "*Dykes on Mykes* forever!"[1]

Accounts like the one above encapsulate how immutably intertwined our research can be with the human connections, intersubjective experiences, and materiality that construct one's object of study. As Alison Harvey writes, "Feminist media studies is as much about ways of understanding how media are used, consumed, and produced in a manner marked by gendered subjectivities as it is about *imagining the potential for media* to contribute to a more just and equal world for those excluded within hegemonic systems of power."[2] Among Jamie, Deb, myself, and past DoMs members, there is a shared perceived value in this box of tapes. Taking a feminist phenomenological view on the account above, perception can be understood as an ongoing exploratory process of gradually discerning the intersubjectiveness of our perceived world.[3] Indeed, the smell of the plastic cassettes, the yellowing handwritten insert notes, the frayed reel-to-reel boxes, and the weathered brown magnetic tape housed inside all evoke a sense of "temporal drag" rooted in the importance of intergenerational kinship and queer history.[4] We engage in a habitus of wearing the past when we adorn ourselves with such material histories. Such temporal drag invites "a way of connecting queer performativity to disavowed political histories," to feel closer through time.[5] However, more than the physical objects inside the box, the embodied experiences these objects represent enact the shared excitement and affective stickiness I've articulated in the encounter above. The voices, stories, and spaces—the sonic phenomena—recorded on these objects carry with them a transgenerational history of queer and feminist activism.

Queer feminism, as a theory and practice, has grown from a long history of intersectional feminism, Black feminism, and LGBTQ+ activism. Alongside queer activist groups such as ACT UP in the 1980s and Queer Nation in the 1990s, we also see the rise of sex-positive feminism as part of this history. Sex-positive feminism emerged with scholars such as Gayle Rubin advocating for sexual politics and sexual liberation as key sites of feminist work to address historically stigmatized sexual identities and practices across communities and media.[6] On such cultural and historical connections between

feminist and queer, Mimi Marinucci defines the growing positionality of queer feminism in the academy as "the application of queer notions of gender, sex, and sexuality to the subject matter of feminist theory and the simultaneous application of feminist notions of gender, sex, and sexuality to the subject matter of queer theory."[7] There is certainly a known history of bias and exclusion against lesbians and transgender people within the feminist canon and a history of racism and classism within queer theory. Yet third- and fourth-wave feminisms and contemporary forms of queer theory continue to critique and "call out" racism, homophobia, and other expressions of oppression through their critical intersectional work.[8] As a result, queer feminism has emerged as a political orientation that explicitly includes queer sexual and gender minorities while creating space for discourse and activism surrounding intersectional queer subjectivities and power dynamics across class and race and ability. While lesbian feminism is introduced in the opening chapter, these further entanglements between queer and feminist scholarly orientations are drawn out here to articulate the intersections between queer cultural theory, intersectional feminism, cultural sound studies, and media studies central to this queer feminist project. By navigating our way through the vast scholarly ecosystem of queer theory, feminist studies, and cultural sound studies, this chapter conceptualizes how tuning our *feminist embodied ear* can help us resist generational narratives within queer, feminist, and sound media scholarship and instead cultivate counterpublic networks across space and time. To do so we begin with a history of queer and feminist activism and theory in and outside of media networks. We then turn to the study of audio media, their sound cultures, and how to put our ears into practice.

Radio shows and podcasts that produce queer, feminist, and lesbian content are a pivotal part of queer feminism's political, cultural, and historical soundscape. However, feminist media scholars have historically centered gender and sexuality on a politics of visibility with the voice exercised as metaphor, immaterial and interpreted solely as the words spoken. Yet the sound of one's voice carries traces of age, sex, gender, sexuality, culture, and many facets of collective and individual identity. Representative of agency, the voice defined solely as "what is said" ignores the politics of *how* one is saying it. The voices, music, and various sounds that construct radio shows, like the ones broadcast by *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes*, are part of a queer feminist activist soundscape. Through studying such soundscapes, we can trace intergenerational shifts in queer subjectivities and audio media production, which put queer feminist experiences at the forefront, sonically taking up space and queering the media soundscape at large. The cultural study

of sound allows exploring the nuances and complexities of the gendered sound/body relationship.[9] To understand how we arrived at this moment of sonic scholarship, we must listen back to the sonic histories and practices that laid the foundation for the sonic cultures in question. In this case, the histories in question are the foundational literature of queer theory, feminist media studies, and cultural sound studies in the study of radio and podcasting.

Queer Feminism for Sound Culture

I would like to open this section with a provocation: queer feminism is intersectional feminism—or at least it ought to be. Queer theory and intersectionality are both mythologized to have grown out of critiques of the universalizing discourses of "woman" in "second-wave feminism." As Annamarie Jagose writes in their critical rethinking of the uptake of anti-identarian discourses in queer and feminist theory, "Feminist theory and queer theory together have a stake in both desiring and articulating the complexities of the traffic between gender and sexuality."[10] However, in thinking through this intersection of gender and sexuality, how are race, class, and ability being addressed or considered, particularly in how we study queer experience and representation across different periods and contexts?

These histories and theories key to queer and feminist theory provide the grounding to critically analyze where sound media is located in discourses of identity formation and ongoing systems of oppression. This grounding is required to approach how queer feminisms have impacted and become entangled in radio and podcasting. In queer studies, for example, one of the most notable divisions is how "queer" is taken up as either identity and subjective experience or as a method. When Teresa de Lauretis first proposed "queer" as a theory in their 1991 article, it was offered as a corrective to what de Lauretis noted as universalizing protocols in lesbian and gay studies that disregarded "gender and race, with their attendant differences of class or ethnic culture, generational, geographical, and sociopolitical location."[11] Then still hopeful of the possibility of queer theory to radicalize feminist intersectional practice, de Lauretis asks:

> Are queer black women and white women, gay men of colour and white, condemned to repeat our respective histories, even as we study, reinterpret, and intervene in them to affect the course of human

> events? Or can our queerness act as an agency of social change, and our theory construct another discursive horizon, another way of living in the racial and the sexual?[12]

In this same journal, just three years later, de Lauretis gives up on the radical possibilities of queer theory as a critical term in the academy capable of attending to the intersections of gender, race, and sexuality. They note how quickly it had become a conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry.[13] The lore of queer theory's emergence is widely taken up as a reaction to the universal "womanhood" and identity-based politics that feminism can seemingly depend on. However, in de Lauretis's work, they mark the history of queer theory as growing out of a response to lesbian and gay studies as a predominantly white gay historiography and sociology "with little or no understanding of female socio-cultural specificity."[14] There are a few early exceptions, according to de Lauretis, including Jill Johnston's "Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution" (1973) and Barbara Ponse's "Identities in the Lesbian World: The Social Construction of Self" (1978), among others, ultimately pointing to a connection rather than resistance to feminist ideologies. Despite such critiques and the breakages in the history of queer theory, it has seen continual growth in its uptake within the humanities and social sciences.

Queer theory brought into conversation with feminist theory allows for the ability to problematize or "queer" linear notions of time and static notions of space that govern the metaphors of generations or waves of feminism that divide and cause conflict within the field. Queering of feminisms past allows for a reconsideration of how feminisms influence each other, allowing for "lost" or less dominant attributes or ideas in feminisms past to be brought into present and future feminist discourses. While de Lauretis seems to be talking about queer more explicitly related to identity, contemporaries such as Sam McBean choose to "queer" feminist time here. "Queering" refers to the process of complicating a thing, and that thing does not need to be explicitly tied to sexuality.[15] In its refusal to be defined and its increasing use outside of queer cultural context though, queer theory has begun to lose some of its sense of political ground. Still, the term upholds a long history of the refusal of normative identity categories and opposition to heteronormativity rooted in anti-identarian and antinormative activism within feminist movements and scholarship. Following and in tandem with North American queer activist groups such as ACT UP in the 1980s and Queer Nation in the 1990s, a reclaiming of the once derogatory term "queer" continues to encompass lesbian, gay, homosexual, bisexual, transgender, and

two-spirit, as well as a wide range of anti-identitarian, antinormative genders and sexualities.

My approach to "queer" draws on these various discourses to encompass "queering" as method and "queer" as identity rooted in a refusal of hegemonic norms around sex, sexuality, and gender, particularly for LGBTQ+ communities. In exploring how queer feminist soundworkers are queering our media soundscape, I am less interested in queer as an identity and more interested in how media is perceived and experienced as "queer" by its producers. What I mean to articulate are some of the varying ways "queer" and "feminist" ideologies are encoded and decoded through sound production techniques, labor, and sonic aesthetics that destabilize hegemonic norms of sex, gender, and sexuality. Queer theory invites queering as a method but one that is necessarily linked to queer activism and identity. Queer and feminist can both be understood as an identity. However, what is more important to this work is recovering a set of ideologies that underlie each activist approach to provide a basis for how to study and produce soundwork that aims to decenter the still too dominant white cis male perspective and compulsory heterosexuality of our media ecosystem. The political importance of identity markers such as Black, lesbian, and woman must continue to be brought into conversation with queer political experience and theoretical conceptualizations; they must do so if queer cultural theory has a hope of cultivating its critical approach to addressing structures and systems of oppression without further depoliticizing "queer" or limiting what can be defined as "queer" lived experience. As I explore further with intersectionality, the current "introspective turn" in feminism[16] may have the potential to bring new (or rather old) dimensions to the ways in which queer cultural theory is interested in what lies *in between,* and in the process of becoming, in gender and sexuality studies to bridge innovative conversations across representations and experiences of race, class, and culture for the future.

Queer Feminism and Intersectionality

Like queer theory, "intersectionality" has experienced a steady uptake in both popular and institutional feminist discourses, even finding its way into the Merriam-Webster Dictionary in 2017.[17] Intersectionality is one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship. It is "part of a cohort of terms" rooted in Black feminism that analyze and address the "interconnectedness of structures of domination."[18] Arriving at a similar historical point in feminist discourse as queer theory and the establishment

of many women's studies programs within the Western world, critical investments in intersectionality similarly became a framework to address the failure of the feminist universal "woman" to ensure equity for all within a system dominated by a singular majority viewpoint.[19] For Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined the term, intersectionality is an analytical approach rooted in bringing forward Black women's experiences against white dominance in American society. It is simultaneously a theory, politics, and doctrine aimed at addressing the forms of violence that uniquely affect Black women based on their race and gender. In short, Crenshaw's coining of the term intersectionality came to encompass ongoing conversations in feminism that reveal how racialized women's experiences of discrimination are erased under the broad umbrella of "woman."

In activist and academic communities alike, concerns have arisen over how successful the application of intersectionality has been in working to address sexual orientation, race, gender, and so forth. The question arises, "How can one ever address the 'etc.' of it all?"[20] Out of this concern, theorists such as Jennifer Nash and Robyn Wiegman advocate for a reconfiguring of intersectionality, not as a rejection of the possibility of a unified "we" in response to women's political efforts, but as a means to highlight the complexity and specificity of women's experiences.[21] While pointing to intersectionality's ability to address critical locations of difference and experience, we can also take a step back to evoke consideration of what may be condensed, displaced, or erased in such "progress" narratives as a sort of all-inclusive "utopian" feminism. What Nash terms an "introspective turn" in their reimagining Black feminism after intersectionality addresses how development and new formations of feminism adapt, exclude, or reinscribe feminism's past. They work to reimagine Black feminism and intersectionality outside of the "property claim" stakes that can haunt and divide "identity-driven feminism," and toward a more affective approach that reckons with the deep historical engagements with Black women's contributions to feminist labor in dialogue with a process of "letting go" to allow for forgotten practices and experiences to reemerge alongside new formations.[22] This is the work we must all do to keep moving the dial toward what we want our feminist practices to enact in and outside of the academy.

What becomes clear through a mapping of the histories and kinships between queer cultural theory and intersectional feminism is the dual discourse at play. Both terms (queer and intersectional), in their efforts to reconfigure the identity pieces of the feminist puzzle into a more experiential and affectively grounded environment, also run the risk of becoming a catch-all umbrella that only works to further displace and fracture feminist work.

Still, queer cultural theory and intersectionality within feminism are continuously valuable frameworks for attending to the different nodes and intersections of identity politics, subjectivity, and corresponding structures and systems of oppression. By drawing on a strong history of LGBTQ2A+ and Black activist ethos, this approach to feminism also attends to the problematization and deconstruction of such established notions. How queer and intersectional approaches to feminism continue to contribute to and redefine the field begins to emerge through such an introspective turn. It only takes a brief look at the icons that Black feminism, intersectional feminism, and queer feminisms share—such as Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe Moraga, Audre Lorde, and Chela Sandoval—to acknowledge how queer of color critiques and experiences have always been and continue to be central to critical knowledge transformations within the feminist academy. They have also always been central to the translation of feminist politics into media activism. Here we engage in an ear-oriented introspective turn to reckon with lesbian feminist soundwork and how queer feminist practices might emerge from what has been forgotten.

Queer Feminist Media Studies for Audio Media

If queer cultural theory and intersectional feminism are invested in interrogating the systems and structures that perpetuate and uphold racist, classist, sexist heterosexual power, then media (in its many forms) becomes an integral site of study.[23] Questions of cultural representation and identity construction are of great importance to studying LGBTQ and feminist media. The fundamental inquiries of feminist media studies, "Who represents?" and "Who is represented?," continue to be crucial questions of power and privilege.[24] The communicative, structural, and culturally shared[25] aspects of media are of particular importance to the feminist study of how media represents, is coded or decoded,[26] and is circulated with gendered experiences at intersections such as race, sexuality, geography, and age.

While this prioritization of queer gender and sexuality can lead to productive contributions of queer textual readings and queer histories, as select works above have shown, it can also lead to equally universalizing notions of queerness and the erasure or exclusion of subjective experiences across intersections of race, class, and dis/ability and age. In the study of queer feminist media, how researchers approach study recruitment, analysis, and writing must continuously address this interrogation of universalization. Queer must be taken up in its more radically political sense as a disruption, as

"unusual or unexpected, as a pejorative slur against those who violate—or are perceived as violating—the heterosexual norm."[27] By doing so, it is certainly possible to bring queer theory into conversation with more intersectional approaches as realized in cultural studies.[28] While queer theory works to disrupt binaries of "female and male, feminine and masculine, homosexual and heterosexual and so on" in practice, it must also work in tandem with intersectionality to strategically question and deconstruct the processes of these binary formations while also attending to the need for essentializing language for large-scale action.[29] If the current moment of rising homophobic and transphobic hate crimes across the globe (with higher stats for women of vital) being covered in the news is any indication, essentializing language still plays a necessary yet dualistic role in simultaneously oppressing and working to address how particular people are targeted and oppressed in society. While essentializing language like "homosexual" and the LGBTQ+ acronym may erase or homogenize, they can also mobilize the community and allies to advocate for improved laws and regulations that address folks' different socioeconomic and lived experiences. A single article or book may not be able to take on the "etc. of it all." However, through continued collective knowledge building and a shift away from universal approaches to feminism and gender studies, there is still much to realize and much to contend with at and in between the intersections for the future of feminist media studies.

Media (in its many forms) is an integral site of study for queer and intersectional feminisms invested in interrogating the systems and structures that perpetuate and uphold racist, classist, sexist heterosexual power. Community-made media has always been central to redressing situations of universalization through sharing stories of queer experiences. Yet soundwork, specifically radio and podcasts produced for and by queer women, has been little studied in relation to its queer and feminist activist contributions. My goal in mapping out these various histories and contemporary debates is to provide a sense of the knowledge sharing and movements that have led to the production of queer feminist soundwork, from lesbian radio radicals to the queer podcast revolution.

Cultural Sound Studies: Radio and Podcasting

Radio and radiogenic media, like podcasting, are crucial in circulating queer desires, experiences, and voices within our gendered political soundscape. They are also crucial to forming community and collective identity by providing media education for community members and sharing queer

and feminist stories and information not heard or challenging to find elsewhere. The second-wave feminist movement and LGBT activism around the 1969 decriminalization of homosexual acts in Canada and the Stonewall riots in the United States that same year gave rise to a crusade of feminist and lesbian-focused radio shows on women's voices and experiences. Queer women's voices, especially, emerged out of a desire for visibility around women's sexuality outside of heterosexual norms and male-centered "homonormativity." Although cultural sound studies is a vastly interdisciplinary field of research, this book focuses on the media subfields of radio and podcasting. Here I am particularly interested in how cultural sound studies can help articulate radio and podcasting's aesthetic and political cultures of sound production.

Queer feminist soundwork carries particular aesthetic choices, political values, and network functions through its application of radio and podcasting techno-logics. To make such claims, an in-depth reading of radio culture and podcast culture, always with an ear for the queer, is needed to bring the queer and feminist theories at the root of queer feminist activism into the study of soundwork. The goal of reading radio and podcast studies in this chapter through a queer and feminist lens is twofold. First, to articulate the shifting relations between the two mediums, particularly regarding sonic subjectivity and the interactions between listeners and producers found in queer feminist soundwork. The second aim is to develop an informed theory of radio and radiogenic sonic space to frame intergenerational shifts in the communication and construction of queer subjectivity and intersubjectivity across networked media publics.

In the past two decades, radio studies has seen a resurgence in academic research alongside the emerging field of cultural sound studies within the humanities and social sciences. The field has produced a healthy assemblage of cultural-historical research that anchors radio and radiogenic media to pivotal historical events[30] and "mundane" experiences of everyday life. The field situates the radio medium not only as a technology or industry but as a community, a culture, and a social practice.[31] Today, contemporary cultural radio studies continue to ask what "radio" means within the digital media landscape of modern-day communication.[32] The term "radiogenic" has emerged to refer to nonradio texts that are particularly suited to a radio broadcast or utilize the distinctive qualities or conventional aesthetic of radio, for example, podcasting, as radio studies expand into digital, podcast, and other alternative forms of audio media research.[33]

Historical, philosophical, and cultural sound studies analysis of voice, listening publics, and music identity continue to intersect with cultural radio

studies as a growing global field of research. As Kate Lacey asks in their reflection on a decade of radio studies, "In our eagerness to let radio have its day in the academic sun, [have we fallen] into the trap of emphasizing radio's distinctiveness over its similarities and connections with other cultural forms?"[34] The strategic placement of radio studies within the broader interdisciplinary field of cultural sound studies addresses this question head-on. Furthermore, in advocating for the use of the term "soundwork" throughout this book, it is crucial to understand the debates that have led scholars like Michele Hilmes to advocate for its use continuously. Radio studies positioned as a connected node within cultural sound studies opens discussion of radio's cultural history and interconnectedness with other media forms, from podcasts and sound for film to sound art and virtual reality soundscapes. The term "radio" encapsulates the broad and shifting boundaries regarding technology, institutions, content, and communities. Nevertheless, the question of "what radio is" continues to be of importance in attempts to delineate the field of radio studies. Within a broader cultural sound studies context, these debates question what "radio" represents and may come to represent culturally within individual communities or sonic worlds in relation to changing platforms, formats, and industry practices.

Alongside radio, podcasting has seen steady growth in popularity, production, and scholarly writing since its inception in the mid-2000s.[35] However, there are still questions as to its definition and the parameters of the field known as podcast studies with its ambiguity regarding industry, infrastructure for distribution, practices of listening, and content production as a radiogenic medium. In relation to cultural sound studies, podcasting is a relatively new field of research with a growing number of publications addressing the relationships between the medium and the cultural study of race, sexuality, and digital listening communities. In this respect, podcast studies in relation to radio studies provide a broader community of scholars interested in the political and aesthetic techno-logics that soundwork offers concerning larger questions of community formation, identity politics, and social change. Regarding aesthetics, podcasting is perhaps best known for its association with "intimacy." While the term is a contentious and sticky one that we will address in chapter 3, it is difficult to deny that the intimacy of podcasts as content primarily listened to via headphones has opened new avenues for historical and cultural sound studies analysis that echo the continued underpinnings of cultural radio research, as noted above. Whether podcasting is positioned either as a subfield of radio studies or a distinct field of its own, its growth within North America, following the tradition of

music personalization, file sharing, and internet radio, opens new avenues for the study of audio media cultures within our contemporary digital era.

To bridge the divide between the study of radio and podcasting within cultural sound studies, Michelle Hilmes's term "soundwork" provides a media industries' approach that draws attention to the interconnected functions of media as economic activities and representations across a variety of technological platforms and experiences.[36] There is a political significance to using the term soundwork over simply radio and podcasting. Soundwork pushes back against the separation of the two audio forms to focus on the similarities in production, and the differences. Soundwork helps to delimit the particular form of interest here away from ideas of radio as Top 40 music shock-jock content to instead turn to story-driven content also produced for podcast distribution, such as audio documentaries, talk shows, magazine shows, and audio fiction. Focused on aurality and the foundational ties to radio embedded in this notion of soundwork, Hilmes later refines the category as a "sonic construction" that employs voice, sounds of actuality, and music to create "meaningful audio experiences that can be heard, understood, and analyzed as distinct purposed texts."[37] In further defining soundwork in this way, Hilmes excludes music and raw audio, such as live music recordings and speeches, in favor of story-driven audio media such as radio shows and podcasts, which apply production techniques of selection, structure, sequencing, pacing, and dynamics. What is less evident in Hilmes's definition of soundwork, yet central to how the term is taken up in sound studies, is how it further accentuates the labor politics of creative audio production. This accentuation of labor in soundwork as sound-*work* will grow in significance as the following chapters engage with the various invisible labors behind queer feminist soundwork.

Soundwork as a term helps to center the study of radio and podcasting not only on the labor of audio production but also on the history of DIY digital practices that led to podcasting as a medium understood as separate from its radio sister. Podcasting emerged out of a DIY entrepreneurial precedent set by early web 2.0 blogging practices, which Sarah Murray defines as "visible entrepreneurial work of the networked, branded self [and] a commonplace digital practice that blends self-expression and creative enterprise."[38] Similar to the blog as a self-representation through online journaling practices or the selfie as a visual self-representation, Murray also establishes intimate soundwork as a project of reflexive selfhood. Here soundwork is positioned as a sonic presentation of "self-in-process," a sonic construction the producer uses to "stake claims" to a particular notion of "authenticity and

intimate connections to listeners."[39] Such articulations of sonic construction are at the heart of how individuals understand their sonic subjectivity.

Murray's work offers illuminating insight into the neoliberal individualism rooted in the aesthetics of podcast soundwork. The addition of "intimacy" as a fixed term in their expansion of Hilmes's "soundwork" into "intimate soundwork" harkens back to a larger phenomenon taking shape in the field of podcast studies, one in which intimacy has come to characterize podcasting without due attention given to the nuanced ways listener *and* producer experience intimacy. The act of producing soundwork is not always an intimate one. In fact, to exclusively tie the labor of creative audio production to intimacy may run the risk of romanticizing podcasting in the same vein as entrepreneurial labor is seen across the creative industries, where work is a "labor of love," a passion turned into precarious work that we must eat, sleep, and breathe.[40] Within an intersectional feminist approach to the study of media, soundwork can provide a theoretical ground to draw attention to the gendered politics embedded in audio media industries' labor practices and production techniques. Such an approach is much needed as the podcasting space follows the same fate as its radio sister toward a more formalized and commercially dominated industry. Nonetheless, both approaches, that of Hilmes and Murray, point toward soundwork's entanglement in concepts of self and the role of sound in creating connections between producer and listener. The intention and techno-logics behind those connections may differ. However, more broadly, the fascination with the politics of voice and sonic subjectivity has long haunted the field of cultural sound studies, and for good reason.

On Voice, Sound, and Identity in Soundwork: Toward a Feminist Embodied Ear

The sound-intimacy connection between radio and podcasting is closely tied to the politics of voice.[41] Claims that women's voices on air were "flat or shrill" or "too high pitched to be modulated correctly" were commonplace in the early radio industry.[42] (And these claims are sometimes still made.) Early public debates such as these about women's voices on air were a result of social biases around what vocal qualities were best suited for radio; they were also a result of scientific discourse that claimed that higher frequency vocals such as a soprano singer (read as women's voices) would suffer distortion and imperfect transmission over radio broadcast. As a result, for talk radio and news broadcasts, in particular, a standardized

approach to word choice and tonality toward what in American society—during radio's early development in the '20s and '30s—could be understood as a "voice of authority" begins to emerge as a mainly masculine voice "of reason." In contrast, the more "taboo" fetishized "feminine" voices were relegated to radio dramas and select "women's programming."[43]

This gendered experience can be paralleled with the misconception of radio as a "color-blind" technology when American radio history has shown that sounding anything but "white" on the radio has had widespread repercussions for producers of color.[44] The standard to which all other voices were (and some would argue still are) held is one of a white anglophone male voice. Women's voices and marginalized voices that do not fit this patriarchal mold are characterized as "noise" in the system. As Kate Lacey writes, "if the promise of perfectible sound"—read perfectible also to note how white masculine voices are the desired signal throughout history—"has characterized much of the public discourse about mediated sound, then running through those debates is the problem of noise—noise as disturbance and interference, as sound out of control."[45] Noise habitually characterized as "uncivilized," "untamed," and "inarticulate" runs parallel to discussions of racialized, women's, and queer bodies to exoticize, police, or simply exclude their voices from what "civilized society" and the political voice can carry.

Jennifer Lynn Stoever's work echoes these same connections between race and noise that Lacey invites us to consider, where the sonic color line "codifies sounds linked to racialized bodies"—here insert radio voice—to "noise" as sound's "unruly" "Other."[46] Focusing on audio production as a practice, we must consider how the producer, listener, and our listening ears drive the standard disciplines of editing, mixing, and narrative work. As Stoever writes, "The listening ear . . . normalizes the aural tastes and standards of white elite masculinity as the [default and] singular way to interpret sonic information."[47] A sonic accomplice to Laura Mulvey's "male gaze" theory,[48] the listening ear represents a long history of normative Western listening forms of perception, producing, and articulating discernment between "whiteness" and "blackness." Ultimately, in a white patriarchal capitalist society, the surveilling, disciplining, and interpretive listening ear decides what is "normal, natural, and right" and filters out the rest.[49] The gendered and racialized aspects of the listening ear are similarly brought forward in Dylan Robinson's conception of hungry listening—or "settler colonial forms of perception"—which superimposes a normative positionality grounded in extractivist-colonial violence onto our experience of the world.[50] This "tin ear" of settler colonialism blocks out culturally significant sounds, leaving the listener with a dulled perception of their soundscape, particularly regard-

ing the understanding of Indigenous song and sound practices. In giving a name to these oppressive listening practices, Robinson and Stoever invite us to reflect on hungry listening in our own practices and how we might "open the tin ear with a can opener" to move toward a more self-reflexive listening positionality.[51]

To subvert the power of the white elite masculine listening ear and its hungry colonial listening, we must first become aware of complicity in our own listening practices, a process we will return to in our discussion of methods to come. In this shift in thinking about "noise" and, in turn, a rethinking of what voices are valued and given power within media, I would like to move into discussions of how podcasting is framed as a medium with a more intimate, or rather "warm" and "inviting," character, particularly how podcast voices are discussed by both scholars and podcast producers alike. Maybe a transition here is just to state that the assemblage of production choices, aesthetics, identity, and so forth in the "soundwork" of radio has continuity across the radio and podcasting formats.

While podcast studies has brought forward new discourses to the table surrounding the current conceptions of mediated voice and its ties to intimacy,[52] there remains a lack of robust discussion around the power and politics of voice concerning race, gender, sexuality, disability, and class other than in brief passing.[53] Such discourses have only just begun to surface in podcast studies, where a glut of content awaits any keen researcher interested in attending to these intersections. Some perceive podcasting as a potential frontier for more diversity and multiplicity of voices. Still, rethinking how "voice" and "sound" are conceived in theory and practice is required to understand the further impact of such changes across broader media infrastructures. While podcast scholars such as Christine Mottram note that podcasting is "not about achieving the traditional Western aesthetic of the low, deep voice," the medium's attachment to the complex concept of authenticity continues to call into question who is most perceived as authentic in ways that translate into robust listenership.[54]

Now let us direct our ears toward critical experiential questions central to this study: What is queer feminist soundwork? How is it constructed? How is it experienced? What are its characteristics? What I term here as an ear-oriented approach is informed by a growing body of literature at the intersection of sound studies, political phenomenology, and queer feminist practice. As Salome Voeglin writes, it is "the ability to imagine and explore the life-world of the soundscape as an alternative world that we visit and come back from with a heightened awareness and a different sense of sound and self with which we can augment and challenge the actuality of the landscape and

identity."[55] My approach to embodied listening differs from Voeglin in its particular goal of moving toward an articulation of a feminist embodied ear for the study of soundwork. In my approach, the mediated and constructed aspects of soundwork, alongside all its accompanying multisensory materials from show notes to posters and platforms, requires a more practice-based approach to the specific techno-logics of the form. Soundwork is not a sound-only media. Therefore, a feminist embodied ear should not exclude, nor *can* it exclude, the always multisensory experience of these particular sonic possible worlds.

As I demonstrate throughout the chapters to follow, soundworks' affiliated visual elements such as show notes, newspaper listings, and the various sensorial descriptions of space and place offered by soundworkers are critical to the articulation of queer feminist soundwork as phenomenon. Since Don Ihde's writings on the phenomenology of sound, many sound studies scholars have proposed a more multisensory approach to the field. One such scholar is Steph Ceraso whose writings on multimodal listening have contributed greatly to the application of sound-oriented pedagogical practices in rhetoric and writing composition. Written with a student reader in mind, Ceraso's text articulates multimodal listening as "the practice of attending to the sensory, contextual, and material aspects of a sonic event."[56] This approach moves us away from an "ear-centric" single sensory engagement with sonic texts as an overcorrection to the visual- and text-based bias of the humanities and social sciences. The fetishization of listening simply results in the same lack of engagement with the complex relationship between sound, bodies, and materials once used to critique visual exclusive methods. Multimodal listening is a useful skill to question not only what is heard but how it is heard in relation to connected bodies, environments, and materials perhaps not present in the soundscape. The study of media aesthetics always already privileges the senses and experimentalism, but in taking an ear-oriented approach, the researcher is encouraged to slow down, put the ear first, and listen closely to audio materials in real time, in their granularity instead of relying solely on the faster-paced information intake of text-based works, particularly digital ones. This prioritization of sound is of particular importance in the study of soundwork where much of the aesthetic production and nuance can only be found through close listening to the original work.

There is an essential feminist reflexivity in slowing down, in listening critically to how we listen. The feminist embodied ear must first acknowledge the gendered soundscapes of radio as Christine Ehrick argues, where through sound and voice "categories of 'male' and 'female' are constituted and by extension the ways that power, inequality, and agency might be

expressed via sound."[57] The feminist embodied ear can move one step further in the spectrum of listening from unconscious repeated practices to the development of a feminist technics of listening. Just as Ehrick is interested in the role of sound and voice in the categorization of "male" and "female," we must also consider how "lesbian," "queer," and "feminist" are categorized through sound and voice. "Listening" as a technique and as an approach to scholarly inquiry can be found across a variety of notable contemporary media and cultural studies texts. In this chapter I bring select discourse around the technologies and techniques of listening within cultural sound studies into conversation with larger social, cultural, and political interrogations of subjectivity and identity, in order to interrogate how listening can be conceptualized as political and participatory for feminist media studies interested in sound aesthetics and production.[58]

Studying Sounds of Identity and Community

The gendered discourses of listening and voice outlined above paint a rather bleak sexist and racist politics embedded in the media industry. Yet if we are to articulate what sort of aural shifts need to take place, there is still an intrinsic value in theorizing sound with "the self" toward a more nuanced understanding of subjectivity and identity politics. Further discourses of listening subjectivity are needed to critically examine music and sound media more broadly in relation to identity and culture.

The importance of listening individually and with others becomes integral to establishing a richer understanding of queer feminist soundwork as a phenomenon. As Stoever writes, "The [default] listening ear . . . normalizes the aural tastes and standards of white elite masculinity as the [default and] singular way to interpret sonic information."[59] Focusing in on the soundwork practice of audio production, we can make note of how this listening ear drives the standard disciplines of editing, mixing, and narrative work. There is certainly an internalized industry standard of spoon-feeding ideas in podcasting right now because that's what people expect to hear. It's about familiarity and comfort in repetition. It's how we understand narrative in the sense of audio narrative right now if we listen to top shows like *Invisibilia*, *Serial*, and *This American Life*—that's what we've come to expect audio storytelling to sound like. Stoever, Robinson, and Lacey ask us to rethink where these listening practices come from and how we might shift our practices by becoming more aware of our own sonic embodiment and experiences. To subvert the power of the white elite masculine listening ear and its colonial

hungry listening, we must first become aware of complicity in our own listening practices. The embodied ear reminds us of the materiality and lived experience that can equally lead us to more subversive and intersectional approaches to listening. In the case of this book, I orient my listening practice through a feminist embodied ear.

By applying a feminist embodied ear throughout the interview, analysis, and writing stages, I listened out for the ways that my participants listen and incorporate their own listening practices into what makes their soundwork queer or feminist, or both. In the act of listening, the lines between public and private, and between identity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity, are blurred. To approach listening to media in this way becomes in Foucauldian terms a "technology of self," a state of political being. Speech, and more broadly sound, is always filtered through the listener's own perspective, and the first step to reorientation away from the default listening ear and toward a more feminist embodied ear is acknowledging one's own *situatedness*. Radio and podcasting offer a unique media space where all of these sonic intimacies collide. Whether it is listening to a live basketball game or your favorite k.d. Lang song, or an interview with your favorite feminist filmmaker, audio media play a crucial role in how we experience sonic subjecthood and come to understand our relationship to communities and publics.

Following the work of Michael Warner on publics and counterpublics, Kate Lacey defines "public" as "a self-creating and self-organizing space that exists by virtue of being addressed" where media become vital players in the role of enabling the formation of a "public" or "publics" "as an imagined community with an intersubjective horizon."[60] By conceptualizing listening publics concerning sound media such as radio, listening "literally makes sense" of the media content as particular genres, formats, and constructions of media literacy. This "sense making" then integrates the listener into particular "imagined" social and cultural publics. If music is known to shape our sense of identity by providing direct experiences with our body, perception of time, and social interactions,[61] certainly radio does the same. Listening as an experience and listening to experience can be a political act.

While Lacey finds promise in public radio, the "imagined" national listening public radio that infrastructures such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) serve mean that many counterpublics still require sonic spaces outside these large public broadcasters to participate in political listening acts with racialized, sexual minority, feminist, radical, and other often categorized as "minority" or "oppositional" publics. As a result, the more nuanced analysis of listening counterpublics is overshad-

owed by national listening public discourses. Here the work of Lisa Yuk Ming Leung is helpful in bringing attention to listening counterpublics and the nuance of private versus public listening. On "closeted" participation in the post-Umbrella Movement, Leung positions online radio listening within communities of women and the elderly as a "subversive act against the government" and a "social strategy against the harshening political reality and social division" in Hong Kong.[62] The Umbrella Movement—a 2014 pro-democracy protest in Hong Kong that saw hundreds of thousands occupy city streets demanding universal suffrage—was met with state suppression and increasing political censorship in its aftermath. In this climate, many turned to alternative digital media platforms as spaces for expression and connection. Here Leung conceptualizes "closeted listening" and "closeted participation" as modes for community building and sustaining counterpublics during a divisive era in national politics. Their study participants note a safety in "cruising" online programming for diverse political voices while also feeling a level of removal through "political voyeurism" depending on the listener's experience and reception of the show. Here listening as a political act offers a way to be a part of the counterpublic movement between peak moments of political rallies and public protest. In a way, what Leung brings forward here through discussion of experiencing levels of removal, and the feeling listeners have of being "closeted" participants, is quite a different understanding than Lacey theorizes on "listening out" across publics. Leung's work reminds us that we all belong to many communities and publics, which shifts our listening positions and the techniques we may apply. In acknowledging this, we can better understand how our embodied listening ear shifts or reorients along with us as we move between these mediated spaces, cultural contexts, and different expectations of format and social patterns in what we listen to. Acts of listening become a sort of "aural" code-switching in this logic. The importance of the contextuality of "listening" across different spaces, publics, and media is something that cultural sound studies must continue to cultivate.

The Feminist Embodied Ear as Method: From Politics to Practice

Learning to listen with a feminist embodied ear changes what we listen for and how we create soundwork. In fact, the embodiment of feminist listening and making blurs what might otherwise seem to be clear lines between those roles, emphasizing the relationality of listening and audio-making as an ongoing dialogue and an evolving lesson in listening otherwise. While

many books out there don't get into the nitty-gritty of methods behind the manuscript, here I want to take a moment to dig in. If we are to take our call toward a feminist embodied ear seriously, I figure it is helpful to share some examples of how I've gone about applying it here. From politics to practice. Queer feminism in stereo.

Drawing on this concept of the feminist embodied ear grounded in cultural sound studies, phenomenology, and feminist media studies, my research applies a mixed-method approach. As I've argued, intersectional feminism is foundational to my queer project as I critically question which voices are present and which ones are missing from these sonic spaces. The sites of study are podcasts and radio shows labeled lesbian, lesbian feminist, queer, and queer feminist. The subjects of study are lesbian and queer women and gender-diverse folks involved in the production of these soundworks. Rather than focusing in on a particular historical moment, particular radio show, or queer feminist individual, a multisited intra-active network approach to lesbian and queer feminist soundwork provides an intriguing opportunity to engage in intergenerational dialogue. Rather than follow a linear history in the archive, conducting interviews and producing an audio documentary on the process enables intergenerational dialogue to not only listen for echoes of the past in present audio media but to hear the resonance outside of and in between generations of queer feminist media production. I use four methods—semistructured interviews, listening-centered feminist textual analysis, reflexive thematic analysis, and audio documentary creation—to bring primary archival documents of the 1970s–1990s into conversation with contemporary audio media and the experiences of the makers involved in their production toward a queer feminist intergenerational network of media activism. Together, these four methods form an iterative framework that invites a reflexivity and situatedness key to ethical feminist media critique. Semistructured interviews create an iterative dialogue between the researcher and the various participants within their own given social and cultural contexts. Listening-centered feminist textual analysis puts the feminist embodied ear into practice as a technique rooted in reflexivity, attending to the positionality of the researcher while focusing on the experiences and aesthetics embedded in the soundwork. Reflexive thematic analysis is the next iterative stage of analysis, drawing on the interview materials to further develop the significance of the social and cultural experiences shared. Finally, audio documentary creation fosters a more creative and fluid space of reflexivity for the researcher that also invites a practice-based connection to the sound forward techno-logics of soundwork.

Listening to the Archives

Archival work began before the idea for this project even existed. What started as an interest in *The Lesbian Show* collection housed at the online Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony led to many hours spent in both physical and digital archives exploring the work of past lesbian feminist and queer feminist radio makers. It also led to a feminist ethics of care in practice through digitizing hours of *Dykes on Mykes* tapes for this project, which I then donated to the ArQuives (formerly the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives) along with my notes and photographs for each tape. Thirty-four cassette tapes, six reels, and 115 mp3 files were made available to me by former DoMs members Deb Van Slet and Dayna McLeod for study and donation. Between their two personal collections, an intergenerational web of interviews, music, audio art, event recordings, and more spans from 1988 to 2011. I am eternally grateful for their openness and collaboration in sharing their queer media activism. In addition to the *Dykes on Mykes* collection, the BC Gay and Lesbian Archives at the City of Vancouver Archives, and the Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony were key resources in providing access to the sounds of Co-Op Radio's *The Lesbian Show*. Rounding out the introductory corpus for this feminist media study are forty-four audio files (1989–91) hosted by the Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony, and ninety-four audio files (1976–96) along with various photographs and newspaper clippings for *The Lesbian Show* hosted by the City of Vancouver Archives. As my archival work went on, I also made use of the *Kinesis* open collection at the University of British Columbia for additional *The Lesbian Show* related newspaper clippings. *Kinesis* was one of the longest-running feminist periodicals in Canada from 1974–2001.

While my research focuses in on two foundational anglophone shows for this in-depth study, I also came across two francophone shows housed at Archives lesbiennes du Québec that I hope to be able to engage with in future studies. The two additional shows, *Interférences lesbiennes* and *Lesbo-sons*, also stand as a reminder of the many other potential lesbian feminist shows across Canada that are not (yet) represented in any institutional or publicly accessible archives. Archives are not neutral and as with any feminist practice, archiving must be approached with reflexivity in how histories are framed and the crucial role counterarchive spaces such as the ArQuives play in pushing back against legacies of colonialism, racism, patriarchy, and heterosexism. The feminist archival work done as part of this project stands as a small contribution toward the inclusion of sound-based lesbian feminist

media in the Canadian archives. It is one I hope future community members and researchers can draw on for further interventions into feminist and queer history.

Talking and Listening With

While the archival research stage gives foundation and historical weight to this work, it is the conversations with the producers and hosts involved in these soundscapes that open further avenues to voices and experiences not contained by the archives. From these archival materials, names were pulled for potential interview participants and selected episodes were marked for textual analysis based on what episodes, experiences, and events were brought forward during first-stage interviews. For the first stage of semi-structured interviews, I spoke with six past members of *The Lesbian Show* and six past members of *Dykes on Mykes*. In these interviews we also listened together to short audio clips of shows from their time on air to help prompt memories and to facilitate discussion on production choices. An additional radio broadcast interview I conducted with TLS founding member Silva Tenenbein in 2018 is also included as secondary data. The value of experience is central to the phenomenological approach as argued by numerous feminist phenomenologists before me. Interviews as the primary method in this research design provide a rich layer of human embodied experience in relation to the production and potential cultural impact of lesbian feminist and queer-focused soundwork phenomena.

After the primary interviews were conducted with these radio makers, a second round of interviews was conducted with contemporary queer podcast creators found to have community connection to one of these early shows. Criterion and chain sampling techniques[63] were used to identify such network connection cases that meet the criterion of being part of queer feminist soundwork, with links to these early foundational radio shows in Canada such as volunteering at the same radio station or being a part of the same larger queer community in the Vancouver or Montreal area. These second-stage interviews further explore participants' experiences and the two early radio shows' influences (whether direct or not) across generations of queer media makers. Audio clips played in the stage one interviews were selected and played back for stage two participants based on similarities found during preliminary textual analysis of their work. Select episodes of the podcasts made by these participants were then further analyzed based on the themes found in the reflexive thematic analysis of all interviews.

A Queer Feminist Archive of My Own: On Audio Diaries and Documentary

The final method used in this research design is the ongoing reflexive and cathartic practice of audio documentary creation. The intention of creative documentary production as method is to have a reflexive document of the process of uncovering these lesbian and queer women's audio media histories and connections. Rather than the documentary as an output of this work, it is positioned here as a mode of researcher notation and diary keeping. From Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* to Roxane Gay's *Bad Feminist*, the confessional self-reflexivity of feminist creators has long blurred the boundaries between private and public subjecthood, as well as the division between subjective experience and objective knowledge. At the center of this feminist work is ongoing attention to how the lived experiences of feminist researchers, activists, artists, and communities can continually build, break down, and rebuild the very politics of feminism. Whether recording audio diaries, crafting audio essays, or interviewing feminist thinkers, audio production positioned within the history of feminist self-reflexive practice is a process of feminist sonic "place-making" or what Sara Ahmed has called "feminist world making."[64] Audio diaries provide a place-based reflexive and cathartic mode of research documentation that assists in situating the researcher within an aural-centric subjective world. I argue that such an approach allows for a more equitable and *care*-ful exploration of the perceived use and function of the technologies, voices, sounds, and spaces that construct our cultural understandings of audio media phenomenon.

The audio diaries recorded throughout each research stage are an affective audio media archive of my own experience of listening to lesbian and queer feminist voices as a queer lesbian radio producer myself, including reflections and findings along the way. Audio diaries can be personal, contextual, and gritty. Diary entries were recorded before and after each interview, and at key moments in the research process. I record my audio diaries wherever I just happen to be at the time, whether that's in my living room or in a taxi on my way to take the tapes I just digitized to the archive. Audio diaries provide the place-based context to provide a better sense of where I'm coming from as a researcher, not only through what I'm saying but also in the sense of hearing where I am physically and what I'm going through in the process of creating this documentary.

For me, it's been a really cathartic experience. There's a certain catharsis involved in self-reflexive practice, in the kinds of pains and failures and successes that we go through in creating these works. work. Audio diary as a

mode of documentation also helped to shape the personal phenomenological introductions to each chapter by allowing me to listen back to my own affective experience and connection to the process in the moment. As Daniel Makagon and Mark Neumann argue, "Through sound recordings, researchers can cultivate a different, sometimes deeper, sense of an environment."[65] In this case, it's an environment of experience in relation to queer feminist soundwork. Ultimately, the construction of audio diaries works to maintain the human experience of academic endeavors and media production at the center of this research design. As a form of audio storytelling, it is closely connected to the kind of work ethnographers do in the field, such as interviewing, observing, and engaging in the lifeworlds of their participants. In the case of this particular research design, the audio documentary process becomes a secondary mode of data collection for future use that draws more closely on the participation of the researcher in relation to the object of study at large. By acknowledging the researcher's role in the research, the documentary process additionally asks the researcher to continuously acknowledge their potential bias and any divergences that may arise in relation to their own connection and experiences during the research process from archival research, to interviews, to the formation of claims and research findings. You can listen to the three-part audio documentary companion *Lavender Sounds: The Audio Archives* as a sister to this book—available online and linked in the Author's Note at the beginning of this book. Informed by this scholarship and the key themes explored in the chapters to come, I hope the documentary will also stand apart as a mode of knowledge mobilization for a broader public, as an invitation to listeners to hear things a bit differently.

We can never know the full picture of queer feminist soundwork. Just as the self is "blurred and permeable,"[66] so too is the consensus of meaning around what makes a soundwork queer or feminist. Still, these voices draw us backwards, in search of missing pieces, missing people made marginal, possibly ourselves missing too. What I hope is that this book developed through ear-oriented queer feminist practice allows for soundworkers and their work to better shape our understanding of the phenomenon in question. Here the voices and subjective experiences of fellow queer soundworkers in podcasting and community radio provide an intersubjective ground for the themes and connection made between queer feminist soundwork, activism, and theory past and present. It is these subjective experiences of voice and sound that take center stage in our next chapter. How are queer feminist politics experienced through listening and producing soundwork? What is the role of a soundwork's form, format, and other stylistic techno-logics in communicating queer feminisms? The feminist embodied ear tunes in with questions of sonic identity and audibility activism.

2 • Being a Public Queer

On Sonic Community and Audibility Activism

Picture a hot summer evening in Montreal 1991, 7 p.m. on a Monday to be exact. Deep in the downtown student center basement of McGill University, the radio fuzz of kissing, chanting, and laughing queers is being broadcast at CKUT 91.7FM. These sounds are an opening collage, a series of recordings from a kiss-in event that day commemorating the local Sex Garage Raid of July 15, 1990. The Sex Garage Raid, much like other notable police raids on LGBTQ+ spaces past and present, shook Canada's queer community as police instigated gratuitous violence and arrested numerous people.[1] The collage music fades. Hosts Deb VanSlet and Elizabeth Littlejohn ready their microphones. It's unlikely Deb or Elizabeth thought I'd be meeting with queer and feminist podcasters over video chat thirty years later to talk about their radio show, let alone listening to this very same clip of Sapphic protest broadcast that fateful summer's eve. You are listening to *Dykes on Mykes*.

Now fast-forward sixteen years from 1991 to July 23, 2007. *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs) iconic, and for many years mysterious, opening theme music clocks in at the 7 o'clock hour. The theme is an unexpected dance mix of the second washerwomen's chorus from the Italian opera *La Gatta Cenerentola*, based on the classic story of Cinderella. However, this choral ditty is no soft romance story. It is a collectively imagined sexually charged encounter with the King in which the opera choir sing-shout in Italian, "You're the queen, and I'm the king . . . Yess! Yess! Yess!" The washerwomen create a slapping rhythm of metal buckets and rags to accompany their erotic laboring tale. If you know this context, at first, the track seems an odd choice of theme song for a lesbian feminist radio show like DoMs. I'm not sure any DoMs members I've met along the way would be the Cinderella princess dream type. Yet these rowdy chants of working women are also a clear-as-day sonic extension of the same collective women's power spirit and sweat equity at the heart of

DoMs' long-standing survival. In this opera turned '80s dance hit of the Montreal club scene, it is not the story we are meant to focus on. Instead, DJ Perry "Wizzard" Lamarre's remix of *La Gatta Cenerentola* serves as a sonic feminist calling card for DoMs' punk community ethos.

As the washerwomen's bucket drums fade, *Dykes on Mykes* host Dayna McLeod takes to the mic. Alongside their cohost for the day Jackie Gallant, of electro-rock music act Lesbians on Ecstasy, Dayna begins with some banter on what they've been up to this week and what we can expect to hear on today's show. Dayna then cues up a special recording from the "archives," or as Dayna puts it, a "plastic bag of tapes that Deb VanSlet gave us." The chanting featured is from the original protest in 1990. At the mention of the music, which wells underneath, Dayna shares, "First I thought, oh, it's cheesy, but I kind of got a bit teary when it got to the main part of the music, because I just kind of started thinking about all the people that I know that have been victims of violence. And I would encourage you to take a little moment as well."[2]

This special recording is the same Sex Garage Raid collage that first aired on *Dykes on Mykes* that hot Montreal summer evening in 1991. We once again hear the voices of Deb and Elizabeth set to that oh-so-familiar lo-fi studio hum and tape hiss pulling us back in time. Deb and Elizabeth discuss the protest events after the raid, including a large sit-in outside police station 25, which, despite the peaceful action, resulted in billy sticks being used to bruise protestors and the arrest of forty-eight people. Deb notes how lesbian and gay groups came together despite their issues of infighting and difference because "there are bigger things to slay than each other." Elizabeth points out the continued police brutality against the lesbian and gay communities but also against racialized groups such as Black and Indigenous communities that "we must stand in solidarity with." At this point, the playback stops, and we are brought back into 2007 with host Dayna introducing upcoming events for Montreal's LGBTQ+ Pride.

Whether previously aware of these shows' histories or not, as Dayna shares on air, listening back evokes a revelatory experience in the sensing of queer history through soundwork. As queer feminist Gayle Rubin puts it, "The more I explore these queer knowledges, the more I find out how much we have already forgotten, rediscovered, and promptly forgotten again."[3] It is this experience of queerness in and between temporal publics that draws my ear here. What does it mean to be a queer in public? Who do we imagine is listening? How do we imagine being heard? In questioning the who, what, and how of queer feminist radio and podcasting, this chapter speaks to the tensions and the possibilities of soundwork as a public-facing form of *sonic intersubjectivity* and *audibility activism*.

In 1995, CKUT moved out of the basement of the Shatner Building at McGill University and to their slightly less sweaty above-ground location at 3647 Rue University, two blocks over. While *Dykes on Mykes* may have moved out of the underground, the communal punk form and feel of the show was sustained. The 1991 and 2007 recordings sound uncannily familiar in their presentation style and content. Whether or not that familiarity might come off "cheesy" at first, as Dayna McLeod notes above, these sounds of queer feminist soundwork evoke a sonic intersubjectivity, a queer kinship extended across time and space, from 1991 to 2007, and you and me, here and now. Yet this queer kinship and queer public politics experienced through listening and producing soundwork is dependent upon and at odds with the form, format, and stylistic techno-logics of broadcast radio and podcasting. Below, the experiences of soundworkers from *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show* (TLS) take center stage to reflect back on being a public queer from 1979 to the 2010s. Their shared experiences are then discussed with the contemporary work of *Queer Public*'s 2019 "Atlanta" series as a modern digital-only soundwork grappling with these tensions of intergenerational kinship.

The Public Communication Logics of Soundwork

Soundwork comes in various formats and styles for public communication. Still, all rely on the three key aspects of the audio narrative toolbox—music, speech, and noise—to create meaningful sonic constructions that speak to and often for specific publics.[4] Whether that public is a nation, a niche podcast listenership, or the lesbian feminist community of 1991 Montreal, soundwork draws on programming techniques of selection, sequencing, and processing in production.

Selection is typically the process of choosing particular audio clips from interviews or other sound materials based on the focus and format of the program. Once clips are selected, producers plan out their *sequence* to be executed live in the studio or ingested into an audio editing software for processing, editing, and playback. *Processing* techniques such as compression, equalization, reverb, and delay (among many others) shape the work's sound design and aesthetic style. These established sonic and storytelling techniques differ based on genres and styles, such as audio documentaries, interview chat shows, investigative journalism, true crime, and fictional works such as comedy or drama. Where an interview chat show might choose to

keep vocal processing to compression and equalization to achieve clarity and balance, an audio fiction may instead choose to play with processing techniques of reverb or delay to suggest changes in space or time within a story.

These genres and styles of soundwork are not exclusive to the form but blend and transform in similar ways across television, film, music, and new media. While there are many genres and styles we could first turn our ear towards, the magazine-style radio format of *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show* provides a rich ground for studying soundworks elements broken down into their component parts. The magazine-style show is a well-known format still commonly heard on public radio. It typically features a mix of interviews, news, and events listings or coverage, or both, interwoven with music and host banter set to a specific period of time, often a half-hour or hour time slot in a radio programming schedule. There is typically a theme song and host introduction to open the broadcast, alerting listeners to the particular show they are tuning in to. This practice is also commonplace in talk, documentary, and other narrative format podcasts, despite their smartphone or screen platform visuals, to indicate the name and show description.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this magazine format draws on the familiar structure of the paper magazine—in some cases, even down to having the event listings or "classifieds" at the back (or the end for audio). With a history going back to the 1700s,[5] the magazine structure provides a certain format predictability to its audience. The magazine-style radio show, occasionally categorized as talk-variety and news-talk dependent on the show's tone, has been a long-time radio staple from the 1920s onwards, taking up topics of public affairs, religion, women's homemaking, and more.[6] However, it is not simply the magazine radio structure that is of interest here. In the case of lesbian feminist radio, what is curious is how this predictability allows for some sense of comfort among the often-political news and contrasting playful queer material within the shows' varied segments. This familiarity allows any adept radio listener, whether familiar with the show or not, to understand when they might expect the feature interview or event listings in the flow of the show's hour. Moreover, there is a curious dissonance between the normalizing structure of the magazine format concerning the two shows' audible gender and sexuality activisms. Both *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show* were first and foremost visibility (or audibility) projects working to create recognition and build community through radio. Despite soundworks shifting distribution from broadcast to podcast, this dissonance between radical content and familiar format creates a traceable listening experience across all soundwork forms.

We will unpack here the ways soundworkers behind DoMs, TLS, and contemporary podcasts operationalize these techno-logics in their roles as public queers through what I term "sonic (inter)subjectivity."

From Sonic Identity to Sonic (Inter)Subjectivity

Key to the politics of queer feminist soundwork as public communication is a blend of sonic identity and subjectivity. "Sonic identity" in its broadest sense (*or sensing*) is the sounding of the self we are, whereas "sonic subjectivity" is the recognition of sound as part of who we are perceived to be constantly becoming under and against the dominant state and social power. Both encompass acoustics and electroacoustics, including our body sounds (e.g., vocalizations, body movements) and sonic cultural representations (e.g., music, soundscapes, sound media), which the subject understands as an extension of the self. What would you choose when given a choice to select what sounds represent or extend your sense of identity? How might that choice of sound change in relation to your subjecthood? In either instance, you might first think of your voice in its varied and complex forms. A song of queer identity might be a classic track like "I'm Coming Out," whereas a subjectively queer song could be one that brings you joy in your gender expression or perhaps one that always makes you feel sexy. Maybe that subjectively queer sound is a recording of your lover's laugh or the sarcastic commentary of your favorite TV personality. Furthermore, how might you sequence or process these sounds to articulate your subjective experience? Moving beyond the individual and descriptive toward the political and reflexive, these subjective sounds are "sticky" with affect and memory.

In contrast to identity, the subject or subjective self underscores one's perceived relationship to power and agency, past and present. As a result, *subjectivity* emphasizes our continuously evolving perception and experience of the world in relation to others. As Judith Butler writes, "No individual becomes a subject without first becoming subjected."[7] While queerness can and is an identity marker, its subjectiveness takes center place when our motivation is communication and engagement of not solely identity recognition but political action and community dialogue primarily with other queer activists and allies. While many of my participants used "identity" as a term of reference in our discussions, they also challenged it as limiting their multifaceted relationship within and toward their soundwork. A former host of *Dykes on Mykes* in the show's later years agreed that the

DoMs episodes they hosted "definitely came across" as part of their identity because "identity is caught up in" everything they do, but "it is forever changing."[8] At the same time, this personal identification with the work is entangled in communicating to and for a broader imagined community with shared understandings and resonances.

In the case of queer feminist producers and their listening community, identity just doesn't quite seem to explain the nuanced and ever-changing experience of queer subjecthood these shows aim to communicate in sound. Identity is fixed, it is caught. It is haunted by an illusion of wholeness, presumption, and stasis, preventing the phenomenological study of shared experience across diverse individuals. It can feel like Diana Ross's "I'm Coming Out" on repeat. The closet becomes a revolving door, I'm queer, I'm gay, I'm a lesbian—"I am" becomes the focus instead of the powerfully varied lived realities of queerness and what it could be. Now, this is not to say that identity politics isn't an integral aspect of LGBTQ+ activism and social change. From the rise of the new social movements in the 1960s, such as the second-wave feminist movement, identity politics has and continues to play an essential role in the recognition and advancement of marginalized groups across the globe. Holding an identity can be a powerful connection to community, culture, ideological affiliations, and knowledge systems entangled in identity categories whether you are Jewish American, Black Canadian, trans youth, queer elder, lesbian, woman, feminist.

I move away from a focus on identity and toward subjectivity to contend with the dynamic and often fragmented experiences across the many individuals who identify, once identified, or might in the future identify as "lesbian," "queer," or "feminist" in this work. Group identity can be a tool of change, a strategic essentialism, in the words of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, to mobilize minority groups toward unified political goals. While the political potentiality of group identity is a major plus, when certain aspects of an identity are strategically centered over others, it can limit a subject's relation to or fit within an identity. In queer community this can lead to fruitless questions of "am I queer enough?" or "am I lesbian enough?" or "am I radical enough?"[9] This line of questioning is a form of "virtue signaling" that limits our ability to focus on the varied ways individuals emerge into collective relations. Identity is a useful term for policy work but falls short for understanding the varied aesthetic and production choices of queer media-makers.

Soundwork can be an extension of self, a way to construct and recognize our identity, but it is also an intersubjective mode of communication to facilitate understanding of how we as individuals and communities are subjected to forces of law, economics, and societal conventions. In recognizing queer

intersubjective experience, soundwork can also become a space for queer world-making that on one hand grapples with the realities of queer subjecthood good and bad, while on the other hand playing with the freedom that building queer community can afford. Mel Hogan, a DoMs soundworker involved with the 2000s era of the show alongside Dayna McLeod, explains, "*Dykes on Mykes* was just kind of an extension of that world where you just are totally free of really straight people to kind of deal with and have to explain yourself to, you know?"[10] The "world" Hogan is speaking of is a queer feminist community made up of events, concerts, bands, activists, protests, and spaces that construct Hogan's understanding of what it was to be "gay" in Montreal during the 2000s. In the same conversation, Hogan's collective member M-C states, "We were *Dykes on Mykes*. We really tried to stay true to that [lesbian feminism] as best we could, even if our own politics were moving away from that. . . . It was really important for us to support our community." These experiences shared by Mel and M-C allow us to position soundwork not only as an extension of an individual subject but as part of a larger collective perception of the world and one's fluctuating political agency within it.

Mel's critical listening back to their work speaks to their own feminist-embodied ear in practice. For Mel, queer politics requires a feminist-embodied ear to continuously be reflexively listening to what sounds are being selected to represent "dyke" identity while also applying those reflections to how they produce the show to echo their audience's intersubjective queer experience. As a queer feminist soundwork, *Dykes on Mykes* is made up of a variety of sounds from music to voice to sound art, and it is also made by so many different embodied subjects bringing with them their own subjective experiences of what it means to be queer or lesbian or feminist for a DoMs listening public. To be a public queer feminist on the air means learning, whether always effectively or not, to make use of your sonic identity and subjective queer ear to create a space for intersubjective resonance to take place, ideally toward collective action. In one sense, soundwork becomes a mediation of sonic intersubjectivity among community members within the particular context of a radio broadcast. In another, as recorded media shared online, it reaches far beyond its original intended audience and resonates with listeners across different moments in time and culture. By attending to soundwork's role in sonic (inter)subjectivity rather than solely as an extension or presentation of identity, we can better deconstruct the particular sounds and practices and the nuanced differences that produce collective understandings of queer feminist soundwork.

Digging deeper into its theoretical foundations, the theory of "sonic subjectivity" follows the phenomenological traditions of Maurice Merleau-

Ponty in positing "subjectivity" not as an "I think" but rather an embodied "I can."[11] The subject then becomes a "knowing-body" that acts and expresses their particular experience of and existence in the world. Take my voice, for example. My voice is an extension of my identity as an Anglo-tongued white queer cisgender woman at present. Still, in using my voice in public it can become subject to varying perceptions that shape its subjectiveness. I come to know this not simply through sonic identifiers and language in my voice but how I experience and perceive similar resonant sounds in the world. The meaning of the voice, whether mediated through the body or audio recording technology, is always filtered by the subjective ear. Approaching the relationship between sound and self through subjectivity allows us to think of mediated sounds similarly. A favorite song or a lover's whisper can still be perceived as queer sound because of its resonance with our subjectivity, whereas to another, the same sounds may carry a different meaning altogether. We hear a song and connect it to a particular memory or feeling or perhaps a collection of memories and feelings. Within the context of communication and media, sonic subjectivity opens further avenues into the exploration of sound as inherently intersubjective. Sound is not something you carry on the outside but is instead something we enact and share.

In acknowledging our sonic subjectivity, we attend to how we sound out our sonic subjectivity with and for others. We can term this sonic intersubjectivity. My sonic subjectivity as an individual subject who perceives themself as a lesbian and queer feminist comes in part from my awareness of how my vocal characteristics are tied to relations of power and perception. However, how others communicate and receive those characteristics further establishes my sonic subjectivity, for example, via killjoy remarks at the annual family Thanksgiving. Additionally, I would argue that as a queer feminist soundworker myself, my sense of self as a lesbian queer feminist is also shaped by my subjective resonances with the sounds of others and, in turn, the sounds I can and choose to mediate back out to the world as a public queer. This sonic intersubjective experience shapes what sounds are and are not audible signifiers of a particular community or identity and the modes of production used to communicate these signals with and as part of both real and imagined listening publics.

Audible Exclusions: Sonic Whiteness and Trans Politics

Suppose sounds of self, as I do here, are ultimately contingent on their relationship to the sounds and subjecthood of others. In that case, we must

attend to both the resonances *and* the audible exclusions heard in the study of soundwork. Do we hear ourselves in this work? Or do we only hear queer identity as one thing, as perhaps one ethnicity, class, or subgroup of queer or feminist culture? When white and cisgender queers are the historically dominant voices we hear over the air, what does queer feminism end up sounding like to future generations?

The topic of audible exclusions came up with almost all of the soundworkers behind this study without direct prompts or questions on whiteness, ableism, or trans politics on my part as the researcher. In the world of community radio, sentiments on the limits of networks and volunteer labor were abundant, questioning the particular level of privilege required to have the freedom to volunteer at a community radio station or produce a podcast, let alone to focus on queer or lesbian activism and presentation over other activist-oriented shows on Indigenous rights, trans rights, Black culture, or environmental justice. Privilege is an energy-saving device (Ahmed 2019, 308). There is an amount of privilege needed to have the energy and time to take on the labor of community radio or any type of queer feminist or lesbian activism in this context. While on the one hand the sustained existence of queer feminist soundwork pushes back against the dominance of heterosexual patriarchy on the mic, on the other hand it also creates disorienting experiences of listening and sounding for lesbians and queers that don't fit the "default" mode.

As noted in the introduction, queer feminism has grown from a long history of intersectional feminism among Black feminists and lesbian feminists alike. Alongside acknowledged queer feminist histories of trans exclusion and whiteness, there are also stories of critical intersectional work taking place to "call out" or "call in" community members for their racism, homophobia, and other expressions of oppression. Within the frame of sonic subjectivity, antiracist queer feminism is not simply about identity intersections or representation but also about addressing the sonic infrastructures and practices that uphold racism, sexism, and heteronormativity.

In conversation with Mel and M-C of *Dykes on Mykes*, they reflect on DoMs as a carefully built queer community rooted in love and acceptance instead of gatekeeping or identity policing around the terms "dyke" and "queer." "I feel like I learned so much just like this deep love for other people, complete and utter acceptance of people," Mel shares. "I learned through the queer community that you do not body shame. You do not talk shit about people. I don't know how those rules came to be other than by people like coming together at different events and modeling that for each other." What Mel explains as a "softer" activism can certainly be heard in the playful host

banter and the variety of guests brought on the show, to contrast what Mel says as a more "brutal kind of activism" in certain university and activist spaces "where if you didn't know, or know things thoroughly, you were shamed. *Dykes on Mykes* was softer." This softer, inclusive, and playful community-centered approach of DoMs brought guests from various classes, races, abilities, and gendered experiences. Notable guests such as feminist pornographer Annie Sprinkle and members of Canadian electropop band Lesbians on Ecstasy would visit or call in on numerous occasions, providing a rich sonic intersubjectivity to the world of *Dykes on Mykes*. At its core, queer feminist soundwork must be rooted in a commitment to antiracist action and multiracial representation. In listening with a queer feminist ear for audible exclusions to *Dykes on Mykes*, their rotation of hosts and reoccurring guests, predominantly white and cisgender, on one hand, perpetuates the racial dominance that DoMs and other queer feminist media explicitly aim to push back against: the centering of white experience in second-wave and third-wave feminism called out by feminists of color.[12] On the other hand, the show's wider body of work includes significant contributions to antiracist intersectional practice through showcasing the work of queers of color, the voices of Black feminists, and in-depth dialogues around the importance of race politics in queer feminist activism. Here I explore in part what a queer feminist practice of listening for audible exclusion might offer to the study of soundwork.

Interviewed together, Mel expands on M-C's words: "We were always hyperaware that didn't quite cut it. We would spend 90 percent of our energy finding the one guest, the one interview that would just be so outside of our bubble, a different sort of take. I would say we fizzled out and burnt out. What appealed to us was actually sort of impossible on a nonfunded [show] with full-time jobs/school. Like we couldn't make our politics actually come true." The utopic vision of queer feminism Mel and M-C strived to make a reality for *Dykes on Mykes* was achieved in some respects but squashed in others by the same intersubjectivity that gave the show its DIY community feel. While efforts to bring women of color perspectives to the show were perceived as crucial to the show's queer feminist politic, in practice the hosts often found their guests being "friends or friends of friends, a lot of them are white for sure."[13] Despite the show's physical location within a community radio station with diverse groups of volunteers, the primarily white DoMs team during the time Mel and M-C were on air reflected the predominantly white queer community in Montreal in which they found themselves embedded. Through their sonic subjectivities communicated through voice, music, and sound, as white queers, the DoMs team found themselves upholding to

the listener what Lisa Nakamura calls "default whiteness," where all users are assumed to represent the dominant (sex, race, class, and so forth) until communicated otherwise.[14] In the case of DoMs, the white sonic subjectivities of their volunteer team became a sounding of "default whiteness" for queer feminism. How might the show have sounded *differently* had the show found more queers of color orienting toward it? We can get an audible glimpse of this when tuning our ears to episodes where DoMs political aims place Black and People Of Color experiences at the forefront. In applying a queer feminist-embodied ear rooted in antiracism to the DoMs archives, the voices of Black artists like Awilda Rodrigues Lora and singer-songwriter Nairobi Nelson rise to the center of our metaphorical and literal archival audio mix.

The year is 2009, and DoMs cohosts Dayna and M-C play a series of indie rock from the era with Modest Mouse, "The World at Large," transitioning us into Dayna's interview with Awilda. We can hear the shuffling of paper in the studio as Awilda joins via telephone to promote upcoming screenings of their documentary film *Still Black: A Portrait of Black Transmen*. Best known for their performance and dance work, Awilda shares how the director Kortney Ryan approached them with the idea for *Still Black*, a documentary exploring the lives of six Black transgender men living in the United States. The interview is brief, under ten minutes, pointing the listener to learn more on the film's website. Unremarkable upon first listen, this interview neatly falls into the flow of the magazine-style hour-long broadcast. On the one hand, the unremarkable listening experience of this interview does little beyond promoting going to see the film if you can. Yet, on the other hand, there is a certain radical nature to how easily the two talk about the film, expected questions about Black trans representation, and where to catch the next screening. The routine monotony of radio promotion dominates here despite the potential political and cultural significance of *Still Black* being talked about on lesbian feminist radio.

Another tape of note in the *Dykes on Mykes* fonds (a collection of works by a single creator) is a dual-sided cassette featuring an interview with singer-songwriter Nairobi Nelson on one side and porn star Annie Sprinkle on the other. Rewinding to February 1993, we jump into a conversation with singer-songwriter Nairobi Nelson of the famed Canadian National Film Board documentary *Forbidden Love: The Unashamed Stories of Lesbian Lives*. Nairobi hops back and forth through time, pulling us into a memory of being an extra in a Tarzan movie filmed while she was living in Mexico in the 1960s, yelling, "Tarzan! Tarzan!," and then forward again to Babyface, a Montreal lesbian bar open from 1968 to 1983.[15] My heart skipped a beat when I first saw Nairobi's name on this cassette. *Forbidden Love* (1992), a film by Lynne

Fernie and Marilyn Weissman, is the reason I got into reading lesbian pulp novels like *I Am a Woman* (1959) by Ann Weldy and *Whisper Their Love* (1957) by Velma Nacella Young, as a twenty-something undergrad student craving the high drama of doomed queer romance. The film remains an iconic piece of Canadian lesbian documentary today, weaving a fictional love story based on the aesthetics of lesbian pulp fiction cut alongside real-life interviews with lesbians about their lives in the '40s, '50s, and '60s.

While the hosts keep the chat flowing with a question now and again, Nairobi clearly controls the conversation with confident joy and seriousness in equal measure. Her childhood in Costa Rica, navigating her sexuality and abuse from her mother, and living day to day after heart surgery is entangled with laughter about dating an older woman and picking up women at music gigs. Talking about why they decided to stay in Canada over the many other countries they've been to, Nairobi jokes, "There was something about Canada, I guess it was the women." This playfulness is heard to be well received by the hosts, who seem to wholeheartedly agree, and the group laughs us into a music break featuring Rita Marley's "I Know a Place." We return from a break into a conversation about the whiteness of the queer community in Montreal. Nairobi shares differences between their experience in Costa Rica in the 1960s and '70s versus their life in Montreal: "I've never had a Black girlfriend [here] because I've never met one." She continues to say there aren't a lot of Black women when she goes out, and the ones she meets are usually already in relationships.

As the interview concludes, we are left with an oral history of Nairobi, rich with accomplishments from dancing on *The Tonight Show* starring Johnny Carson to playing soccer in the Pan Am Games, yet in trying to search for public records for a Nairobi, I come up short. In speaking with Deb VanSlet, one of the hosts heard in this 1993 recording, she recalls that Nairobi Nelson may have been a chosen name different from the one she would have used in her daily life to keep a level of anonymity. In my search for Nairobi, my luck turns with a 1998 article in the francophone lesbian magazine *Treize* housed at the Archives lesbiennes du Québec. In it, writer Line Chamberland gives a two-page tribute to Nelson, telling the story of a proud lesbian ("Fière d'être lesbienne") woman with a lifelong talent for singing who also went by the name Ruby on stage as the brother-sister duo Ruby et Ricky.[16] The article confirms the subtext I hear in Nelson's DoMs interview of a lesbian life proudly lived in community while also keeping a level of privacy among the general public. Like me, Line Chamberland did not know Nelson personally. They instead give thanks to Rocio Nelson, Nairobi's niece, and Carole Duhaime for sharing their memories of the late Montreal queer icon.

In critically listening across queer feminist soundworks, we must orient our ears to listen for what voices are present, which are absent, and what these decisions can tell us about the bodied relations behind what we hear. Whether face-to-face or through the techno-logics of soundwork, intersubjectivity, or "how subjects come into being relationally," they offer a way to articulate how individuals collectively orient themselves to each other, to objects, to media. In this context, orientation is not an identity but a pull toward relations, whether we are speaking of relations with others and relations with things such as media and objects that carry or extend these intersubjective connections. Lesbian feminism and, I argue here, queer feminism are such orientations. Echoing Sara Ahmed, these political and sexual orientations are about the acts, people, relations, and proximities we invest ourselves in.[17] If we then orient ourselves toward lesbian feminism rather than applying it as an identity—"lesbian feminist"—we can better reveal the tensions and the "disorientation" in trying to distill queer feminist politics into a singular experience. Our orientation is always reliant on how others are also being oriented, how we orient ourselves toward one another, and what is familiar and what is made unfamiliar in that process. Queer feminism is a fluid politics we orient toward. While it can be bound up in the perceptions of who orients toward it at particular points in time, or across specific media forms, it also carries with it a powerful potentiality for collective gender and sexuality activism. By analyzing how soundworkers orient themselves to and within their work, we can better address the audible exclusions candidly heard through listening back to envision the kind of future queer feminism we want to orient toward. Moreover, in listening back, perhaps in the discomfort and frustration of *not* hearing what you aspire to hear in a queer feminist utopia, we can begin to address the reasons behind that silence.

Audible exclusion is an experience shared by many of the soundworkers I spoke with, including a former host of *The Lesbian Show*, Eirene Cloma. Like many of the soundworkers involved in DoMs and TLS, Eirene engaged in the activist and queer community beyond lesbian community radio, shaping the sonic subjectivity they brought to the show. Eirene is an army veteran who joined Vancouver Co-Op Radio because they "wanted to channel their energy into something community-oriented," Eirene told me they "gravitated a lot towards media, alternative media, and wanted to learn more about grassroots organizing, and felt like radio was a great way to find a place for that."[18] A Polaris Canadian Music Prize–nominated musician in the queer Filipino diaspora quintet Pantayo, Eirene's interest in queer and feminist music translated into the music choices brought to *The Lesbian Show* during their year on air in 2010–11.[19] *The Lesbian Show* for Eirene was about:

> creating space for queer folks to produce their own [and] queer lesbian women to create their own content . . . queering radio in itself [by] featuring lesbian and queer women artists, women activists, authors, spoken word artists. Dani [cohost] was big on playing the Gossip, I would try to play like some spoken word stuff like Meshell Ndegeocello. We would try to focus on local bands I really loved, Neptune at Night and I think Queer as Funk may have just been getting started too. Dani [also] introduced me to a mixtape, I think it was called *Lesbian Soup*, [a] '70s feminist mixtape.[20]

My time spent in conversation with Eirene was full of shared sonic subjective resonances found in queer and lesbian music popular during the early 2010s. Both in our twenties at the time, we shared in the queer/lesbian bar scene soundscapes of Toronto and Vancouver, Canada. Queer party soundscapes curated by electropop at events with names like "Lick" where your shoes stuck to the floor from too-full gin and tonics. "Yeah! Lick!," echoed Eirene. I can still hear the slurred renditions of Lady Gaga's "Born This Way" guiding me out to the street as the venue lights come on, signaling a reluctant chorus of shuffling Doc Martens and kitten heels toward the sobering light of day. However, among the reminiscing of our "queer youth," what Eirene brought forward as most significant to them about *The Lesbian Show* was the opportunity to spend time with cohost Dani (Danielle) Macdonell: "I think the most significant part of *The Lesbian Show* was meeting Dani because she had also transitioned later [in life]. The intergenerational interaction [with] Dani being like an older trans lesbian woman. I was kind of like, you know, baby Dyke *L Word* lesbian, twenty-one, twenty-two. And Dani was at the time in her late forties." Eirene expressed the different perspective Dani brought to *The Lesbian Show* as an older trans lesbian with a long history of grassroots activism and arts organizing in East Vancouver. Dani was involved in queer media activism both as a trans lesbian and pretransition writing for Vancouver's *Angles* magazine, organizing with the Vancouver Gay Community Centre (later known as Qmunity), teaching in the kink/BDSM community, volunteering with Co-Op Radio's *The Coming Out Show*, and being on the board for the Vancouver Dyke March. Hearing about Dani's impact on Eirene during their time together on *The Lesbian Show*, I began searching for traces of Dani in the TLS archives, yet Dani was nowhere to be heard.

This deafening silence in *The Lesbian Show* archives from 1999 onward leaves me wanting the free flow "personal anecdotes" Eirene describes Dani sharing on air: "I remember one show she was reading a calendar of events, and there was a party that was like an homage to the hanky codes, and she

listed all the hanky codes from the top of her head." Without Dani's sonic subjectivity in the TLS archives, I turned to search the wild west of the web for traces of Dani from around the time Eirene shared the mic with them at Co-Op Radio's Downtown Eastside studio. An article in the Langara College student paper in 2013 shows a quarter-page photo of women's studies student Danielle Macdonell looking unimpressed alongside a headline reading "Is Langara Really a Tolerant Place? Transgendered Student Targeted by Campus Security."[21] Dani recounts being followed by a male campus security officer into the washroom even after explaining she was indeed a student and a woman: "Macdonell feels if she was not a transgendered woman it would instantly be a harassment case" writes the *Langara Voice*. I begin to wonder if Dani left *The Lesbian Show* to take up their studies at Langara. Again, the name Danielle Macdonell emerges speaking out during a Vancouver Park Board motion about creating more transgender and gender-varianted inclusive spaces.[22] In the article, Dani is quoted stating, "I have a recreation pass—I've had one for four or five years, I've never used it—I'm afraid of using it. I'm terrified to go to the gym; I'm terrified to go to the public pool."[23] Did Dani share experiences like this on *The Lesbian Show*? What was their experience as a trans lesbian stepping into the show's sonic intersubjectivity saturated with the radical lesbian feminism of the 1970s? Did they feel oriented in the radio studio once filled with the sonic dust of their past self and other queer kin? Or perhaps a discomfort or disorientation in their soundings against the sonic presence and potential imagined listenership of trans-exclusionary radical "feminists"?[24] While Dani's sonic subjectivity is missing in its recorded form from the TLS archives, Eirene gives us a hint about Dani's experience through an email Dani shared between them:

> There is one email, where Dani talks about stepping down from the show. And, you know, she had expressed that she wasn't sure if her voice as a transgender woman was necessarily reflective of what the show is about. Which I thought was interesting [*read as surprising from Eirene's tone*] and maybe at the time I just didn't clue into like trends of gender nonconforming, nonbinary, nonbinariness back then. I think with her being on the radio and like having a deeper voice, I think there probably was some pushback where people were wondering, "Well, why is this voice on air?" So I recognize how there was probably transphobia, or internalized transphobia on her part of being on air, because of her and her voice specifically.[25]

Significant attention across the social sciences and humanities has been given to "voice" as both a politically coded metaphor of the written word or

creative works and as a material sounding of the body. In both cases, the voice is inextricably tied up with concepts of democracy, social equity, and identity. Vocalization and the act of listening to transgender voice, as is the case with any voice, are embodied processes bound up in certain histories and positions of subjectivity.[26] While trans historians such as Susan Stryker and Laura Horak have highlighted the vital roles of trans people in gay and lesbian rights movements, trans voices like that of Dani have long been excluded from "mainstream" queer media activist histories.

Today, while the scholarship on trans voices in the media is growing, there is little attention given to the embodied experiences of trans soundworkers in the radio and podcasting space.[27] Yet even before we hear Dani on *The Lesbian Show*, a longing for a voiced trans lesbian politics is already noted by TLS member Dorothy Forster more than a decade prior. In the summer 1994 issue of *TransSisters: The Journal of Transsexual Feminism*, we find a published letter to the editor from Dorothy. In the letter, they express their excitement upon finding a copy of *TransSisters* in their local Vancouver bookstore when browsing the magazine rack with their lover. Dorothy writes, "Feminism needs the discussions your journal brings. The gay and lesbian communities need them, those hell-bent-for-hegemony straights NEED them, and I need them on a very personal level. My life is a different manifestation of 'skin not fitting the soul'—in my case, souls."[28] The letter goes on to speak about the need for more discussion on transsexual lesbianism and transgender politics in feminism, just as conversations within the lesbian and feminist community on sex work, disability, racism, and intimate partner violence have been brought forward. A producer for TLS during the 1990s, Dorothy talks about TLS and about Co-Op Radio more broadly, in their letter to *TransSisters*, as a space to provide access to voices, opinions, people, and music not "fairly" heard in mainstream media. Dorothy then makes a public invitation to the editor, Davina Anne Gabriel, to come on the show for an interview.[29]

While the interview with Gabriel for *The Lesbian Show* is not found in the TLS collection today, we do get a glimpse into Dorothy's contributions to the show through their inclusion of other gender theory content such as their on-air readings from Leslie Fienberg's *Stone Butch Blues* (1993).[30] Listening to the radio always comes with a certain expectation of what voice you might hear on a given station or show. When you imagine what voices you might hear when tuning into a lesbian or queer feminist radio show in the 1990s or 2000s, what do you hear in the theater of your mind? Similar to the sonic experience media theorist Cait McKinney (2020) describes regarding lesbian information telephone hotlines, "Hearing a disembodied but emotive voice at a distance, through a speaker, engenders affective ties to the per-

son speaking, but the pleasure of this intimacy depends on hearing a voice one expects."[31] While the voice is received as "disembodied" over the telephone, it is assumed by the listener that there is a lesbian body extended outward to make that community connection. The listener might envision a particular lesbian body based on the sound of the voice, their interactions, or their presumption of what a lesbian "is." Unlike hotlines, radio shows share information without the listeners having to speak back. This one-to-many format allows for a level of anonymity and a wider range of listeners to "listen in" from outside the lesbian feminist community. In one sense, the broadcast format invites an imagined community and sonic intimacy between the broadcaster and listener without the level of direct one-to-one intimacy of a phone call. On the other hand, Dani's worry over their voice being "reflective of what *The Lesbian Show* is about" is a glimpse into an affective experience that the gendered politics of voice can enact for trans women who might not feel they "pass" on the radio.

Listening back to my interview with Eirene, you can hear a shared wanting for Dani's voice that would make your ears burn. There is a sonic intersubjectivity created through the descriptions Eirene provides of Dani's queer knowledge, her deep laugh and knowing tone, and her eclectic taste in music from indie rock band the Gossip to classic 1970s women's music. "I was trying to look at my archives yesterday to see if I had anything with her speaking, but I didn't," Eirene told me, "but I did send you a video that's of her speaking, talking about her story, that [was] basically *The Lesbian Show* [*laughs*]." The video in question was produced as part of a community-sponsored series collected at Vancouver Pride 2012, about a year after Eirene left their volunteer position alongside Dani at Co-Op Radio. The video posted by Onmyplanet.ca is composed of a static shot set with a background of rainbow flags with Dani framed from the shoulders up, wearing a black tank top and short silver necklace, their hair in low pigtails, with pierced ears and small square glasses. It is unclear whom they are speaking to, yet Dani confidently recaps "Coles notes style" their life as a street kid turned queer activist. "I found a place in the men's community even though I wasn't interested in sex" shares Dani, but "I met my first girlfriend when I was 27, she was a third-generation dyke and she made the move on me [*laughs*] . . . it was a huge epiphany for me," but "I still identified as a gay man." Dani's raspy creaky vocal presentation and breathy chuckles weave us through her journey of dating a lot of "butch women," and their viewpoint of how "transitioning is one of the most selfish things you can do" but "I don't want to die an old man." "Learning to become active in the women's community has been . . . a struggle," Dani shares as her face squishes a bit in discomfort during her

pause in speech. "I had an interesting reminder last night when I went to an event and was reminded I wasn't welcome there."[32]

Despite these experiences, Dani continued to be an active member of the Vancouver Dyke March board and a stage manager during the postmarch festivities held each year at Grandview Park in the east end of Vancouver.[33] Dani would have been about fifty-seven years old when the 2012 Queer Story Archive video was filmed, just two years prior to Dani's passing from complications with melanoma for which there is no mention. Instead, they focus on their vast entanglement in different decades, politics, and identities that shape their subjectivity in relation to the queer community at large. While Dani's connection to Co-Op Radio is only said in passing, their recorded voice in conversation with Eirene's recollections of Dani on *The Lesbian Show* provides much-needed trans visibility (and audibility) to this book's phenomenological understanding of queer feminist soundwork. Despite being unable to include Dani's own embodied experience of hosting and producing *The Lesbian Show*, I approach the inclusion of their voice through Eirene and the fragments of Dani found through news articles and videos to highlight Dani's key contributions to queer and lesbian feminist soundwork and activism. This intersubjective and intergenerational methodology works to remedy missing audio histories where they ought to be by seeking out fragments in community to turn frustration with a lack of "evidence" into a speculative exploration of *what might have been?* and *what still might be?* Speculation can be a powerful tool for attending to subjects excluded or missing from historical records. As feminist media scholar Allyson Nadia Field writes, "Speculation is often borne [*sic*] out of the necessity of, the exhaustion—or unsuitability—of other approaches."[34] Speculation here works as a tool in the feminist and queer phenomenological toolbox toward resisting academic narratives of what counts as evidence and instead moving to embrace the possibilities of fragmented or glitchy encounters.

Audio Fragment Frustration and the Possibilities of Glitchy Orientation

Queer phenomenology asks us to sit in such discomforts and frustrations experienced in encountering fragmented or "glitchy" orientations to reveal what speculations and new ways of being might emerge.[35] Here I first recall my own frustrations in the fragmented experience of searching for Dani. Second, I reflect on the potential discomfort, frustration, and risk that Dani's refusal to "shed" their "gay man" as queer trans woman might have

stirred for themselves and others within our transphobic, cissexist, and transmisogynistic reality. While this refusal comes with risk, it also demonstrates Dani's desire to communicate, through this refusal, their subjectivity—one that pushes back against lesbian feminist histories of static cisgender identity recognition as a strategic essentialism and limiting who can orient themselves toward lesbian feminism.[36] While it is unknown whether Dani's refusal to categorize themselves along binary lines of gender and sexuality was purposeful in this way, the contrasting fragments of Dani's subjectivity, in and outside of "official" archive walls, prompt what theorist Legacy Russell has termed "glitch feminism." "Glitch" is commonly understood as an error or "failure to function." Still, Russell instead positions glitch as a powerful and celebrated "vehicle of refusal" through which we might manifest "new possibilities of being and becoming."[37] Glitch feminisms embracing the in-between and refusal of societal demands of gender binary on the body is not a new concept; it is rather a renewal of cyberfeminism toward a further critique of the digital world's impact on our AFK (away from keyboard) lives.

Since its uptake in the 1980s and '90s, cyberfeminism has permeated feminist cultural and media studies work. When digital technologies began to integrate into the everyday lives of the public, feminist theories and practices for cyberspace were equally taking shape. With this growth in feminist digital and new media studies along with science and technology studies, the proven, problematic, utopic, disembodied promises of cyberfeminism have inspired novel forms of critical computer-based arts practice and feminist internet studies[38] while also producing landmark issues of corporeal erasure and "identity tourism."[39] Cyberfeminism has since multiplied into various feminisms—for example, technofeminism, xenofeminism, and data feminism—to attend to the complex relationships between bodies and technologies, which both resist and reinforce structures and systems of power. Glitch feminism is positioned as yet another mode of resistance against the corporeal erasure of digital discourse, drawing attention to the intersectional and embodied embrace of glitches in the system.

Glitchiness also finds parallels with Jasbir Puar's (2017) critique of bad and "good queerness," where "good queers" are understood as those who fall in line with law-abiding notions of "ideal" citizenship and the white middle-class cisgender status quo. By turning away from such homonational manifestations of an ideal or wholly "good queerness," we can begin to deconstruct and subsequently rebuild, in a more inclusive manner, what queerness and lesbianism can be. In doing so, we can move away from a reductive conflation of queer or lesbian feminism as fixed on relations of sex acts or static

stereotypes and toward how the subject comes into being through a rich set of queer and feminist relations. Whether those relations are queer friendships or podcast networks, plant care or radio on the car stereo, these relations factor into the subjects' sense of self within a particular public. Of course, in this case, the relation we are interested in attending to is the production of soundwork. Some soundworkers who participated in this study recognize lesbian, queer, or feminist as part of their identity, while others do not. Approaching lesbian feminism and queer feminism as a politics, a culture, and a praxis allows for a focus on the collective points of sonic kinship, as well as technologic and aesthetic resonance, rather than the identity politics of practitioners past, present, and future. Lesbian feminism and queer feminism, in this logic, are interested in attending to the radical potentials afforded by turning away from heterosexual orientations as the default standard rather than prescribing proportionately static identities. Dani's trans, lesbian, and gay man identities are integral parts of their subjective self; yet it is the intergenerational queer kinship that Eirene found through their connection to Dani's embodied voice and experiences shared on the mic that activates a particular conception of what it means to be a "public queer" through soundwork.

Queer Kinship: Soundwork's Sonic Dust

Queer kinship is a theory and practice toward a sense of belonging and connection, separated from traditional familial roles tied to hetero-procreation and gendered hierarchies. Queer adaptation of "kinship" might initially seem like a queer desire for a familiar familial pursuit of heterosexual futures. However, as Elizabeth Freeman (2007) argues, "kinship matters for queer theory in a way that Judith Butler reminds us that 'bodies matter.'"[40] Kinship is willfully corporeal in its cultural production through repetition and how those repetitions govern the body's limitations and possibilities. The intentional use of "kinship" to articulate our corporeal desire to belong, as well as "the longing to be *long*," to endure over time beyond procreation, situates social *and* parasocial connections to queer voices in soundwork as intimately tied to the body.[41] Queer kinship, in this sense, is not exclusive to the world of soundwork by any means. It might be equally enacted through community ties formed through social media, in-person organizing or rally events, friendships, or other various ways one might engage in communication from body to body. Still, what the study of soundwork can offer to understandings of queer kinship is the embodied dimensions of intersub-

jectivity experienced and *communicated* through mediated-electrified sound. In the case of this intergenerational study of soundwork across different periods of time and understandings of place, the queer temporality of kinship, that it exists and endures not only for mortal bodies but between those separated by time, becomes even more *apparent*. When queer desires to belong, or be *long*, are satiated through the sonic intersubjectivity of soundwork, resonances with queer pasts might also open up a renewed sense of possibility for the queer present and queer futures. Turning to the work of Heather Love (2007), this "backward future" orientation applied to queer soundwork simultaneously holds one ear to the past while drawing the other ear to the future. Even while our ears are stretched through time, our feet remain in the present, a constant reminder of how the histories we hear retain their capacity to shed light on contemporary struggles, fragmentations, and utopian desires. While it is impossible to know the experiences of queers past truly, the backwardness tied to queer being alongside desires to be *long* creates feelings of kinship across the varied soundworks showcased in this study.

In the study of soundwork, the sonic subjectivities shared through radio broadcasts and podcasts are made for a connection to an intended public, for sonic intersubjectivity from few to many, even when they can *feel* and *sound* like they are made just for us. In broadcast radio the presumption is often that the public is present in the moment listening live within the geographic confines of the broadcast tower. In contrast, podcasts' publics are spread across time and space. However, thanks to the urge select members of both *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show* felt to record their shows in whole or in part, many of these once ephemeral broadcasts are now part of our contemporary digital context. From broadcast to tape to mp3, the sonic intersubjectivity once evoked through creating and listening to radio's inherent liveness now finds itself in the on-demand present. The show collections become an unintentional archive of political significance, offering the contemporary ear an opportunity to hear lesbian and queer feminisms across the decades. The queer kinship that Eirene felt for Dani through their experiences in the physical studio and through listening to them live on *The Lesbian Show* is one form of sonic intersubjectivity through one-to-one communication. However, feelings of connection and resonance can also be felt across space and time. These feelings can manifest whether we know the soundworker personally or not. In media studies, we might call this affective pull and sense of intimacy felt toward an individual via one-way media a parasocial relationship.[42] Yet in thinking through the complexities of queer kinship in relation to parasociality, the term seems to fall short. Real-world

and queer parasocial interactions are significant for maintaining queer public networks and building kinship. Furthermore, these feelings of kinship intersubjectively experienced through listening to a queer soundwork can help to sustain or ignite our understandings of the self through sound and what we might want to hear more of in the world.

I think of such feelings of queer kinship as sonic dust that (metaphorically) settles onto our bodies and into the cracks and surfaces of the places where we engage in deep listening to the sonic subjectivities of others. One can imagine that this dust plays a part in holding queerness in its backward turn, a weightiness that is barely perceptible until it accumulates in thick layers on our skin. Perhaps so much sonic dust accumulates that it travels into our very guts. It becomes part of the body and the self, stirring feelings of warmth in the belly at the sound of a lesbian voice on the telephone hotline or the laughter of queer kin on the radio. Once queer kinship is felt, it can become hard to shake, a type of visceral haunting where recorded voice has often found itself the conduit. In the case of recorded radio and podcasts, these "canned" forms of communication can feel awfully *un*canny in their produced experiences of audible closeness across temporal distance and the familiarity in the stories shared.[43] This sonic intersubjective phenomenon came up often in listening back to clips of DoMs and TLS with contemporary queer podcasters. Certainly not in such abstract terms as intersubjectivity or sonic dust, but instead articulated simply as a *feeling* and a *knowing* of familiarity and kinship.

Mitra Kaboli, formerly of *The Heart* podcast, wasn't familiar with the history of the Sex Garage Raid before listening to the 1991 *Dykes on Mykes* audio collage. Still, she noted that it "*sounds* familiar. It sounds like a tale as old as time."[44] Mitra's response is a dusty one. After listening to the chants and sweeping music of Deb's collage, Mitra shared that she "knew that it [*Dykes on Mykes*] was a show, but never listen[ed] to it." "I'm like so not curious sometimes," laughed Mitra Kaboli as we began listening onward together to the queer soundings of DoMs' Sex Garage tribute. Here Mitra seems to hint at sonic dust that has lingered from past radio experiences at CKUT Montreal or from simply being a queer in Montreal. At the same time, Mitra's reply of "I'm like so not curious sometimes" reminds us of the dust's ephemeral quality—you can brush it off. Still, the dust lingers in the corners and crevasses until your body becomes sticky through listening again. Headphones on and a nonchalant grin on their face as Mitra joined me from their New York apartment, the familiarity of the content wasn't the only aspect of Deb's kiss-in audio that caught Mitra's ear. A documentarian and sound designer, Mitra also found herself interested in the form and style of the

work: "I'm not that into audio that much these days but hearing that got me excited a little bit. I was like, oh, yeah. I remember why I like this. I love layering sounds, it's so fun," she laughs. "[But] I thought the kiss-in was a little too noisy for my taste," noting the wet smooches and "Oh baby oh baby" recordings from a kiss-in event in commemoration and protest of the Sex Garage Raid featured later in DoMs' anniversary episode. Sonic (inter)subjectivity allows for queer feeling to take focus while also orienting us to the sound production choices made in evoking queerness for an intended, or in the case of Mitra and I, an unintended future public. Feeling is used here in the sense of affective practices and their resulting emotions, be it loss, love, or lust, while also attending to the sensorial nature of sound as vibration, which allows voices and sounds to touch us up close yet from a distance.

When Deb produced their "Sex Garage Raid Collage" and accompanying Kiss-In event feature showcasing a Kiss-In held one year later in protest of the raid, she likely didn't imagine it being rebroadcast on CKUT decades later, let alone listened to by queer soundworkers over a Zoom video chat during a pandemic. Listening back to the same clip with Deb a few months before my interview with Mitra, there was an affective weight, a sonic dust, felt in the air even over video as we began to chat. I interviewed Deb with their long-time cohost Elana Wright, who joined *Dykes on Mykes* in 1994, about six years after Deb came on the air in 1988. As the clip ends, Deb shares their first reaction: "That made me feel kind of emotional. I have to say that was a really heady time and—it's not that I'd forgotten, but you need your memory jostled every now and again and jump-started. And that sure did it." Elana pauses and then chimes in: "That was before my time and maybe it was a show that I listen[ed] to. So, for me, that's like history actually and it kind of adds to the legacy of *Dykes on Mykes*. . . . It did feel really significant to have a show that gave voice to this and again, like [in] that long-form way. More than just a sound bite."[45] Despite being cohosts for ten years, the duo brings contrasting experiences of sonic subjectivity through listening back to this 1991 audio excerpt. For Deb, it reawakens an affect tied to a particular time and place. Listening to their voice and the sounds she'd once chosen to extend their intersubjective feelings and connection surrounding the Sex Garage Raid one year later creates a shift in Deb and Elana's initial response to DoMs' show style as "fun" and "entertainment." While the lighter comedic and conversational aspects of DoMs are key to its mission as lesbian feminist audibility activism, these shared moments of community wounds sonified through the radio equally play a role in producing queer connection and belonging. Deb's collage of protest chants, kissing dykes, and sweeping orchestral music beds sounds out as "wounded vibrations" felt across time in

each queer body that stops to resonate. I first conceptualized *wounded vibrations* to explain "the complex relationship between intergenerational trauma and Indigenous history" heard in the podcast *Missing and Murdered: Finding Cleo*.[46] Queer and Indigenous wounds are not parallel, though they may overlap for queer Indigenous communities. Still, this concept of wounded vibrations speaks directly to the affective and material embodied experience of queer sonic subjectivities. Drawing on Norie Neumark's theorization of how mediated voice and sound can create a "haunted disjuncture," these vibrations remind us that "the past is always already with us."[47] Wounded vibrations is a sonic remix of Wendy Brown's "wounded attachments"—how identity construction based exclusively on historical injury (for example, racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, ableism) runs the risk of entrapment in a constant identity of oppression rather than envisioning action or utopic possibilities. While Brown's concept of "wounded attachments" names the stasis of queer identity, wounded vibrations instead focuses on the intersubjective connections made when one body vibrates another. Such vibrations are not "simply pained emotions but also the circulation of memories and felt affect before happy or sad, negative or positive are constituted. They are the vibrations of past, present and future."[48] We can think of *feeling* vibrations as an affective practice that in turn can evoke particular emotions in the moment, be it loss, love, or lust that can rush over us or linger long after listening. These feelings attend to the sensorial nature of sound, as vibration, which allows voices and sounds to touch us up close yet from a distance, reconnecting intersubjectivity with the embodied reality of communication regardless of whether the media is the human body or whether the body is extended through media technology. Drawing again on the imagery of sonic dust forming out of the media listening experience, we might think of the continuous accumulation of dust manifested by wounded vibrations floating through the air all around us. When these vibrations are shared via soundwork rooted in audibility activism, they play the dual role of manifesting belonging *and* rousing change through action and reflection. As the dust settles upon the skin, as you breathe it in, you can't help but feel urged to move or to turn inwards.

Preventing, or at least attempting to avoid, a repetition of past wrongdoings and injustice is a prompt that listeners can take with them through experiencing wounded vibrations or sonic dust. However, wounds aren't the only sonic subjectivity that can be heard in queer feminist soundwork. Queer kinship and audibility activism can also enact what José Esteban Muñoz advocates for in *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (2009). As researchers, listeners, or soundworkers "cruising" queer feminist soundworks

past, we are also engaging with works that "not only allow us to imagine utopia but, more important, whet our appetite for it."[49] While the idea of "utopias" has its limitations and problematics like anything else, Muñoz's encouragement to study queer art and culture through utopic eyes can help to shift queer concepts of self away from the static wounded attachments Brown warns of and instead gaze toward queer futurity not as "an end but an opening or horizon."[50] One such work among many in the world of queer feminist soundwork is a two-part series from the podcast *Queer Public*, "The Atlanta Letters" (2019) and "Atlanta" (2019). Produced by Erin McGregor with editorial and sound design by Ariana Martinez, these two episodes follow the story of Diane Giles, who wrote letters to an Atlanta Gay Helpline volunteer, who she had never met, from May to December 1984.

"The Atlanta Letters" opens with an introduction from Erin and a big thank you to Ariana for all their work. Set to a soft, slow, cyclical, and reverberant xylophone-sounding music bed, Erin teases the second episode made in collaboration with Netflix for a limited podcast series called *Prism: Tales of Your City*. Erin sets the scene with an opening provocation, "How do we best honor those who have helped us become who we are?"[51] The ruffling of papers transitions us into Diane reading snippets of her letters to hotline volunteer Vernita on the microphone. This memory of the past quickly pulls us into the present as Diana reflects, "I was at a place in my life that I was beginning to come out internally. I had written the words 'I am gay' out on a piece of paper, and I took a match to it. I wasn't even prepared to go any further than that."[52] Ariana's sound design punctuates the image of a struck match and burning paper as the backing track of strummed acoustic guitar and a gritty soulful vocal sings "you put the peace in my steady breathing, washing the pain down in the river."[53] "Atlanta Letters" opens with these feelings of disorientation and loneliness that Diane writes about in her early letters. However, the mood shifts as Erin's host narration guides the listener through Diane's efforts of looking for local gay hotlines in her library and mustering the courage on a Friday night from an Atlanta conference hotel lobby to call the Atlanta Gay Helpline. It's Diane's first time alone "away from home without her husband and child" when she connects with Vernita on the other end of the hotel landline. This weaving of Diane's letter reading, personal reflections, and host narration takes the listener back to 1984 and forward again to Diane's present as we hear their tales of chickening out on entering a gay bar, reading *Ruby Fruit Jungle*, and falling in love. Diane is now sixty-five years old, being interviewed by Erin, and married to a different woman than her letters to Nita documented, her current wife, Gayle. With-

out consent from Vernita for this first episode in *Queer Public*'s Atlanta series, we only hear Diane's letters read aloud.

While Nita's perspective might provide a richer picture of their connection during this pivotal year of change in Diane's life, the focus on Diane allows more room for the listener to tune into and vibrate with the particular subjective experiences of Diane sonified, both past and present. While the story focuses on Diane, we must also consider the sonic subjectivities of Erin and Ariana as the soundworkers shaping Diane's voice and experiences into a singular podcast episode. Trained in broadcast interviewing (Erin) and sound design (Ariana), *Queer Public* is a show conceivably palatable to the typical soundwork listener (read heteropatriarchal trained ear) accustomed to the style of popular NPR shows such as *This American Life* or *Invisibilia*. There is a thoughtful balance of loudness between the sonic elements—music, voice, and ambience—along with a clear narrative flow to the story despite its playful approach to temporality. Still, as queers, Erin and Ariana are inescapably entangled in the audibility activism of this queer feminist soundwork, which is clearly heard in their work. Like their predecessors at *Dykes on Mykes*, the duo aim to "make our politics actually come true" by representing queer community not only in the voices presented but also in the music, stories, and hands behind each production.[54]

Furthermore, their investment in doing justice to their queer kinship felt toward Diane and Vernita brought out a slower, more reflexive, and iterative production process not dissimilar from my own application of Alison Harvey's (2019) three-pronged approach to feminist media critique. In one of our interviews, Erin shares, "You just never know what is going to end up being a thing, you know? Some of it takes years to shape up. I met Diane from 'The Atlanta Letters' in 2015. I didn't meet Vernita until May of 2019, and the episode came out on *Tales of Your City* [that] July."[55] Erin first gained interest in talking more to Diane following a trans-centered story she was chasing about the controversial Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (Michfest). The festival, which was held annually from 1976 to 2015, chose to shut down over trans-exclusionary controversies that caused fractures in the festival's community.[56] Diane had mentioned to Erin about her story and archive of personal letters in passing, but Erin was focused on their Michfest story at the time.

It wasn't until two years later that Erin dug up Diane's phone number, still curious about Diane's story. Erin reflects on meeting Diane after that two-year gap following Michfest: "My ex-girlfriend and I drove to Kenosha, Wisconsin, on my own dollar and stayed in an Airbnb. I did like a day or two of

recording with Diane. That story just sort of felt like my good deed for the year. Like I got to reunite these two women, and [it] just meant so much to Diane. And then just to be able to hang out with like queer elders is just . . . they really, really paved the way, these queer women" (2021). In the second episode in *Queer Public*'s "Atlanta" series, we join Erin in the reunion between Diane and Vernita following a slightly different retelling of Diane's story than is heard in "The Atlanta Letters." Perhaps given the difference in audience, with "Atlanta" first produced for inclusion in Netflix's Prism series, the sonic subjectivities of this episode seem to be extending out to the listener as much more of a typical "Coming Out" narrative in contrast to "The Atlanta Letters." A swelling upbeat rhythm underscores Diane's recounting of "coming out" for the first time aloud on the phone to Vernita. This joyous moment is sharply contrasted moments later by a downbeat melancholy piano as Erin narrates Diane's plane ride home to her husband and "back into the closet."[57] Erin spends time trying to find Vernita to reunite Diane and her after so many decades since their life-changing letter correspondence. We hear Diane's gasps of excitement as Erin gives the news that she has found Vernita. The pair chat over the phone again, just as they did in 1984.

"Atlanta" differs in a few exciting ways from its counterpart "The Atlanta Letters," not only in the adoption of a perhaps more trope-like "coming out" narrative focus, but also in a normative temporality and story arc that fits the episode into dominant production practices heard in other mainstream audio documentary style works such as *This American Life*. It is not to say that one approach is "better" than the other for evoking sonic intersubjectivity for the queer community. After all, focusing on subjectivity rather than identity in this chapter aims to highlight various ways that queer soundworkers engage in public queerness through their work. The examples we are spending time with here are just a few of many to be found in the archive, on your preferred podcast platform, and lost to the ether, perhaps only living in memory. Nonetheless, through Diane's letters read aloud, the curated queer music choices, Ariana's rich sound design, and Erin's narration soaking in the queer kinship she felt with Diane, "The Atlanta Letters" exemplifies the power of queer temporality in soundwork to take the listener cruising through queer utopias past.

While queers made both episodes, it is left to the listener whether both are made for queers as the imagined public. Questions of audience, of intended public, shape the production choices made in what sort of sonic subjectivity is communicated through soundwork. These choices in presentation and production of story, voice, and sounds can significantly impact the closeness the listener feels to the work—their belonging/be-longing and

queer kinship no matter how parasocial. It is this feeling or sensing of closeness found in queer soundwork made for a queer public, despite or in spite of radio and podcasting's broad potential public, that calls into question what approach is experienced as more effective or crucial for queer feminism's audibility activism. What types of privilege are required to make work exclusively for queer community? To what extent does audibility activism fall victim to the same mainstream co-optation as lesbian visibility activism in the 1980s and '90s? And who is erased, excluded, or put at risk in the process?

Conclusion: From Lesbian Visibility to Audibility Activism

Rewind back to the late 1970s in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Silva Tenenbein, just a few years before cofounding *The Lesbian Show*, is at the local credit union to open an account for the Rights of Lesbians Subcommittee of the British Columbia Federation of Women. Deeply embedded in a politics of lesbian visibility as a result of her own experiences as well as the experiences of lesbians in being excluded from feminist organizations, and feeling either invisible to or villainized by the general public, Silva takes up the position as chair of the subcommittee, advocating for its formation to claim space for lesbians under the feminist banner. Silva reflects on this memory of trying to open an account for the subcommittee with me: "We wanted to increase the visibility. I went to the credit union to open an account; the person didn't know what the word lesbian [was] and she spelled it wrong. She spelled it 'lesbane' because she had absolutely no idea what it was."[58]

In writing about the tensions between *Queer Public*'s two-pronged approach to the Atlanta series, I think back to this moment shared by Silva. In "Atlanta," Erin does not need to define or describe "lesbian" as an identity for a broad listenership in the US/Canada context. In this sense, the visibility activism Silva and many other lesbian feminists across North America were fighting for has come to a head. Today as mainstream media giants like Netflix and HBO are interested in "diversifying" their content portfolio, queer soundworkers like Erin can pitch queer stories that garner funding and support in ways that the Canadian community radio model cannot. On this sentiment, Erin shared, "I think that more mainstream shows are better about incorporating queer stories, BIPOC stories into their everyday. You know, it's not just like Black History Month, let's tell all Black stories. It's not like that anymore. Now that we're actually quite critical of that model" (2021). Erin's experience here is a stark contrast to former TLS host Cynthia

Brooke's reflection on mainstream media and public queerness in the 1980s: "Pretty much every [mainstream] news outlet, if they were actually speaking about us, were othering us. And it was also dangerous. A thing [that] is hard for a lot of people to realize [is] that any sort of attention in those times was dangerous. You did not want the attention of the media."[59] Another TLS host, though a few years later, Vett Lloyd echoed Cynthia's sentiments:

> It wasn't okay to be a lesbian then, it was really scary. Something I discovered, even though I'd been officially out for a few years at that point, was there's a difference between being out in your brain and then going down to the Downtown Eastside, to the old building where Co-Op Radio was, walking through a crowd of pretty rough characters—you know, they were always great. I never was hassled—but you're standing around with a bunch of guys there staring at you and you stick out like a sore thumb and then you buzz the intercom on the door. And the person doing the show ahead of you says, "Who are you? What show are you working on?" So you get to announce to the world, your name, and "I'm here for *The Lesbian Show*." . . . It was close to ten years later, that if you heard anything about a pride event on the standard media, the anchors would manage to say gay and lesbian like they were regular words and not as [if they] were spitting out these words that they had to say, spread[ing] their disdain and hatred and discomfort.[60]

What we can read in this quote from Vett above is not simply visibility politics, or a politics of being seen. Sometimes being seen was not the goal at all. Instead, the goal was to be *heard*. By repeatedly speaking "lesbian" aloud on the streets of downtown Vancouver and over the radio airwaves, the TLS hosts were engaging in an audibility activism against a media soundscape they felt was misrepresenting and causing continued harm to their community. Silva, Cynthia, and Vett's experiences from the show's first two decades highlight *The Lesbian Show* as taking on a strategic essentialism focused on lesbian as an identity to push forward lesbian audibility in hopes of contributing to a larger movement toward lesbian and gay rights as well as acceptance and tolerance in Canadian society. While lesbian as a static identity has a history of exclusion embedded, the visibility/audibility activist work of these lesbian feminist soundworkers can equally evoke rich subjective understandings of lesbianism, feminism, and queerness across a variety of experiences. These histories should not be reduced to their essentializing events but instead revisited as integral linkages to the possibilities contemporary sound-

workers manifest in their own sonic offerings. As the next chapter will explore further, among the strategic essentialism of *The Lesbian Show* we also hear a powerful potentiality in the sonic aesthetics of queer intimacy and play with the form that queer and feminist soundworkers are still striving to evoke in contemporary work.

Queer feminist audibility activism, while embedded in the controversial and exclusionary histories of lesbian feminism, also opens a rethinking and reorientation toward the past to uncover and connect with the wounded vibrations and utopic soundings of queer kinship. Sonic intersubjectivity, in practice and in theory, allows soundworkers to draw on powerful histories of media activism, while also engaging in a refusal of essentialist notions of gender and sexuality bound up in what it means to be a public queer. In focusing in on subjectivity over identity, we must also resist postfeminist sensibilities to leverage a "feminist past" to uplift individualist and neoliberalist narratives of "leaning-in" to our own self-interested future. Rather, here I hope to invite a continued return to the past alongside transgenerational feminist engagement and queer kinship, so we might *perhaps* be able to best or at least slow down the constant "forgetting again" that feminist theorist Gayle Rubin (2012) cautions as a key problematic of wave metaphors in feminist activism. Still, the question lingers: What does it mean to shift from a politics of visibility/representation toward audibility activism that not only attends to the diversity of voices and experiences in the media ecosystem at large but also to *how* those voices and experiences are edited and constructed? Perhaps the most crucial question we must ask is, For whom and with what ear are these works being produced? In the chapters to come, we turn our focus toward the aesthetics and the networks that surround and shape such possibilities for queer feminist soundwork. Taking sonic subjectivity forward allows us to draw attention to the varied queer experiences and dusty feelings at the root of audibility activism.

3 • Kisses through the Static

Producing a Queer Politics of Sonic Intimacy and Play

Whip-smart and blued-haired with an infectiously raspy laugh, Silva Tenenbein, cofounder of *The Lesbian Show*, first spoke with me over Zoom on a crisp spring morning from their home office in sunny California. When I reached out to interview them for a community radio show, I had no idea the impact the experiences they shared would have on my research and on my relationship to queer feminist history. Perhaps best known for their kink/BDSM activism and bringing lesbian rights to the British Columbia Federation of Women, Silva paints a picture in the interview of an early *The Lesbian Show* rooted in humor, play, and sex-positive activism. Among Silva's stories of organizing women's-only dances and leather dyke life in 1979, I ask more about *The Lesbian Show*, curious as a feminist community radio maker myself to connect over this shared history. What emerges is a story of experimental sound in lesbian visibility—or, in this case, audibility—and the power of language. Silva recalls the cheeky fun of the "Lesbian Academy Awards for the most people that you've had sex with in the last year, as judged by the Lesbian Academy. And the person that won ostensibly had sex with the entire softball league [*laughs*]."[1] It plays out like a movie in my head as I hear the echoed energetic laughter of five women, the original TLS collective, taking phone calls and tallying votes in their Downtown Eastside radio studio. I began to wonder whether these same queer feminist sensibilities could be found in community radio and podcasting efforts in other temporal and spatial contexts. What other sonic aesthetics might be produced through such a queer politics of intimacy and play?

Listening back to our interview from 2018, Silva's generous and unapologetic activist energy moves through their voice and into dialogue with their fellow queer and lesbian feminist soundworkers to evoke an erotic politics of queer sound production. It would be another two years before I attempted to

reach out to Silva again and learned of her passing. Entangled in a web of recognition, loss, and political play, my interactions with Silva echoed political aesthetics central to queer feminist soundwork: punk playfulness, erotic power, and radical camp.

This chapter draws on moments of listening to and talking with soundworkers about form, genre, and narrative aesthetics and production choices that make a feminist soundwork *queer*. Tracing queer feminist aesthetics across varied temporal and spatial contexts brings with it a reality of how these contexts shape the way a politics is experienced and reproduced. It also makes apparent what stays the same—what is at the very root of queer feminist soundwork. The different approaches to queer feminist aesthetics of play and intimacy analyzed in this chapter ultimately speak to the unique formations of sonic subjectivity and intersubjectivity each show carries. Drawing on interview excerpts with our soundworkers, *The Lesbian Show* takes center stage as our opening soundwork for this chapter with their campy sci-fi radio play "Dykes in Space,"[2] followed by linkages recovered in the podcasts *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* (WBB) and *The Heart*. From camp sounds to sweaty conclusions, their playful and intimately powerful productions offer a set of aesthetic tools to challenge conventional approaches to soundwork and call for a transformed valuing of lived experience and the feminist "personal is political" for people of color, queer, and trans artists and soundworkers.

Camp Sounds (Not the Bonfire Kind)

Queer media is no stranger to the power of camp aesthetics to evoke a sense of community and connection. To those in the know, camp is much more than *Ru Paul's Drag Race,* musicals, and Joan Crawford. Camp is a historically rich and radically queer form of artistic expression, style, and sensibility that eludes definition. The elusiveness of camp's definition is in part due to its particularly contextual understanding. What is read as camp in one moment can become pop camp or mainstream appropriation the next.[3] Camp has been historically viewed as a gay-male-exclusive form of deviant visibility.[4] From Oscar Wilde, dandyism, molly houses, and RuPaul, still today, gay male politics remain at the center of camp discourse, but as scholars such as Elly-Jean Neilsen and others note,[5] media produced by lesbians and queers, including soundwork, is chock full of playful and political camp.[6] Through an articulation of lesbian camp, this chapter answers Neilsen's call for a reorienting away from a once binary notion of camp as gay male queer expression and toward its varying "queer manifestations and

consumptions."[7] While much of the research on camp focuses on visual aesthetics, the study of camp within queer feminist soundwork allows for a reorienting once again toward how camp is applied as a "queer expressivity" via sound.

While the definition of camp is near impossible to pin down, it may be best understood through its principal qualities: a focus on exaggerations and artifice; a critique and play with popular culture; a reliance on in-jokes; its fixed roots in queer culture and expression. Classic camp can, on the surface, appear superficial or crude in its parody and play on contrasts of femininity, masculinity, and sexuality. Yet, in learning to recognize these key qualities in conversation with the intricate historical and social context surrounding camp, a more sophisticated unspoken subtext emerges. A case in point is the radio play miniseries "Dykes in Space" aired on *The Lesbian Show* in 1983.[8] The radio play is also found on a later 1987 show recording re-aired as part of their best of *The Lesbian Show* episode, perhaps indicating a positive community response and popularity with its campy sci-fi humor. Without any visuals to assist in the recognition of camp aesthetics, the producers of "Dykes in Space" instead offer up the popular culture sonic cues and narrative tropes of 1960's space adventures like *Lost in Space* and *Star Trek*, playing off signifiers still recognized today as classic to the sci-fi adventure genre.

"Lezzie queer, lezzie queer, everybody wants to be a lezzie queer," as Judith Carsello's iconic lesbian guitar sing-a-long fades us out of the music break, host Angie takes a deep breath and gives a brief introduction to the two-part sonic queer space voyage cued up in the radio control room. The tape begins to roll and an orchestral wave of Edward Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance" march cues the listener toward exploration and extravagance. After a few bars of music to set the tone, we hear the narrator come in, perhaps a fellow TLS member, as they let out a long echoed "Dyyyyykes in Spaaaaace!" Their tape-delayed intergalactic outcry welcomes us into the continued trumpets and whooshing spaceship sounds of this futuristic dyke space dreamland. The narrator then announces that our space heroes are hailing from Planet Dyketan. Canned stadium-size audience applause plays in the background as we meet Captain Queer (played by episode cohost Pat), First Mate Butchy, and "the amazing-brilliant Doctor Lesbo!" It is the year 4000 and "dyke-teen" and we join our fearless "Dyke-o-nauts" as they are battling the evil brainwashing forces of "heterosecons." By the actors' slight stumbles and pauses in performance, you get the sense Captain Queer and their crew are reading a script together in studio without too much, if any, practice. At first, their scrappy communal efforts might seem like they should have, perhaps,

taken more time to get it "right." However, in applying a feminist embodied ear to the context surrounding the performance, the "bad" acting and "cheesy" scripting only add to the campy aesthetic and performative queer play at the heart of "Dykes in Space."

Their amateur sci-fi fantasy is a process and performance in queer communal play and reclamation beyond the sometimes-unkind reality of queer life in a heterosexual dominant world. As David Halperin writes in their analysis of camps entanglement with gay life, "Camp undoes the solemnity with which heterosexual society regards tragedy, but camp doesn't evade the reality of the suffering that gives rise to tragedy. If anything, camp is a tribute to its intensity. Camp returns to the scene of trauma and replays that trauma on a ludicrously amplified scale—so as to drain it of its pain and, in so doing, to transform it."[9] Camp is a form of self-defense, of getting ahead of the pain and ridicule of being queer in a larger societal context at the time of *The Lesbian Show*, in which being a dyke/lesbian could mean losing your job, getting stopped at the border, or beaten by police. Despite the exclusionary histories of camp as a gay male aesthetic, it also provides a community vernacular for articulating a particular style of play that fosters community through recognition and its transformation of pain. Camp, as Susan Sontag famously states, is always a way of consuming or performing culture "in quotation marks."[10] In the case of "Dykes in Space" TLS members engage in a queer feminist world-making through simultaneously making fun of dyke culture *and* pop culture science fiction toward a future where dykes can travel through space and live together in harmony on their own dedicated dyke planet away from earth's heteropatriarchal oppression.

To add on to the already established abundance of lesbian camp both in language and in space exploration, our dyke-o-nauts quickly realize the best way to defeat the heterosecons is through playing women's music. In defense against the attack, our dyke-o-nauts play Meg Christian's "Leaping Lesbians," but when the cassette tape gets stuck on fast forward, the crew begins to sing it a cappella instead. "Here come the lesbians, here come the leaping lesbians! Bow-de-oh-bow." The listener is left in suspense as to whether their efforts succeeded, as the narrator tells us to stay tuned to find out whether the spaceship *DykeTrek* will ever make it back to outer Dyke-o-tron. If the listener, by the end of part one, hasn't cued into the very intentional repetition and reclaiming of "Dyke" they may not read the space adventure as camp either. Camp signaling and recognition is an exercise in community building and aids in defining who is a part of a community while also perhaps coming off as apolitical or unrecognized by others. Part of the undefinable aspect of

camp is in asking the question "What if the right audience for this were exactly me?"[11] In tuning in to *The Lesbian Show*, the listener can safely know they will hear stories made by lesbians for lesbians, including campy reclamations of "Dyke" set in a sci-fi future.

As orchestral music swells once again, we return to our fearless dyke-o-nauts one week later. The narrator once again lets out an echo-rich "Dyyyyykessss in Spaaaaaaacceeee!" and the trumpets sound to cue us to our arrival back aboard the *DykeTrek* to our dyke-o-nauts a cappella efforts. "Has it succeeded in getting them a music deal with Olivia Records?," the narrator asks. A quick "Hallelujah" chorus effect plays as the dyke-o-nauts receive a pleading correspondence from the heterosecons saying they will leave if the dyke-o-nauts stop singing. A congratulatory message from master control alludes to their next mission against the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, after some singing lessons, of course. The narrator bids farewell to the audience until next time: "We wish you dyke happy travels on your dyke trek and every mission you may have," as the grand finale of Tchaikovsky's classic *1812 Overture* plays us out. Our episode hosts then bring us into the break and cassette side 1 of the TLS *Humour Feature* recording comes to an end.[12] The camp aesthetics, rooted in both trauma and play, sounded by TLS's sci-fi adventure bring us again to two central aspects in what makes soundwork queer—wounded vibrations and utopic soundings. Through intentionally processed shouts of "Dyyyyykes in Spaaaaace" and stadium-sized cheering crowds, the trauma experienced by the lesbian community vibrates out as literal processing techniques—reverberation and delay—adding an imagined sense of space and perceived ability to communicate across vast distances. Wounded vibrations are felt in this sounding-out-of-camp aesthetic while, at the same time, the science fiction setting and ultimate success of our dyke-o-nauts play back into queer utopic desires for a better future.

At about eighteen minutes in length, the "Dykes in Space" radio play takes up a significant amount of airtime in the one-hour show time slot. This indicates perhaps the excitement and support behind this over-the-top campy lesbian space adventure. More than thirty years later, in my interview with former *The Lesbian Show* host Cynthia, it comes up as a favorite in the talk about the balance of serious politics and play at the heart of TLS. "We used to do this radio skit called Dykes in Space [*yes! Stacey laughs*], which is a little silly, and loosely based on "Pigs in Space" from *The Muppet Show*. And that was a lot of fun. Right, like that was part of our whole mission of, let's not take ourselves too seriously."[13] "Pigs in Space" is a recurring sketch first appearing in season two of *The Muppet Show* (1977) featuring Captain Link Hogthrob, First Mate Piggy (played by Miss Piggy), and Dr. Julius

Strangepork aboard the *Swinetrek*. The popularity of "Pigs in Space" grew in popular culture to a peak in 1981 as NASA began a morning tradition of waking their crew about space shuttle *Columbia* with comedy routines and music to help boost crew morale. This insight into the Muppets' parody of *Star Trek* as the driving inspiration behind "Dykes in Space" provides a further link in the lesbian camp history of this rough around the edges audio play. Perhaps in playing to a popular puppet sketch featuring the very camp figure of Miss Piggy, the TLS crew was attempting to make a further political point on the performative nature of gender and sexuality. Perhaps it was a nod to the amount of news coverage for Sally Ride at the time, who in 1983 became the first American woman in space, and though closeted at the time, also the first lesbian in space. As Cynthia continued on, "It always felt political, even like I said, when we were trying to be lighthearted. That was political as well."[14]

Today camp may be seen as more of a joke or simply a fashion style. However, its origins had serious political value during repressive times to "out" oneself to fellow queers, heal through humor, and build solidarity, "remarkably, all was done so within the hearing range of heterosexual people."[15] In listening back to clips of "Dykes in Space" with pop culture chat podcasters Chloe and Sidney, of Vancouver's *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* podcast, they noted the temporal drag this audio play would evoke if produced today. "You know, all the wordplay is amusing, but then I don't know how long you can sort of beat that horse [*laughs*]. That kinda thing," says Chloe. Sidney responds, "I'm sure it had a fan base at that time, though." Chloe: "Yeah, but I don't see that format really being as very popular now." Both shake their heads in understanding, "No, no, no."[16] The tape hiss, the heavy-handed dyke wordplay, the canned space sound effects, and orchestral music choices pull the listener into a particular queer time and place. We also cannot forget the additional subtextual camp layer: the music choice and sound effects evoke as a queer camp reimagining of *Star Trek* heard in "Pigs in Space" and then relayed into the scripting and postproduction choices for TLS. As Chloe and Sidney point out, listening back to "Dykes in Space" haunts the contemporary queer ear into recognizing the power and potentiality such soundwork holds while also critiquing its place within the present tense. As Elizabeth Freeman writes in their account of queer temporalities, temporal "'drag' [is] a productive obstacle to progress, a usefully distorting pull backward, and a necessary pressure on the present tense."[17] While Sidney and Chloe could not see themselves putting on this style of campy temporal drag in their own queer feminist soundwork, what did resonate was the sense of playfulness and pleasure in applying a queer feminist ear to popular culture media.

Queerspeak and Humor: The Play's the Thing

Play and playfulness are a key mode through which queer community articulates identity and, in turn, recognize queer kinship in others.[18] Conceptualized as "a mode of sensory openness and drive toward improvisation," playfulness involves exploring various bodily abilities, desires, orientations, and connections.[19] In the study of queer play, much of the work to date is focused on the relation between sex, sexuality, and pleasure.[20] However, by play and playfulness here, I am not focused exclusively on sex or sexuality but on the many playful and pleasurable experimentations that soundwork can take on through the application of a queer feminist embodied ear. At the same time, the friction between play and the erotic is indeed key to a particular style of sex-positive queer feminist aesthetic discussed later in this chapter. I do not want to downplay the crucial role of sex and sexuality as part of lesbian feminism and radical sexual liberation politics against compulsory heterosexuality. Queer sex acts in the lesbian feminist community could be positioned as radical action against not only heterosexuality but heteronormativity in its various forms across the state, commerce, education, and various aspects of social life.

We can, for example, think back to the radical act of broadcasting the Lesbian Academy Awards for the lesbian who had the most sex that year, as recounted by Silva Tenenbein of TLS in a 2018 interview.[21] As Lauren Berlant proposes, play "can provide a space of interest within which other rhythms and therefore forms of encounter with and within sexuality can be forged."[22] By applying a queer theory of play and playfulness to this study, I argue that a curious balance of play and a communally defined set of guidelines is just as key to the production of queer soundwork as it is to sexual expression and identification. Just as sexual tastes and orientations can change over time, so too can approaches to and understandings of play and playfulness within queer feminist media, both for the individual and within the queer community at large. While "Dykes in Space" evokes a campy political play that embodies a particular queer time in feminist history, the *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* podcast instead applies a playful queer reading to the arguably equally campy *Xena: Warrior Princess* television series. WBB hosts Sidney and Chloe reflected on how their show, in some sense, mirrors the same tensions between serious tone and comedy so key to *Xena* as a franchise:

CHLOE: I don't think our podcast has a particularly serious tone, but we do occasionally have serious comments that are kind of, you know, in reaction to whatever we're watching.

SIDNEY: Yeah, I mean, for like a comedy quote unquote podcast, we talk about like ethics a lot of the time—
CHLOE: and our whole podcast is through a very queer and feminist lens.
SIDNEY: It [the podcast] kind of mirrors the tone of the show [*Xena*] itself, too . . .
CHLOE: Yeah, it's like the dumbest thing you've ever seen. And then the next episode, you're crying.
STACEY: So true. And then the next episode is a musical [*laughter*].[23]

WBB draws on a queer politics of play that grounds us in the present through a looking back at a particularly iconic TV series in queer culture at large. While the podcast does occasionally veer off to discuss other popular media in queer culture, the core of the show is an episode-by-episode commentary from Sidney and Chloe, either as a duo or featuring additional guests, as they work their way through the entire *Xena* series. While the duo had quite a few favorite episode suggestions that evoke this tension of political play, their episodes on the two-part *Xena* episodes "The Debt" 1 and 2 stand out to them as expressly important to the formation of the show's now well-established tone. Chloe shared that "the little initial clips that [Sidney] recorded" as a test pilot for the podcast "was when we were watching 'The Debt.' So that one's a bit special for us because that is what sort of launched our entire podcast."[24]

"The Debt Part One" WBB podcast episode is about midway through the podcast's continued four-year run, offering an established snapshot of the show's sound after a few years of settling into their chosen style and format. Chloe introduces some background on the "Racist mystical Asian trope" that the episode and many other episodes in *Xena* center on. Sidney echoes these views as they cue up the episode. "Shall we start?" and we begin to hear the opening scene music play in the background. From the first sounds heard, WBB invites the listener into a queer and feminist parasocial space. This is the type of dialogue one might otherwise only encounter between friends out at the pub or at a casual house party—an established community space where queer cultural commentary does not require additional spoon-fed explanation for a nonqueer or non-*Xena* fan individual. The presumption is that in being here, the listener comes with a particular interest, if not already established, a sense of a queer and feminist politics. In listening to WBB, I can quickly tell I am listening to a queer feminist podcast, but how and why? How does one know whether they are listening to queer feminists or not? Where does this recognition come from? Prior to the establishment of cul-

tural sound studies, for decades feminist linguists have been grappling with the articulation of queer speech communities beyond the anglophone gay male voice.[25] In early attempts at such articulations, questions like this began to surface: "If you lined up six heterosexual women and six lesbians, all cisgender of the same race and native speakers of the same tongue, would you be able to tell who is queer and who isn't just by the sound of their voice?" This is exactly the study conducted in 1983 by linguist Birch Moonwomon-Baird. Buried among a general list of social characteristics such as age and educational background, their study embedded a question of sexual preference for their participating listeners. In their results, they find the strongest correlation between "lesbian" and "Jewish" and no correlation between Southern speakers and "lesbian" despite one identifying as Southern. While Moonwomon-Baird notes the study was too small for statistically meaningful results, it does suggest a stereotyping of what a lesbian can sound like and in turn reinforces that there is no universal "lesbian voice." Moonwomon-Baird suggests that instead of running such a study in large scale, we ought to turn to the ways in which women talk with each other to better understand the nuances in queer and feminist speech communities. This is what makes the study of sound and language in queer feminist soundwork particularly meaningful in questions of identity and community. In contrast to mainstream media representations of feminism and queerness, niche podcasts and community radio are spaces where speech communities can be studied in a manner similar to face-to-face communication but in a form of conversation that invites any listening ear to the encounter.

While the study of gendered language, let alone queerspeak, in podcasts is still a relatively new endeavor,[26] we can turn to other niche queer media studies to get a sense of how we might go about articulating the speech community characteristics that define the queer feminist style of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*. A leading researcher in the study of lesbian language, Robin M. Queen's study of lesbian comics communicates how niche lesbian media often plays on "commonly held stereotypes accessible to queers in general and lesbians specifically."[27] These are characters created by and for queer community recognition. One such comic analyzed in Queen's work is Alison Bechdel's iconic lesbian series *Dykes to Watch Out For*, an example of lesbian humor featuring characters who embody stereotypes commonly associated with lesbians. While the humor-focused lesbian language found in comics such as *Dykes to Watch Out For* aids in articulating the diversity of lesbian speech communities at the time, in turning to queer feminist work, the "queer" in contrast to "lesbian" includes an expanded and continuous fluctuation in language use for community recognition. As a result, speech com-

munities informed by queer feminism include an ever-growing index of stereotypes, pop culture references, and shifting sets of vernaculars based on the context of the conversation. What is perhaps most intriguing in queer feminist speech communities, with the active listening back of this project, is the presumed knowledge of what might be considered common queerspeak and cultural touchpoints in lesbian and gay history. Queen's study of lesbian language provides a starting point for describing key characteristics of queerspeak with four stylistic tropes (see table 2).[28]

In outlining these four stylistic tropes, Queen's aim is not to reduce queerspeak to a limited number of characteristics but rather to demonstrate how wide ranging it can be. Moreover, she seeks to elucidate the difficulties in pinning down the reasons queers may quickly recognize one another in dialogue but may not be able to easily express why. What these four stylistic tropes demonstrate within the context of campy queer soundwork like *The Lesbian Show*'s "Dykes in Space" and chat-style shows like *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* is how language further demonstrates the fundamental understanding of gender performativity in queer culture that is so key to the aesthetics of camp and play regardless of its media form.

The speech community in which WBB finds itself is not exclusively queer, though. Queer feminism is certainly tied to queer identity and culture but also to a deep commitment to intersectional feminism. These feminist ties conceivably play a role in influencing shifts between lay language and feminist theory, the heavy use of gender play language, and the refusal to explain feminist terminology or queerspeak for outsiders in the WBB podcast series. In the context of WBB, this translates to a presumption that the listener enjoys casual swearing and "poop" jokes and also comes to the show with an understanding of cultural terms like queer camp, toxic masculinity, and cultural appropriation. It is a particular approach to feminist comedy and the role of humor in how the podcast conveys its queer feminist killjoy philosophy. While neither Chloe nor Sidney identify first and foremost as comedians, their unfiltered chat-cast style parallels the killjoy comedian figures studied in feminist comedy.[29] Comedy may not be the first avenue one thinks of for the queer feminist killjoy. However, for figures such as Margaret Cho, Hannah Gadsby, Wanda Sykes, and our WBB duo, it is this same tension between unhappiness and queer play found in camp that brings forward a particular flavor of feminist solidarity through humor. In comedy studies, the role of humor in feminism has been highly contested. In *Performing Marginality*, Joanne R. Gilbert writes that "humor is antithetical to action . . . humor renders its audience passive. It disarms through amusing . . . laughter does not constitute radical politics."[30] This claim of humor as simply passive

Table 2. Robin Queen's Four Stylistic Tropes of Lesbian Queerspeak (1997)

Stylistic Trope	Characteristics
Stereotyped women's language	• A large stock of words related to specific interests, generally relegated to "woman's work": dart (in sewing) and specific color terms • Empty adjectives like divine, charming, cute • "Question" intonation where we might expect declaratives: for instance, tag questions (it's hot, isn't it) and rising intonation in statement contexts • Use of hedges of various kinds. Women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of well, y'know, kinda, and so forth • Related to this is intensive use of so; again, this is more frequent in women's speech than men's • Hypercorrect grammar (women are not supposed to talk rough) • Superpolite forms (women don't use off-color or indelicate expressions; "women are the experts at euphemism") • Lack of humor (women don't tell jokes)
Stereotyped nonstandard varieties, often associated with working-class, urban males	• Cursing • in' vs. ing • postvocalic /r /deletion (may be regionally marked as well) • Nonnormative consonant cluster simplification • Contracted forms, for instance gonna, oughta, I dunno • Ethnically marked linguistic forms, kapeesh, yo mama • Some vowel quality changes depending on region
Stereotyped gay male language	• Use of wider pitch range for intonational contours • Hypercorrection: the presence of phonologically nonreduced forms and the use of hyperextended vowels • Use of lexical items specific to gay language • Use of a H*L (high-low) intonational contour (often co-occurring with extended vowels like FAABulous)
Stereotyped lesbian language	• Use of narrow pitch range and generally "flat" intonation patterns • Cursing* Use of expressions such as bite me and suck my dick, which are normally associated with men and their anatomy • Lack of humor and joking, especially in terms of sarcasm and irony

amusement situates feminist humor in the same lukewarm bathwater that Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer prescribe to the promise of happiness in their harsh critique of the culture industry circa 1944: "Fun is a medicinal bath. The pleasure industry never fails to prescribe it. It makes laughter the instrument of the fraud practiced on happiness."[31] Yet to see feminist comedy as passive or lacking action is to distill it down to the same heteronormative subject/object relationship that feminist humor works to push against.[32] For the WBB podcast, this approach to feminist humor takes shape through how Sidney and Chloe grapple with issues of colonialism, racism, homophobia, pop culture, and media representation in the *Xena* series.

Returning to "The Debt Part One" WBB podcast episode, we hear the sounds of a new drink being poured and Sidney taking the opportunity to describe their chosen drink enthusiastically. Chloe prompts them into a discussion of Xena's levitating queer love affair with Lao Ma and the debt Xena feels that drives the two-part episode set in the Kingdom of Lao Chin. Sidney responds, "they totally banged," but "that was the thing in the '90s they couldn't show explicit sex scenes between any queer couple" to which Chloe responds, "well, even into the 2000s as well," making connections to the floating scene between Willow and Tara in *Buffy The Vampire Slayer*. Chloe laughs as Sidney adds, "I mean, how good is the sex if you're floatin' afterwards?" Their focus then pulls back into the episode playing in the background to a play-by-play dialogue of what they are seeing on-screen and the familiarity with past episode connections, "instead of going after Caesar, you have to go conquer Asia like a colonizer" comments Chloe. As Sara Ahmed claims in their articulation of the feminist killjoy, "There can be joy in killing joy. And kill joy, we must and we do."[33] Bouncing from playful commentary on queer censorship to critique of anti-Asian colonial narratives, Sidney and Chloe embody the popular figure of the feminist killjoy comedian. Writing on queer feminist comedian Hannah Gadsby, for example, scholar Sarah Balkin unpacks the 2017 announcement that Gadsby was quitting comedy because of the "half-told stories" that result from making a punchline out of their own experiences as a gender-nonconforming lesbian for mainstream heterosexual appeal. This is a common example of what Ahmed terms the feminist killjoy. As Balkin writes, "Despite Gadsby's resistance to identity categories, the more iterations of *Nanette* I saw, the more I felt that she was speaking to the mainstream in ways that shaped and limited its comic and political possibilities."[34] Gadsby kills joy through finding the "promise of happiness" in comedy to be not "quite so promising" after all.[35] In Gadsby's case, the promise of happiness in being a successful comedian with a Netflix special is squashed by the unhappiness of grappling with topics of homopho-

bia, xenophobia, and gender violence watered down for a punchline easy to follow for heterosexuals. In contrast to the tensions Gadsby felt in playing a homonormative feminist killjoy for the general public, Sidney and Chloe assume fellow feminists and queers as their listening audience. Their podcast does not have the same reach potential as Gadsby's *Nanette* but in speaking to an imagined audience of fellow queer feminists, Sidney and Chloe can make certain assumptions about their freedom in speaking about their politics and in what ways. In refusing to play nice for the happiness of others, the WBB podcast creates a space of solidarity and feminist world-making through "recognizing our alienation from happiness" as fellow queers and feminists.[36] The podcast becomes itself a "happy object" for queer and feminist listeners in search of a shared space that secures and echoes their own views on the world when their everyday experiences may not.

Intimacy in Place, but Make It Punk

The balance of queer play and feminism in the WBB podcast powerfully resonates through language and humor. However, in listening between and around their words, the show also offers elements of intimacy and punk ethos through the soundscape of their East Vancouver living room. In bringing a feminist embodied ear to the analysis of "The Debt Part One" WBB episode, we can hear three keynote sounds found throughout the podcast series: the soft clanking of ice cubes in a partially drunk glass with their chosen brew in hand, the tiny meows of their cat, lovingly referred to as PodCat, and the reverberance of the duos' voices coalescing to provide the listener with a sense of their casual apartment space. Together these sounds provide a sonic intersubjective connection between the listener and the hosts. This spatial element of the show creates a powerful sense of parasocial connection to Chloe and Sidney. While the duo doesn't claim to purposefully play on the sonically homey vibes of their space, in doing so, this soundscape helps situate the duo within a working-class feminist and queer idea of place. This is an idea I argue is rooted in the same contextual basis of the tropes outlined by Queen in their study of queerspeak. Just as the language of WBB evokes stereotypes of working-class lesbian culture, the show's soundscape equally works to signify domesticity, working-class practices, and queer cultural signifiers, including *Xena*'s background sounds and the notorious PodCat. We can hear the domesticity in the creaking of their living room furniture, in the mixing of drinks, and in the occasional neighborhood ambience. Working-class identity is signified by Chloe and

Sidney through sounds such as the clanking of beer cans and in the lo-fi DIY punk sound of the series.

Sound is always filtered through the listener's own perspective, and the first step to reorientation away from the default listening ear and toward a more feminist embodied ear is acknowledging one's own situatedness. This situatedness harkens back to the same feminist logics in what makes good feminist media research. In recording the podcast in their own living space, the sounds of Chloe and Sidney's situatedness as working-class East Vancouver queers is ever-present in their episodes. Furthermore, whether intentional or not, the typical lo-fi stereo recording setup of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, when using headphones or a two-speaker configuration, positions the listener as if they are sitting right across from the hosts. The WBB duo are often heard just slightly to the left and right as if seated side by side on a couch across from you. This choice to record in this way and to leave the recording in its original stereo form starkly contrasts the traditional stereo radio or podcast mixing technique. A sound likely familiar if listening to professionally produced studio shows, the host's voice is recorded in mono in an acoustically treated sound booth and then mixed into a phantom center. The psycho-acoustic phenomenon of a phantom center is generally experienced when a sound source appears to be coming from a point between two speakers when mixed in stereo. On headphones, mixing to phantom center produces a sense of the host's voice coming from inside the listener's head. This mixing technique to internalize the host's voice creates a "hyper-intimacy" where the host is not simply heard as only close to you but as part of you.[37] In contrast, WBB's lo-fi stereo soundscape evokes a closeness while keeping the hosts' voices ostensibly external. The lo-fi stereo technique of WBB is by no means the immersive spatial experience of binaural, surround, 360, or 3D sound,[38] but the sheer simplicity of WBB recordings create a place in the mix for the listener to sit *with* the hosts rather than being talked at by a voice from a mysterious ether. The keynote sounds of "PodCat" meows, the hum of their ventilation system, the lo-fi stereo punk sound production, and, of course, the continuous sounds of *Xena* playing on their TV as the duo record seated on their living room sofa work to create a queer feminist style of punk intimacy.

Still, the intimacy felt through listening to WBB is a different intersubjective experience than being co-present in an acoustic environment. Instead, the electroacoustic world of soundwork functions as a "boundary object" between the listener and Chloe and Sidney's queer feminist world.[39] In their study of podcasting with migrant communities in Sweden, Erin Cory and Hugo Boothby conceptualize podcasts as boundary object technology that

bridges social worlds and provides "sites of communication and translation between groups."[40] The term "boundary objects" was originally coined by Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer to explain how objects of scientific inquiry can maintain consistent identity across contexts while also acquiring different adaptations based on local use.[41] While Star and Griesemer are particularly interested in naming boundary objects to explain such phenomenon in the translation of museum objects, they invite broad application of the term, claiming that "these objects may be abstract or concrete."[42] In response to the application of the term "boundary objects" across disciplines, Star later distills the required components down to a set of three: "interpretive flexibility," differing "material/organizational structure," and varied needs or arrangements based on "scale/granularity."[43] Boundary objects can inhabit different worlds yet take on different meanings in each despite their consistencies in form. In Star's 2010 retrospective on boundary objects, they reflect on the inevitable question "can't anything be a boundary object then?" The simple answer is yes. A boundary object might be a map, a particular species of bird, a podcast, or a thing in circulation across publics. Star is less interested in restricting the possibilities of what can be termed a boundary object, and more interested in asking whether applying the concept of boundary object is the most useful approach to addressing the questions and needs of the research. For example, positioning the "podcast" as a boundary object allows for Cory and Boothby to address the political significance of both the "synchrony and dissonance" in podcasts produced and listened to by migrants in their community arts group. Podcasts and radio certainly work as boundary objects in the sense that the listener is always still experiencing the soundwork within their own embodied context, bringing their own interpretations to the table. On the other hand, I argue this boundary is less of a line or division that allows one to cross over into another world and more reminiscent of falling snow or the diffraction of light. Soundworks are not objects you can hold in your hand or gaze at from a distance. Instead, soundworks, when listened to attentively, create a transient recomposition of one's sonic space and sense of place.

This "synchrony and dissonance" in how soundworks are experienced helps to explain why one listener might *feel* a work to be intimate, while another might still hear how the work is intimate to others through its aesthetic and narrative production, but they do not resonate with the intimacy in the same way as the first listener. In the cases of queer feminist soundwork, such dissonances might be stories of queerness or uses of queerspeak perhaps understood by a nonqueer listener as intimate to another but not to their own subjective ear. On the side of synchrony, the imagined ideal of "home,"

and thus the sounds of domestic space despite their variations and exceptions, are more common in their association with privacy, family, closeness, and comfort linked to "conceptualizations of intimacy" across a variety of listeners.[44] The ability of soundworks to blend with the domestic space and evoke an imagined sense of home through sound can also be traced back to the history of radio soap opera and women's programming. With its lowbrow aesthetics, early women's radio programming sought to encourage the "imagined woman-at-home" to reimagine daily life.[45] This contrasted with the high-fidelity radio content targeted toward men during the heyday of radio soap operettas/operas between 1930 and 1960. While radio historians such as Ilana R. Emmett note the historically gendered aspects of radio's relationship with domesticity, the homey intimacy created through the *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* podcast additionally draws on DIY punk aesthetics to queer this once established, gendered sonic intersubjectivity between hosts and community.

The term DIY can evoke a wide range of media from the 1930s sci-fi zine to '80s punk music to feminist zines of the 1990s. A common thread among DIY media is the drive to develop a new cultural form and communicate it to others on your terms.[46] In the world of soundwork, we can trace the DIY punk aesthetics of shows such as WBB back to British pirate radio post–World War II. As the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) "reasserted dominance over the airwaves," British youth began to crave the rock 'n' roll sound of American culture they found themselves exposed to after the war.[47] To address this growing community of rock 'n' roll craving youth, DIY broadcasters took to the international waters where they could avoid the red tape and constraints of British broadcast regulation. Despite their eventual termination, pirate radio stations like the iconic Radio Caroline began "transmitting radical new programmes" that kick-started decades of independent sound broadcast rebellion to follow from micro radio stations to indie podcasting.[48] Following pirate radio's rebellion into the punk aesthetics of podcasting, we can hear this push against mainstream media in queer podcasts like WBB today. Radio, just like its DIY punk music and zine counterparts, has played a crucial role in developing punk aesthetics and production culture.

Queer Soundworks' Punk Roots

Part of what gave DIY pirate radio its punk rock feel was its lo-fi aesthetic. In contrast to the term "hi-fi," "lo-fi" broadly refers to production techniques in opposition to high production values within the particular media

form. Lo-fi is most commonly applied to musical aesthetics but also spans visual art, craft, film, writing, activist practices, social protests, and, of course, soundwork. Through recording in a reverberant space with background sound, casual chat, and budget equipment, the WBB podcast's lo-fi aesthetic, whether deliberate or not, places the show within this legacy of DIY punk culture. This lo-fi anticapitalist aesthetic largely associated with punk rock can also be heard in the histories of queercore across the US and Canada. Gaining ground in the 1980s as a reaction to the predominance of white male power in the punk scene, queercore, much like the more widely known riot grrrl movement, declared "civil war" on the punk mainstream. A key difference is queercore also established itself as a subculture against gay and lesbian mainstreams of disco, divas, and folk through the articulation and circulation of "a set of oppositional identities, mediated meanings and social practices for queers to occupy and engage within sub-cultural space."[49] Similarly, through their queer feminist punk ethos, Sidney of WBB positions the podcast in opposition to trans-exclusionary white feminist culture and capitalist pop feminism: "[The show is] an extension of us. You know, I'm not going to like self-censor too much like my opinions, like whatever. I'm going to go off on TERFs because fuck TERFs."[50] In our conversations on what makes media queer feminist, the duo brought their brash and unfiltered honestly to the table. Sidney: "Immediately, I'm just like, What kind of feminism are we talking here? Are we inclusive? Are we intersectional or are we are we just like women are born women and you all can fuck off? If that's the case, I don't talk to you."[51] This provocative queer feminist approach is applied not only to their use of queerspeak and the soundscape of the show but in each decision made in content, editing, and guest invitations for WBB. Chloe notes in our chat the conscious decision to keep the episodes unfiltered beyond small edits to remove any odd messups or sensitive information about friends or community.

The startling shock-effect provocations of queercore and queer-feminist punk more broadly can certainly be heard in the fluctuations between the seriousness and humor at the heart of WBB podcast's self-described "gay chaos."[52] The shock-effect style of queer punk subculture "queercore" is perhaps most crystal clear in their 2022 episode "But I'm a Cheerleader" (with Andrea Warner, Dina Del Bucchia, and Hannah McGregor). This episode, featuring three returning guests from the Vancouver feminist scene, begins with a characteristic WBB cold open of lo-fi laughter but quickly turns to a roundtable discussion of the joys of watching a hippo defecate. The digital quality of each guest's voice recording varies, adding to the scrappy DIY sound of the episode. As the conversation flows, it turns from the pleasures

of defecation to the topic of fisting and then finally to the main event, a critical feminist treatise of the queer camp classic film *But I'm a Cheerleader*. This shock-effect approach common to punk forms are a "deliberate deployment of the outrageous and offensive" to jolt the listener into an instinctual response of shock or disgust and perhaps ultimately to shock the audience out of their typical listening experience and toward a different awareness and potential action.[53] Originating in Toronto through queer fanzine *J.D.s.* by G. B. Jones and Bruce LaBruce, queercore drew on the already growing number of queers (including queers of color) involved in punk from the start, to push punk politics toward provocatively queer sexual and profane sensibilities. It's a queerness that queercore historian Curran Nault claims "has left a subversive stain on [punk] subculture that can still be observed today."[54] Queercore ultimately spread across the globe including to the West Coast of Canada where queer-feminist punk acts like Tribe 8, founded in 1991, brought a flavor of "all-dyke, all-out, in-your-face, blade-brandishing, gang castrating, dildo swingin', bullshit-detecting, aurally pornographic, neanderthal-pervert . . . patriarchy-smashing" politics to West Coast queer and feminist activism.[55] What is perhaps most interesting in WBB podcasts' queer punk aesthetic is the dichotomy between these moments of provocation and the soft intimacy felt through the playful banter of Chloe and Sidney as long-term domestic partners inviting the listener into their home on each and every episode.

The Queer Art of Sonic Intimacy

While Chloe and Sidney bring awareness of the patriarchy-smashing queer punk politics embedded in queer feminist soundwork, the erotic politics so key to queer feminism's sex-positive ethos, and which is central to podcasting's common conceptualization as an intimate medium, is perhaps best illustrated through the work of *The Heart* podcast. Technological changes in soundwork listening practices toward screen-based mobile devices and earbuds have contributed to a shift in vocal performance and audio production practices for such a personal mobile listening environment. *The Heart* plays with many of the same aesthetic elements discussed so far, including camp and queer punk, but, in contrast, it offers a more hi-fi sonic approach that plays with the affective elements of intimacy in close listening. Intimacy is one of those words we seem to throw around quickly, often, and sometimes without really thinking about what it means to call something like the medium of podcasting "intimate." Intimacy is often used as a euphe-

mism for the erotic. As feminist and queer scholarship has made plain, intimacy may "gather around" sex and sexuality, but it also exceeds those terms.[56] In soundwork, intimacy is created through recognition, repetition, and reproduction of physical and emotional closeness in sound production and narrative style.[57] However, this experience of intimacy and its reception differs for every listening ear.

As Alyn Euritt argues, intimacy in podcasting is "a continual process of culturally contingent negotiation."[58] Even before the listener hits play on an episode of *The Heart*, the artwork, descriptions, and episode titles begin this repetition of the queer erotic intimacy the soundwork aims to share. The podcast artwork features an anatomical neon pink heart set on a flat lavender background. The show is described simply as "an audio art project about intimacy and humanity," but the episode titles and descriptions reproduce a more personal queer feminist tone reflected in the lavender tribute their podcast artwork calls to. Such examples of episode titles include "god + the gays" (2017), "Race Traitor: What Makes a Mom a White Mom?" (2020), "Divesting from People Pleasing: Power" (2020), and "Lesbian Separatism Is Inevitable" (2020). The show is well known for taking on hyperpersonal and political topics from their miniseries *No*, which takes the listener inside producer Kaitlin Prest's personal sexual journey from youth to adulthood, to the 2020 series *Race Traitor* where producer Phoebe Unter grapples with the ways in which intergenerational white power is normalized in their life. Through a repetition of erotic personal storytelling and the reproduction of "closeness" through physical and emotional proximity, *The Heart* ultimately plays with a queer feminist erotic politics of sonic intimacy to counteract the dominance of heteronormative narratives in hi-fi podcasting by engaging with the listener through a queered affective use of sound.

Intimacy turns one's attention to varieties of closeness, leading one to ask larger questions about race, gender, sexuality, and private vs. public. Podcasting often gets deemed intimate because of its association with headphone listening but that's just one of the ways we might listen. By closeness I not only mean physically or sonically but also closeness as in connection, as in the circulation of affect. I take my definition of affect from the invaluable edited collection by Jennifer Nash, *Gender: Love*.[59] Here affect refers to people's embodied response to being in the world. In other words, affects are the senses that emerge when a person feels something embodied and visceral: the wave of disgust upon encountering vomit, the nervous flutter when getting back an exam, or the gush of tenderness for a loved one. It is different from emotion, though of course tied together in the way we experience them. It is

a bodily intensity that can be circulated from body to body, and from medium to body if we understand the mediated voice or produced text as an extension of the body, resulting in both subjective experiences and shared public feelings and understandings.

The study of affect is exciting for many feminist and queer scholars because it draws attention to intimacy and embodiment in a way that acknowledges the political entanglements found in everyday experience. For example, Ahmed argues that "emotions are not simply 'within' or 'without' but that they create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds."[60] Although this language primarily focuses on the body as a surface for this affective "stickiness," I argue that their theory of affective economy, this accumulation and redistribution of emotion, holds potential power when discussing sound media. There is an inherent intimacy in voice-driven soundwork that seems to be coated with affect. The listener puts on their headphones, presses play, and is immersed in a human experience of affective narrative through listening and connecting. Just as we become sticky and coated with sonic dust through listening, *The Heart* as a mediated object becomes sticky and dusty too through its social public circulation. That affect and its value will vary depending on the intersubjectivity between the listener and the soundwork's producers and characters. Affect is not inherently contained within the sign or commodity itself but is generated from its circulation.[61] This affective stickiness of the topics and approach to sound production is key to the "intimacy" central to *The Heart*'s aesthetic.

In our interview, Kaitlin reflects how the show has shifted to become even more rooted in the feminist ideology of "the personal is political." Rather than peering into the lives of others Kaitlin notes that "*The Heart* is a team of different people with different identities, all making work about their own bodies and their own lives and their own experiences from their point of view. The idea of the personal is political is very, very, very built into the roots and foundations of the way that we do this work."[62] This personal approach goes back to *Heart* cofounders Kaitlin Prest and Mitra Kaboli's experience with CKUT Montreal community radio show *Audio Smut* where the erotic politics of *The Heart* podcast was first developed. Kaitlin draws the distinction where *Audio Smut* is "a really fiercely like sex positive, like sexuality focused show [whereas] *The Heart* became more about intimacy in the broadest sense of the word. Using art and narrative to kind of like expand what we expect or what we think is normal."[63]

The Heart's episode for their 2020 relaunch, with host/producer team Nicole Kelly (NK) and Phoebe Unter of *Bitchface*, is aptly titled for this study, "Lesbian Separatism Is Inevitable."[64] Phoebe and NK bring an unapologetic queerness and feminism to their soundwork under the *Bitchface* ban-

ner. As NK explained in our interview, "I think of *Bitchface* like it was our punk band," with an awareness of how "audio is shaped by public radio conventions aesthetically" and "trying to figure out how to do like the opposite of that."[65] The episode is a love letter of sorts to the duo's experience living out their lesbian separatist fantasy at a Dyke Ranch retreat in 2016. It's an artistic decision heavily influenced by their interest in the aesthetics and politics of lesbian feminism through the works of writers like Audre Lorde and Jill Johnson. "*The Heart* is supported by . . . you": Kaitlin opens the premiere episode with a love letter to the listener, a thank you for supporting the show. Their recorded voice has a reverberance and movement as if recorded sitting at their desk or kitchen table, likely with Kaitlin's signature H1 Zoom[66] to capture a more "real-life" aesthetic over an anechoic studio booth record. This approach helps create a contrast to the sound of their hi-fi episode introduction voiceover, thick and close, set to *The Heart*'s signature haunting intro music beat.

Thus begins a love story about friendship, community, utopia, about you. Enter the two voice leads and episode producers, Phoebe and NK. The duo swap the narrator role back and forth throughout the twenty-four-minute, forty-nine-second piece, sharing a singular but familiar story of a girl exploring their queer sexuality, from internet searches and chat rooms to college friendships and embracing radical feminism. Their storytelling approach positions "you" as the girl in their narrative. "You book a trip to Mexico alone," "You meet someone," "You are ready." The episode is carefully sound-designed but as a balanced complement to NK's and Phoebe's voices, which stand center stage. NK shared with me the thinking behind the episode: "We were trying to document the process of unlearning and divesting. I don't really think of myself as having come out. I think of myself as having to realize, like, heterosexuality is an institution that one can divest from and then like doing that." Through their careful sound design, NK and Phoebe invite the listener into this process alongside them, to consider what it might be like to embrace this radical politics. Music, archival lesbian activist voices, and background reenactments of parties with friends slowly fade up and down into silence as NK and Phoebe dip us in and out of their personal erotic evolution across time and into their lesbian awakening. NK and Phoebe share lines from letters written to each other, their voices panning subtly left and right in dialogue. Their liberatory sexual and playful energy shifts as "the summer of 2016 [becomes] one long undulating rage cry," and their letters turn to weighty news of explosives at the pride parade, police brutality, the Stanford rapist, Black Lives Matter protests, the Orlando shooting, and attending rallies or vigils every other week.[67] Finally, Phoebe

breaks through the weight with an invitation: "Dear NK, what if we took our political beliefs to their most extreme conclusion?" The guitar solo from the band Heart's song "Magic Man" leaps in to punctuate the boldness felt in asking this question.

The narrative fluctuation between feelings of erotic play and sexual liberation to grief and political action echo the same balancing act heard in lesbian feminist radio shows like *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes*. Returning to Audre Lorde's lesbian feminist essay "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power" provides some context to the particular political and aesthetic approach the Mermaid Palace Collective (the team behind *The Heart*) is employing here.[68] Lorde argues that while the superficially erotic is associated with female inferiority where women are made to feel shameful, through feminism the erotic can also provide a deep connection with another person, self-connection, and awareness of your own capacity to feel joy outside of heteronormative and "virtuous" notions of marriage or the afterlife. Acknowledging and consensually sharing that power can give us the energy needed to drive real change in our world. For Lorde, the erotic in bodily encounters and in writing a poem is one and the same. It is what drives a feeling of fullness and power, "for not only do we touch our most profoundly creative source, but we do that which is female and self-affirming in the face of a racist, patriarchal, and anti-erotic society."[69] Taking their erotic radical feminism to its "extreme," we join Phoebe and NK at the lesbian separatist Dyke Ranch.

A manifesto is written, we dance by the fire, and our heads are shaved. The buzz of the clippers moves left to right and around the listener's heads. As Phoebe says, "They move it across your scalp in long, confident strokes. The pressure sends pins and needles to other parts of your body." NK recalls that leading up to the Dyke Ranch retreat and the subsequent production of "Lesbian Separatism Is Inevitable" some years later, the duo "got really into '70s era radical feminism; it was just really fun and funny to us. I liked their approach being playful and humorous and also really in-your-face. I definitely feel like I went through a real lesbian separatist phase. But we weren't in that phase at the time we made that [episode for *The Heart*]." NK goes on to say that while the work embraces and experiments with the playfulness and "militant" style of lesbian separatism they heard in the writings and archival audio explored by *Bitchface*, the episode is "not to encourage people to become lesbian separatists per se. I think especially with how I think about queerness now, I wouldn't necessarily advocate that." Nonetheless, by inviting the listener in as the lead character of the story, not as an individual but in a fluid assemblage with Phoebe and NK, we are invited to recognize and

share in the erotic power of their sexual liberation and become a lesbian separatist along with them.

This repeated and purposeful application of erotic power and intimacy to create the queer feminist sonic world of *The Heart* became particularly clear when co-listening to a clip of *Dykes on Mykes* with Kaitlin Prest. The DoMs clip of radio fuzz-soaked kissing, chanting, and laughing queers is an audio collage Deb VanSlet made during a kiss-in event in commemoration of the Montreal Sex Garage Raid.[70] Through its showcase of laughter and lo-fi recording quality, Deb's kiss-in collage embodies a similar amateur playfulness heard in *The Lesbian Show* and the *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* podcast but, in contrast, it takes on a much more emotionally powerful sonic style through a use of intimacy in sound production more akin to the soundwork of *The Heart*. We hear the sounds of close-mic kissing and commentary by the participants on site about what kissing might sound like on the radio. This close mic'ing, along with a swoon of chanting from a raid protest rally and a reflection-inducing slow instrumental ballad, further intimate the feelings of community loss, power, and intimacy Deb's tribute aimed to share. In listening to the *Dykes on Mykes* kiss-in collage, Kaitlin echoed the experience of feeling the community connection and erotic power of the work while also finding herself critiquing the production techniques applied. Kaitlin retorts:

> That's not how you want to record a kiss. You want to record a kiss? You have to hear all the sweet, cute things that they say to each other and . . . their little giggles, you know, like that's something that I have developed a lot over time is like, how do you translate intimacy? You know, the sound of a kiss, it sounds kind of gross, like so how do you record the sound of a kiss that makes you feel like you're being kissed.[71]

Kaitlin's creative approach to intimacy reminds us that even when queer feminist soundworks are rooted in the same political spirit, *how* that politics is evoked through a queer punk ethos, playfulness, and intimacy in sound production might differ greatly from one show to another. Kaitlin describes *The Heart* as "punk band goes pro," which speaks to the particular context of creating queer feminist work within their American public radio and podcasting ecosystem: part of a punk culture but one that is at odds with its place within the capitalist market by contractual association with Radiotopia/PRX. In contrast, *Dykes on Mykes* stands by there being "something great about scratchy raw messiness" in the sound of their show.[72] This raw messiness found in queer feminist work like DoMs and *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* begs the question: Perhaps such aesthetics are something only available to

shows and spaces that refuse to position themselves within the mainstream soundwork world and instead remain within and for their queer and feminist communities.

Sweaty Conclusions

From lesbian camp to queerspeak to erotic power, these different approaches to queer feminist aesthetics of play and intimacy in soundwork speak to the unique formations of sonic subjectivity and intersubjectivity each show carries. Soft plosives and breathiness are left in NK's voice recordings, perhaps as an aesthetic decision in keeping the listener close, in having the pulsing of the plosives felt in your eardrums as we collectively feel and think our way through a history of queer feminism. Tracing queer feminist aesthetics across varied temporal and spatial contexts brings with it a reality of how these contexts shape the way a political standpoint is experienced and reproduced. It also makes apparent what stays the same: what is at the very root of queer feminist soundwork. In a similar mode of looking back, *The Heart*'s "Lesbian Separatism Is Inevitable" concludes with a reflection on the limits and flawed utopia of lesbian separatism. Drawing on the queerness embedded in the series' politics, coproducer Phoebe Unter reminds the listener that "seeing gender as the primary or only power dynamic to struggle against is a privilege only really afforded to white women. And woman and man don't really feel like fixed terms. So why not fight the binary altogether?" The familiar "Magic Man" guitar riff plays us out.

In listening to this episode, I am taken back to an experience at the Third Coast Audio Festival, an American radio and podcasting festival in Chicago, one windy October 2019. Phoebe and NK co-organized a workshop called "Gonna Make You Sweat" that applied Sara Ahmed's theory of "sweaty concepts" to the creation of soundwork. They were asking, "How and why does a piece of audio make us sweat?," and "What does it feel like when artists challenge conventional radio and allow their lived experiences to inform their work?" And maybe not so surprisingly, much of the work they played was by producers who identify as queer. What tied all of the shared "experimental" works together were these same ideas of playfulness and intimacy heard across the works shared in this chapter. Techniques of personal narrative, close mic'ing, erotic power, queerspeak, soundscapes for feelings of community place, and utopian dreams echoed throughout the workshop geared toward carving space for "POC, femmes, people with disabilities, trans peeps, and queers" to tell our stories.

The workshop was my first interaction with Sara Ahmed's theory of sweaty concepts applied in practice to listening and what a first experience to have in a room of queer and feminist community. Coined by Sara Ahmed (and inspired by Audre Lorde), "sweaty concepts" is a way of describing something hard to describe, and something often hard to experience, that is tied to intellectual labor. Here I borrow a definition from artist Gloria Galvez, where sweaty concepts "for women, people of color, disabled people, or trans folx (for example), give language to our abstract experiences (experiences that are invisible to dominant groups; experiences for which the dominant group hasn't developed language—because it hasn't had to) and legitimize them."[73] Furthermore, Ahmed writes, "A 'sweaty concept' is one that comes out of a description of a body that is not at home in the world . . . or a description of the world from the point of view of not being at home in it."[74] Queer feminist soundwork is a sweaty concept. It is an aesthetic and political experience that is difficult to describe not only because its politics includes a refusal to pin down a definition but also because of the messy assemblage of community trauma, kinship, erotic power, play, and intimacy that it reverberates.

4 • Finding Queer Soundwork

On Feminist Network Labor and Discoverability

When I made my first YouTube video in 2008, I had no idea the community of rambunctious queers I was about to meet.[1] Growing up in cookie-cutter white suburban Canada, I don't think I even knew what a lesbian was. There weren't a lot of queer characters or stories in the media I found myself in relation with. Not on our family TV. Not on the car radio, nor in the top 40 tracks found on the sleeve of CDs my mom kept under the backseat. I don't think I realized it at the time. The lack of lesbians on TV or that I was one. A kid too caught up in playing *Guitar Hero* in my parent's basement and working part-time at the mall record shop. I liked hanging out with my "girlfriends" and braiding each other's hair (something I'm still not good at), but I felt most at home with my best friend Dan. Wiry, sharp-tongued, he knew I was gay before I did. We'd stay up late listening to our favorite indie bands and making magazine collages of our favorite celebrity icons. Angelina Jolie and Katy Perry carefully cut out and pasted to my closet door. The same closet where I'd smoke weed and make out with my boyfriend of the week. Dan and I weren't exactly outsiders, but we never really felt entirely on the inside either.

One night watching YouTube videos, probably something like *Charlie the Unicorn* or Tay Zonday (this was 2008, after all), to cheer me up from getting dumped by my now *ex*-boyfriend, Dan asked if I'd ever watched the *5awesomegays*. I hadn't, but I'd heard of Tyler Oakley and thought, sure, why not? The *5awesomegays*' YouTube videos led to Gigi Gorgeous, Davey Wavey, Laci Green, and *TheBeaverBunch*. A teen's queer vlog refuge took shape. We'd meet every night after school and dish out the latest gay YouTube gossip. Dan and I were hooked. We started making our own videos too. I'd post cover videos of my favorite heartbreak songs and Dan started vlogging in response to our favorite YouTubers. One night, one of our YouTube friends, Jordan,

put out a call to start a new collab channel. Just like *sawesomegays* but open to all queers, not just gay boys. If they can do it, why not us? Dan and I submitted our audition videos, and *Stacey and the Sausages* was born. It's a channel title that hasn't aged well, to say the least. Wide-eyed teens post vlogs from different cities, all looking for the same thing. Queer community. A place to play. To be heard. To be whatever version of ourselves we want to be when it might not be safe or feel safe to do so beyond our bedroom walls.

This is not a coming-out story. Thinking back, Dan and I never fully "came out" to one another in the conventional sense. YouTube wasn't about coming out. It was instead a place for us to always be in the process of becoming and simultaneously be in dialogue with our past selves and others. Coming out is continuous, and as Judith Butler famously asks, "So we are out of the closet, but into what? What new unbounded spatiality?"[2] The closet door leads to another space, and the coming out continues. What matters instead is who is there with you and the politics of what is valued and shared. Instead of a coming-out story, this is a story of platform affordances, community discoverability, and the queer information networks that can take shape as a result. This is not to say that YouTube's algorithms and platform affordances are devoid of inequalities or risk. The platform undoubtedly has its own controversial history of discriminatory practices against LGBTQ+ users who have experienced video deletion, age restriction, and demonetization of content due to the platform's automated algorithms and community guidelines.[3] The community-driven logic of my particular queer corner of the platform, in a particular time, worked to connect me to a wider community and into a queer place of possibility outside and within my suburban space.

YouTube was my introduction to queer information networks. However, for each individual, that key media or technology that connects us to community and assists in developing a sense of self is never singular. In the years that followed, the networked communities surrounding queer and feminist radio and podcasting became central to my continual political and (inter) subjective identity construction. From YouTube to cofounding *FemRadio*, a feminist radio collective at CJRU (the campus radio station at Toronto Metropolitan University), to my situatedness within this very research, I also found a greater sense of my "networked self" online *and* offline.[4] Through the experiences of queer feminist soundworkers, in this chapter I will outline how soundwork plays a key role in queer media activism: as entertainment, a public-facing political project, a community space, and part of a larger history of lesbian feminist information infrastructure.

I use the phrase "queer information networks" to encompass both formal and informal networked communities involved in sharing queer information

across various media platforms. For example, a formal queer information network might take the shape of a podcast network like Procyon Network, which brings together various shows and producers to share resources and amplify each other's work. A more informal queer information network might instead remain unnamed with information shared and connections made through the assistance of a platform like YouTube and other various social media, as is the case in my shared experience above. Before YouTube or social media facilitated networks of queer community and information, *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs) was part of an early internet lesbian information infrastructure. For example, former DoMs host Elana Wright recalls "hosting the show when the internet started. Deb would get this lesbian news feed, and she would read out the latest lesbian news from around the world, mostly from Australia for some reason [*Deb and Elana laugh*]."[5] The experienced scarcity of lesbian information meant seeking out and becoming a part of a larger information network across newsletters, magazines, events, and, of course, soundwork. As Elana continued, "There was also a monthly photocopied newsletter with the activities and a bit of content that was circulated, and you could pick up at the gay and lesbian bookstore. But we were the only other source of lesbian info [in Montreal]. . . . I'd say it was an essential lifeline for Montreal lesbians."[6] Despite concerns that the internet might kill the radio star,[7] as access to online spaces became a part of queer cultural life, soundworks such as *Dykes on Mykes* shifted between digital and broadcast nodes in the network. These nodes are perhaps better described as translucent overlapping layers when it comes to DoMs' online feminist journal *No More Potlucks*. As DoMs contributor M-C MacPhee shared, "We were doing *Dykes on Mykes* for years while we were doing *No More Potlucks*. So, there was so much overlap between the two. We would book people for, you know, to write articles and to do [radio] interviews."[8] Fittingly for a time, *No More Potlucks* was also the online home to over seventy hours of archived DoMs broadcasts.[9] In terms of aesthetics and production, as explored in chapter 2, "Being a Public Queer," listening to DoMs is not so different from listening to the digitally distributed soundwork of queer podcasts today. What *has* changed, however, is the ability to reach a broader (often transnational) online community as Web 2.0 and beyond shifts how queers build their community networks. The possibilities of podcasting in this regard are central to its ethos as a new medium that circumvents traditional models of gatekeeping and can thrive on global niche audiences.[10]

As I listened back to clips of *Dykes on Mykes* over video chat with present-day producers behind queer feminist soundworks, these questions of how we find, access, and circulate queer media across different forms became a cen-

tral theme. Some producers shared concerns over access to funding; others spoke of a lack of opportunity for queer and feminist work in the podcast industry at large. *The Heart* podcast was and continues to be an exception, having carved out an award-winning sonic space for queer stories. So, when the show went on a two-year hiatus in 2018, it left a void felt by many in the industry. As former *The Heart* producer Mitra Kaboli shared, "I would get pitches every now and then. People would be like, where can I pitch the story about X, Y, Z? It's just like, babe, I don't know."[11] While queer podcasts with community radio roots, such as *The Heart* and *Queer Public*,[12] have found relative success in the overly saturated podcast market, the cancellation of the critically praised American queer podcast *Nancy* in 2020 despite "a loyal core community" has raised concerns over the realities of sustaining any contemporary queer production long term.[13] As Erin McGregor of *Queer Public* stated, "When their show [*Nancy*] ended, I was like, if they can't even stay on the air, like, how are *we* going to stay on the air, you know?"[14] In other words, if an award-winning queer show with prominent U.S. public radio backing can't make a go of it, what sort of possibilities are left for podcasts centered on queer experiences outside of the powerhouse American industry?

This tension between the liberatory possibilities of podcasting and the reality of discoverability and financial stability requires a reevaluation of how historically marginalized communities have approached such media practices. Throughout this book, I use the term discoverability in a broad sense, how findable something is and through what means, but discoverability is not politically neutral. If the algorithms and platform affordances of our neoliberal age simply reinforce oppressive social relationships,[15] I argue we must put an ear to the past to gain insight into alternative practices of discoverability outside of the corporate-dominated digital podcast world. For instance, in a preinternet era, feminist and queer newsletters, as Elana of DoMs mentioned earlier, played a crucial role in how lesbian radio shows and their networks would gain information about and support one another across geographies and cultural contexts. Likewise, lesbian radio provided an essential community in sound for listeners who could not access printed information because of location, lack of access, or perceived and real risks involved in being "outed" by carrying a queer magazine or attending events in person. What might be revealed about the digital affordances of podcast distribution from a close analysis of these historical ties between soundwork and text-based media? Drawing on the work of scholars such as Cait McKinney and Kara Keeling, I aim to apply feminist information studies and queer media studies to allow for a richer sense of the complex intermediality and infrastructure surrounding queer soundwork past and present. As McKinney

notes in their study of lesbian feminist information activism, "Information [is] the object that moves through the application of specific media practices—practices that form nascent publics and shape their demands."[16] It is this circulation of queer information that creates queer information networks. Ultimately, this chapter advocates for media scholars and practitioners alike to look to lesbian feminist radio practices of community safety, accountability, and discoverability as an activist media model toward more equitable future queer and feminist media world-making.

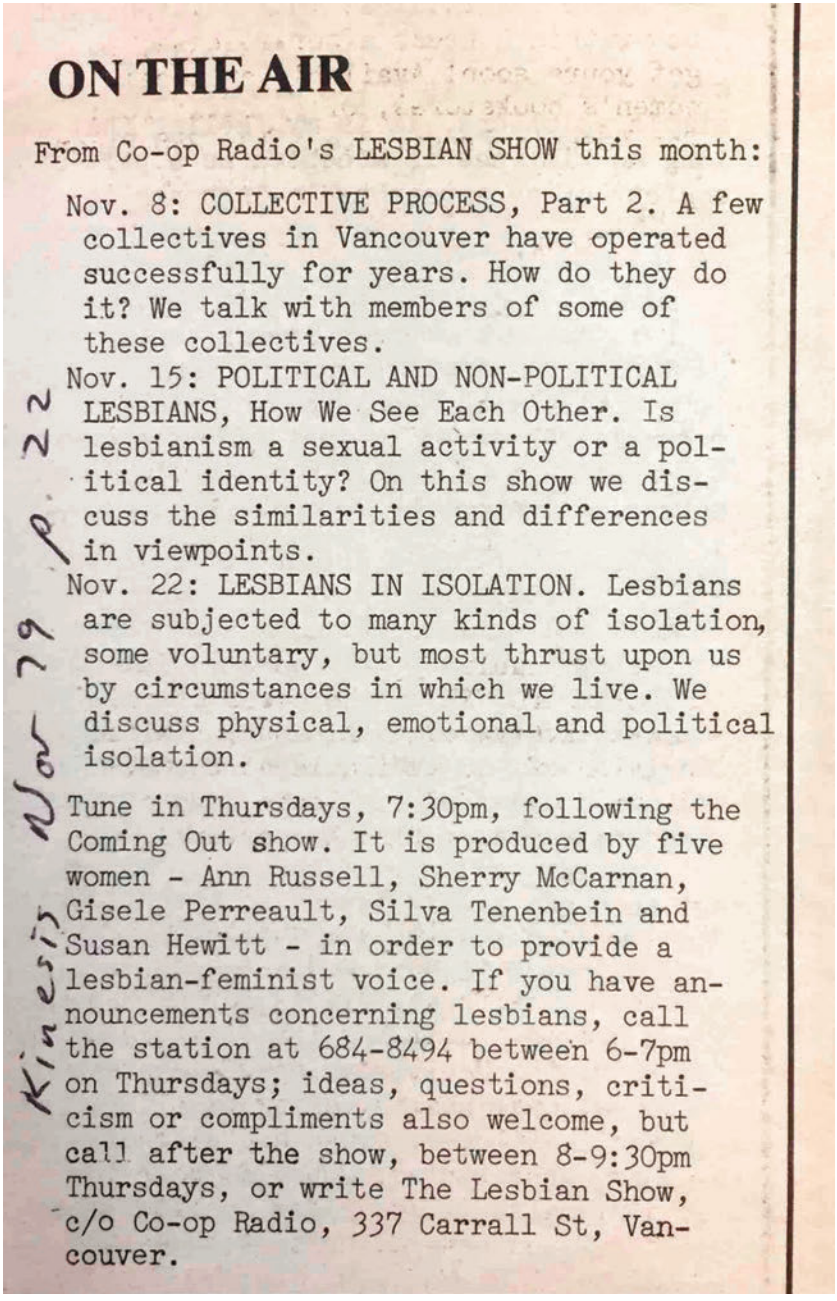
Lesbian Radio as Information Activism

The soundwork of lesbian feminist community radio is a vital form of *information activism*. The term "information activism" describes a rich history of individuals and social movements that, out of frustration at the lack of documented history and out of a desire for information, started generating that information themselves. Information activism is a community-driven activist practice across archives, telephone hotlines, newsletters, and various communication technologies. McKinney's work on lesbian information activism provides a refreshingly critical approach to how information infrastructure—the technical data-driven systems that make communication and knowledge-sharing possible—is perceived as a predominantly white cis male-dominated power structure founded on figures such as Steve Jobs, Bill Gates, and Jeff Bezos. Instead, McKinney offers a queer perspective on "the internet that lesbians built": an internet made up of newsletter databases across the US and Canada.[17] This includes *Matrices: A Lesbian/Feminist Research Newsletter*, which McKinney uses as a case study for formulating a history of DIY publishing practices and information distribution aimed at marginalized readers who might otherwise be unable to find it. Lesbian feminist newsletters, such as *Matrices* (1977–96), among others,[18] provided a range of resources for activist community building and outreach, such as phone trees, archival listings, mailing lists, local telephone hotlines, and reading lists.

The history of lesbian feminist newsletter classifieds is rich with community radio outreach and documentation circulated through these same networks.[19] For example, *The Lesbian Show* frequently posted ads in local queer and feminist magazines such as *Kinesis* (1974–2001) that provided feminist, queer, immigrant, anticlassist, and anti-ablecentrist perspectives on the news through the long-standing women's advocacy organization Vancouver Status of Women. *Kinesis* was part of a larger feminist media network in Canada,

including *Broadside* in Toronto (1979–89) and *Pandora* in Halifax (1985–94).[20] With few explicitly lesbian newspapers to advertise for local listeners and potential collective members, TLS's outreach tactics straddle the two worlds of feminist media activism and gay counterpublics through notable Vancouver LGBT newspaper *Angles* (1983–98), published by the Vancouver Gay Community Centre Society. *Angles* included a wide range of materials in their publication, including featured articles, readers' letters, news reports, opinion pieces, cartoons, Vancouver events listings, arts and entertainment sections, classified advertisements, obituaries, and photographs.[21] Turning to the present day, clippings of *The Lesbian Show* community ads now live in the City of Vancouver Archives as part of the BC Lesbian and Gay Archives collection.[22] There are many similarities in form and focus in the ads TLS chose to submit to *Angles* and *Kinesis*. The majority provide a listing of the TLS show topics for the coming month, with two to three-line descriptions starting with the date, the show title, and a short description. Some ads provide a plain language mandate for the show alongside the show schedule, while others seem to omit these details consciously. This hints at an established understanding by most local readership in later years of the show's focus and where and when to tune in.

Most notably, these advertisements provide a glimpse into the most important topics within the lesbian feminist community during the 1970s through the 1990s from a Canadian viewpoint, a viewpoint habitually overshadowed by American and Eurocentric lesbian activist history. In a 1979 TLS ad from *Kinesis* (fig. 1), the reader is introduced to the newly established radio show, with episodes on how collectives operate, the differences between political and nonpolitical lesbian identity, and the isolation that can come with lesbian life. Perhaps this transparency in how the collective operates and the very politics behind the show worked to build a rapport with their audience that invites parasocial connection, community dialogue, and contribution in the same stroke. Similarly, in a 1983 TLS ad for *Angles* (fig. 2) the listing indicates the importance of music in the magazine-style show while taking on a more playful tone for the gay and lesbian community in contrast to the feminist-focused *Kinesis* readership. "Find out the *real* festive secrets about Ms Claus" the *Angles* ad reads in contrast to the serious tone of the *Kinesis* clipping: "We discuss physical, emotional, and political isolation." This type of language shift echoes sentiments in the episode topics chosen for the ad, specifically the topics of political lesbianism and isolation. As Silva Tenenbein, a cofounder of *The Lesbian Show* shared in our interview for *FemRadio*, the show grew out of frustrations with the male-dominated shared queer space of *The Coming Out Show*[23] and the simultaneous tensions



ON THE AIR

From Co-op Radio's LESBIAN SHOW this month:

Nov. 8: COLLECTIVE PROCESS, Part 2. A few collectives in Vancouver have operated successfully for years. How do they do it? We talk with members of some of these collectives.

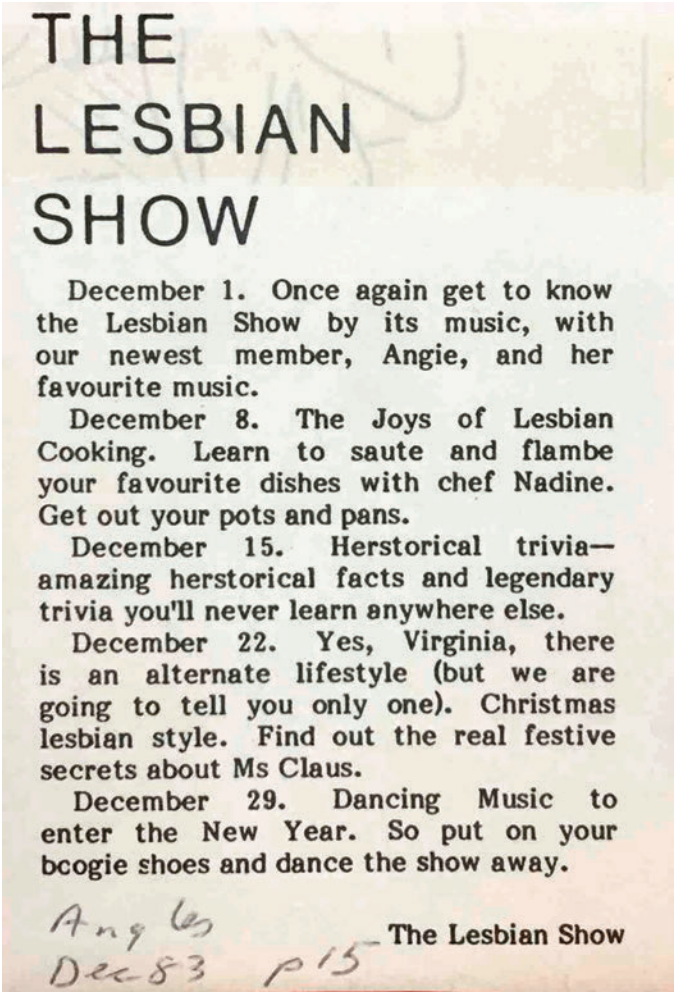
Nov. 15: POLITICAL AND NON-POLITICAL LESBIANS, How We See Each Other. Is lesbianism a sexual activity or a political identity? On this show we discuss the similarities and differences in viewpoints.

Nov. 22: LESBIANS IN ISOLATION. Lesbians are subjected to many kinds of isolation, some voluntary, but most thrust upon us by circumstances in which we live. We discuss physical, emotional and political isolation.

Tune in Thursdays, 7:30pm, following the Coming Out show. It is produced by five women - Ann Russell, Sherry McCarnan, Gisele Perreault, Silva Tenenbein and Susan Hewitt - in order to provide a lesbian-feminist voice. If you have announcements concerning lesbians, call the station at 684-8494 between 6-7pm on Thursdays; ideas, questions, criticism or compliments also welcome, but call after the show, between 8-9:30pm Thursdays, or write The Lesbian Show, c/o Co-op Radio, 337 Carrall St, Vancouver.

Kinesis Nov 79 p 22

Figure 1. On the Air. A listing for *The Lesbian Show* in *Kinesis*, November 1979, F1433, Box 894-G-02, fld 32, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, Canada.



THE
LESBIAN
SHOW

December 1. Once again get to know the Lesbian Show by its music, with our newest member, Angie, and her favourite music.

December 8. The Joys of Lesbian Cooking. Learn to saute and flambe your favourite dishes with chef Nadine. Get out your pots and pans.

December 15. Herstorical trivia—amazing herstorical facts and legendary trivia you'll never learn anywhere else.

December 22. Yes, Virginia, there is an alternate lifestyle (but we are going to tell you only one). Christmas lesbian style. Find out the real festive secrets about Ms Claus.

December 29. Dancing Music to enter the New Year. So put on your bcogie shoes and dance the show away.

Angles
Dec 83 p15 — The Lesbian Show

Figure 2. The Lesbian Show. A listing for *The Lesbian Show* in *Angles*, December 1983, F1433, Box 894-G-02, fld 32, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, Canada.

Silva and others were experiencing with the larger feminist movement of the late 1970s.[24] While *Angles* could be presumed to have a lesbian readership who would get a kick out of the subtext of Ms Claus's secrets, when submitting to *Kinesis* the TLS collective had to additionally consider the potential antilesbian feminist readership.

The careful language chosen for the ads featured in *Kinesis* and *Angles* speaks to the TLS collective's deep-embedded awareness of lesbian feminist

politics and a conscious effort to speak to a public audience about lesbian politics while inviting other lesbian feminists out of the woodwork and into the radio studio. Two commonly noted limitations of broadcast radio in contrast to contemporary podcasts are the latter's global distribution infrastructure and asynchronous on-demand listening. While *The Lesbian Show* was first and foremost a local show produced for and by the Vancouver lesbian feminist community, as I learned from former TLS host Cynthia Brooke, there was also a culture of tape sharing among lesbian feminist radio shows to speak across communities and geographical space in ways in which the broadcast towers of community radio couldn't facilitate. "We knew about *Dykes on Mykes* and had managed to get hold of a tape, which I believe we did play at one point. That involved an actual person who used to live there, crossing the country and having a cassette," said Cynthia. "It was just really exciting to know that there were other people doing the same thing."[25] Imagine it is 1987, and a listener of *Dykes on Mykes* happens to have a show tape with them as they make a move or travel to Vancouver for a visit. Folks at *The Lesbian Show* then get a chance to hear what is going on in the Montreal lesbian scene and the specific voices behind a similar initiative to their own.

This circulation of show cassettes and knowledge sharing between *Dykes on Mykes* and *TLS* isn't the only case I've come across in my research. The two shows have a long, mysteriously fragmented history of this type of material knowledge-sharing practice despite the thousands of miles between them. For the most part, the two shows had little awareness of each other outside of these sparse interactions prior to the establishment of internet and social media practices at both stations. However, the material exchange of tapes, newsletters, and community word of mouth helped to create a queer community of sound despite their geographic distance. *The Lesbian Show*'s tape service program is another such example of collective efforts in sharing soundwork outside the bounds of their community radio broadcast time slot and into the larger lesbian feminist information networks of text media. As figure 3 shows, the TLS tape service program offered interested *Kinesis* readers the opportunity to order recorded TLS episodes on various lesbian feminist topics of interest.

The tape service listing reads like an introductory course on lesbian feminism, from "Dyke Separatism" to women's music icons like Heather Bishop and Linda Tillery. It is unknown how long the tape service for TLS lasted in this form,[26] but traces of its lesbian feminist information-sharing logic can be found advertised in *Kinesis* from February to April 1980. The organized efforts of the collective to share their voices and community information

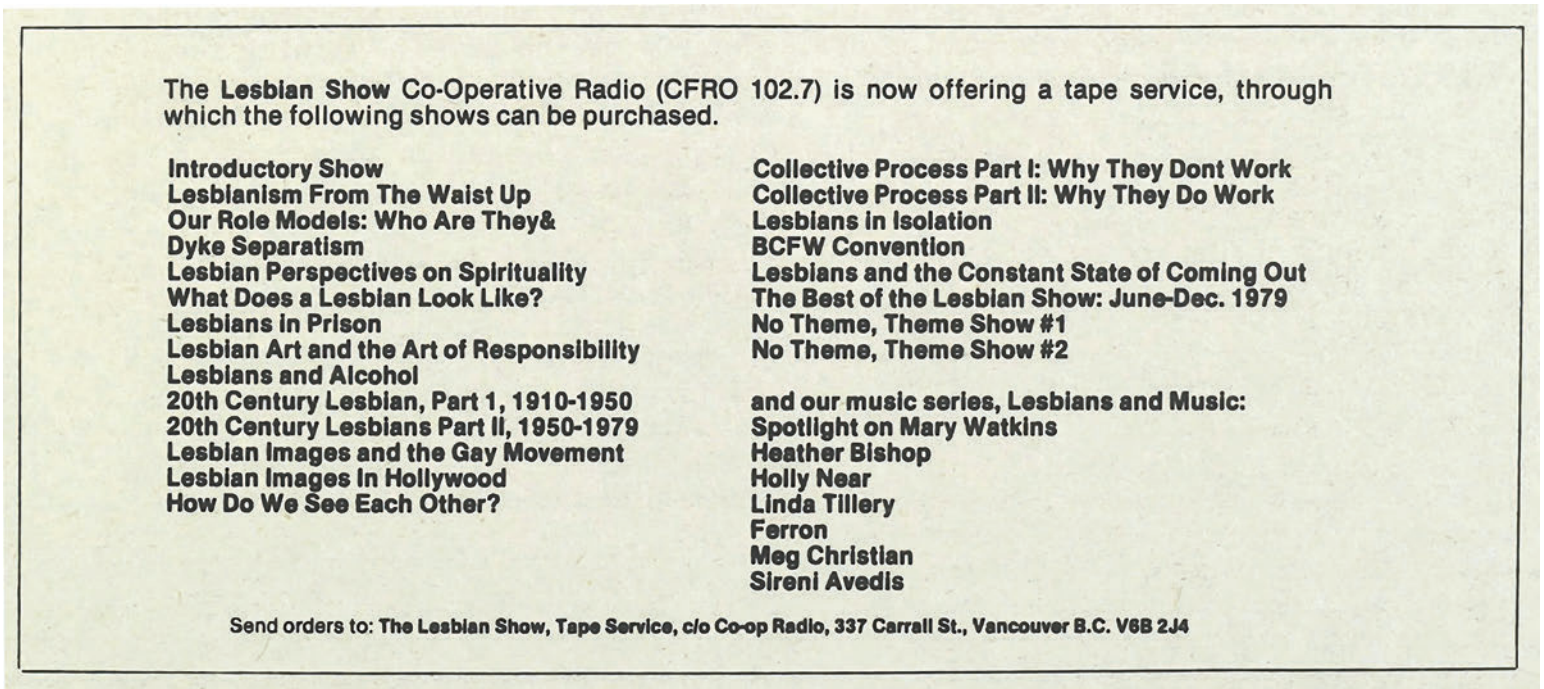


Figure 3. The Lesbian Show Tape Service. A listing for *The Lesbian Show* tape service, March 1980, *Kinesis* (Periodicals), University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, Canada.

beyond the airwaves and to learn of other lesbian feminist radio shows in return are clear. Furthermore, as Cynthia points out, tape-sharing practices among lesbian feminist radio shows also remind the listener of the embodied labor involved in dubbing the tape and either mailing it or bringing it across the country from Montreal to Vancouver or vice versa. This attention to labor and the body is also read in the various TLS recruitment ads in *Kinesis* and *Angles/VGCC News* as shown in figures 4 and 5.

These two examples demonstrate the importance of community-engaged practice and cooperation that breaks down the distinctions between soundmaker and listener. In figure 4, the pluralist language of "Our collective" and "Don't let the lesbian community lose its voice" positions the reader as either already part of the show's collective or part of the Vancouver feminist activist community that *Kinesis* speaks for. Complementary to the show's nonhierarchal open-door ethos, the language in figure 5 expresses the collective's active interest in receiving feedback from the community regardless of their involvement with the show, to help shape the sound of TLS as the "voice" of lesbian community. This reflexive and community-centered approach to *The Lesbian Show* reflects their politics inspired by and in conversation with a larger network of lesbian feminist activism taking place during the 1970s and '80s across North America and, in the context of *The Lesbian Show* in particular, the lesbian feminist movement taking place in British Columbia. Cofounding member of TLS Silva Tenenbein was actively involved in forming the Lesbian Caucus of the British Columbia Federation of Women at the same time *The Lesbian Show* collective was established.[27] The Lesbian Caucus is widely noted in Canadian lesbian history as a key changemaker in establishing lesbian demands within the feminist agenda.[28]

One area of particular interest to the caucus was resisting and reimagining patriarchal labor practices. Out of this interest came *Stepping Out of Line*, a 1984 publication from members of the Lesbian Caucus of the British Columbia Federation of Women, which generously distills stories and resources from across BC's lesbian and feminist communities for use in lesbian feminist awareness building, workshopping, and organizing.[29] The active knowledge and community labor practices of *The Lesbian Show* are used as an example in *Stepping Out of Line*. The TLS collective's original 1979 mandate is beneath a checklist for "somewhere to start" if interested in engaging in media activism through campaigns, speaking back, or making your own lesbian feminist media collective. A provocative closing question in the workbook reads, "Can we understand that lesbians are already everywhere and make it a goal of our movement that none of us are working anywhere alone?"[30] This question is juxtaposed with a photo of a smirking per-

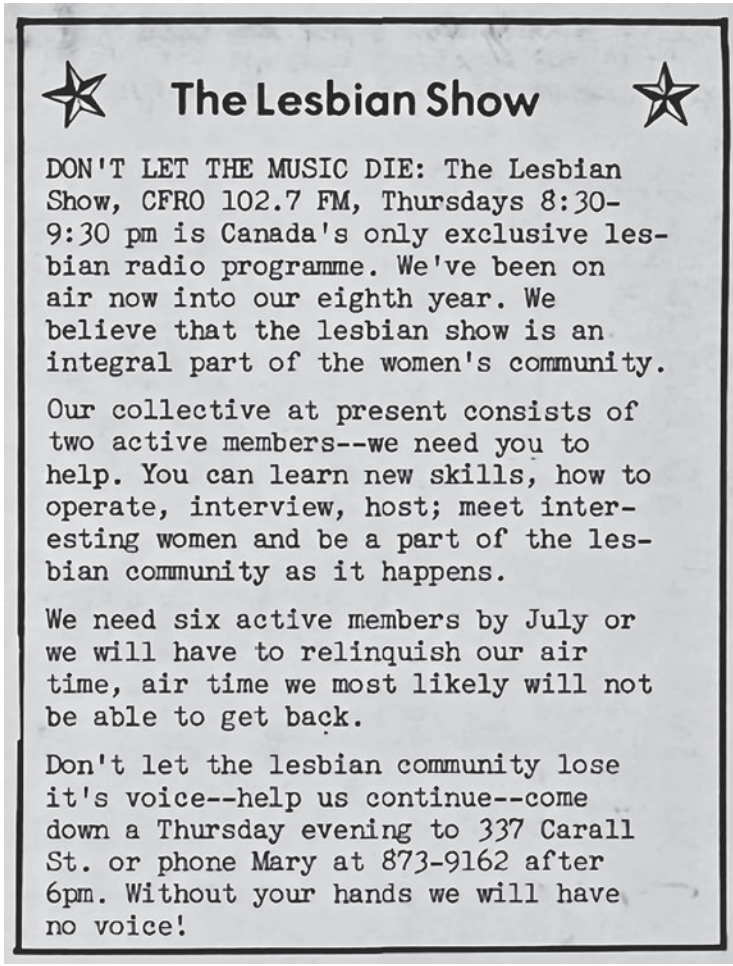


Figure 4. Lesbian Show Recruitment Ad. A call for new TLS collective members in *Kinesis*, p. 29, June 1986. *Kinesis* (Periodicals), University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, Canada.

son, presumably a lesbian, showing off an illegible button with the caption "Lesbian Liberation: You Won't Get It Under Capitalism." While not all political lesbians at the time aligned themselves with socialist feminism,[31] the lesbian feminism outlined in this workbook deconstructs and gives voice to how lesbianism as a politics of the Lesbian Caucus is linked to gay liberation, antiracist, *and* socialist movements. As Beth E. Schneider and Janelle M. Pham point out in their study of socialist, radical, and lesbian feminisms,

Figure 5. Lesbian Show Ad in *VGCC News*. TLS call for listener feedback in *VGCC News*, March 1982. F1433, Box 894-G-02, fld 32, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, Canada.

"Ideology, membership, strategies, or goals . . . varied in different parts of the country, in different cultural and political moments, and among women who varied by race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and age."[32] Embedded in Vancouver Co-Op radio's community-driven and nonprofit space, *The Lesbian Show* was able to put into practice some of the anticapitalist and socialist feminist logics of nonhierarchical labor division, community donation, and skill sharing advocated for by the Lesbian Caucus. "The tech training was probably my favorite," former TLS member Vett Loyd recalls.[33] Vett noted that during their time at Vancouver Co-Op in the 1980s, they were encouraged to try their hand at a bit of everything in the production of the show, from board operation to producing to hosting, through a unique mix of structured workshops as well as a more "rough-and-ready" jump in head first kind of learning experience.[34] Despite the decades since their time at TLS, member Eirene Cloma equally recollects an environment of shared labor and knowledge: "There were like three or four shows that were like queer, feminist in content, and we were all trying to help each other out." Eirene started out volunteering with *She Boom*,[35] then joined as a cohost of *The Lesbian Show* on air in the 2010s. Silva noted earlier tensions between *The Coming Out Show* and *The Lesbian Show* as a catalyst for the collective's formation. However, Eirene felt that divisiveness fell away in the later years, perhaps partly leading to the dissolution of *The Lesbian Show*. In contrast, *The Coming Out Show* continued under an expanded LGBTQ2+ moniker of *Fruit Salad*.[36]

The TLS collective once stood as a strong example of pushing against gendered divisions of labor and toward lesbian information activism. However, the nonprofit status of Vancouver Co-Op Radio, which fostered this space of queer feminist world-making, also meant that members of TLS were volunteering their time rather than being paid for it. Within the reality of trying to live under capitalism, especially as the cost of living in city centers such as Vancouver continued to rise, soundmakers became increasingly burnt out and unable to put the time into producing the highly engaged community-centered queer feminist soundwork without being paid. As Meita Winkler notes, "I think at some point I just thought, you know, as much as I enjoy doing this, I want to be paid for my efforts."[37] Meita volunteered with *The Lesbian Show* in the 1990s just as shows like "*Queer As Folk* were being broadcast on TV," igniting a desire in queer creators like Meita to make a living by bringing queer stories into the mainstream rather than viewing their soundwork as volunteer activist labor.[38] Changing queer politics, the rise of homosexuality in pop culture, and the reality of the neoliberal market economy are noted as key reasons behind the high turnover in TLS collective membership and, ultimately, its departure from the airwaves and the lesbian feminist

information network. These three factors continue to be hot-button topics of feminist debate in media labor practices today. Despite these difficulties, *The Lesbian Show* found a way to establish itself as a foundational part of lesbian feminist media history, and activist information networks, for over four decades from 1979 into the mid-2010s. Two of its most significant contributions can be found in how and why the show endured, in their collective practices of community care and discoverability shared across its many members, generations, and reinventions.

Making Community in Sound

In a preinternet era, the close relationship between community newsletters and lesbian radio was integral to the successful feminist circulation of community knowledge and directly attended to queer politics of safety and isolation. Radio hosts would often read out lesbian print newsletters on air, drawing on key news stories and entertainment tucked between the thin newsprint pages of *Angles* or *The Body Politic*. For listeners who could not access printed information themselves because of location or safety risks, lesbian radio provided an essential community in sound. Community safety was a key component of lesbian feminist radio for TLS and DoMs. In an interview about their experience as long-time cohosts of *Dykes on Mykes* during the 1990s and 2000s, Elana Wright and Deb VanSlet were very aware of the production choices and listening practices surrounding each broadcast. Talking about their listenership and the variety of guests they would bring on the show, Elana notes, "Twenty-something years ago, it was different in terms of how closeted people would be."[39] Even though sexual orientation had become constitutionally protected in Canada by 1995, many continued to experience discrimination in their everyday lives.

For this reason, it was important to Deb and Elana to showcase the nuances around queer public and private life not just for celebrity lesbians like Ellen DeGeneres but for everyday lesbians too. The 1990s brought forward an era of "lesbian chic" and the sexualization of lesbians that fit mainstream heterosexual beauty standards, with other everyday lesbians missing on screen or cast as villains or tokenized background characters. The refusal to define what lesbian sounds like by showcasing a variety of different Lesbian lives on DoMs was a pushing back against the lesbian chic mainstreaming of dyke culture happening during Deb's and Elana's time on air.[40] Deb recalls bringing everyday lesbians on the show: a plumber, a hockey player, a doctor, and a dentist. Guests could decide to provide their real name or

workplace specifics or use an alias depending on their comfort and safety being on the air. Deb and Elana speak of the importance of frank conversations about everyday lesbian life in the workplace and sharing those common experiences of having to choose to be "out" or closeted, not only for those on the mic but also for listeners.

As information technology, the radio's public-facing utility and exclusive sound modality provide a feminist potential to provide safety and care in what conversations are broadcast and how or where we can listen. On air for the better part of a decade, Deb would occasionally get noticed in public for their voice by DoMs listeners: "I remember one kid even told me that she was so in the closet that she was literally in her bedroom closet listening to the show on the radio."[41] Similar to Elena and Deb's recollection of the safety politics of radio listening practices, Silva Tenenbein, a cofounder of *The Lesbian Show*, shared this memory in a 2018 interview: "We started to get mail from remote places saying we love your show, and we live in Abbotsford, and we get into a car and keep all the lights off and turn the radio on and listen to your show because we can't afford getting caught in the house."[42] While having a lesbian newspaper or pamphlet physically on your person could cause issues with police or at home for individuals without the power or privilege to safely navigate those interactions, listening to the radio can be an emancipatory act. There is no need to enter a queer physical space such as a bookstore or bar. There is no purchase price aside from the radio, which additionally provides access to other local radio stations, and unless you're planning to deck yours out with k.d. Lang stickers and rainbow decals, there's nothing obviously queer about it if caught on your person. This type of media consumption as an emancipatory practice is at the very root of alternative media's cooperative nonhierarchical ideology.

Listening even in "private space" can connect you with communities and publics, whether those communities are "imagined" in the sense of a radio listenership or experienced as "physical" as in the audience at a live concert. In the act of listening, the line between public and private is blurred. Listening to media in this way becomes, in Foucauldian terms, a "technology of self," a state of political being. Speech, and more broadly sound, is always filtered through the listener's own perspective, playing a role in one's own subjectivity, while the social and spatial experience of sound simultaneously opens the listener outward to the stories, places, and persons transmitted through their headphones or stereo. While the listener Deb recalls may have been physically isolated in their closet, the act of listening to the live *Dykes on Mykes* broadcast creates a sense of intersubjectivity, a sense of listening *with* others. The listener can imagine the hosts in the studio, just as they imagine

their fellow listeners creating a queer counterpublic in bookstores, bars, cars, and bedroom closets (metaphorical or literal) across Montreal and from the edges of CKUTs community radio antenna range.

By positioning radio listening as a potential queer emancipatory act, as is the case of DoMs and *The Lesbian Show*, we can more fully imagine these rich moments of intersubjective experience curated through the safety of radio's sonic modality and utilitarian interface. In these experiences of safety, discoverability, and community networking, queer feminist soundworkers can find renewed possibilities for queer technological practices in community radio and across soundworks' varied distribution platforms. Still, we cannot deny that the technological factors behind such experiences have changed in the postinternet era and the articulation of queer listening publics surrounding podcasting. Suppose I am to argue for lesbian feminist community radio as a potential model of how to queer technological practices involved in creating community through sound media. In that case, it is equally important first to understand the politics of accountability, safety, and discoverability at play in the podcast arena. In comparing podcast platform discoverability with the historical practices of lesbian feminist radio, it is also important to acknowledge how the safety of radio listening is lost in the datafied world of podcast platforms. Podcast platforms such as Apple Podcasts and Spotify are driven by data collection. As a result, the platforms collect and store information about the user, which the user also often carries on their person via the smartphone, rematerializing the once ephemeral queer radio into an item of potential risk to some members of the community. Despite these limitations, perhaps what is gained in return is increased availability and access to various voices from across the global LGBTQ community. Awareness of this cost involved in podcast discoverability on the part of the user and the podcast soundmakers requires further reimagining through queer disruption in dominant podcast practices of discoverability.

Disturbing Practices of Discoverability

Podcasting, just like radio, is not explicitly showcased in McKinney's queer account of lesbian feminist media technologies, but this type of soundwork plays a remarkable role in information activism today. While the discoverability of radio shows like DoMs and TLS were part of a rich network of newsletters, tape sharing, and dial surfing, queer soundwork in podcasting can be said to have a leg up in its potentiality for awareness

across distance. This is all well and good, but only if we can actually find the podcasts that resonate with our communities in the first place. As Safiya Umoja Noble outlines in *Algorithms of Oppression*, algorithms in the age of neoliberalism reinforce oppressive social relationships and enact what Noble terms "technological redlining," new modes of racism, sexism, and discrimination in the digital world.[43] How do we find queer podcast content, and what story do the show notes and tags tell before we actually get to hear it? The visual aspects involved in podcasting, as well as how the platforms such as Apple Podcasts or Spotify present that information, play a crucial role in how potential listeners discover audio content. It may then come as no surprise that when searching "Queer" on Apple Podcasts in 2019 to explore potential podcasts for this study, my query instead returned results for "Queen" of the British royal family variety. This autocorrect to "Queen" is an erasure, a technological redlining whether intentionally coded or not. "Queer" has since been added as a search term, but disorienting experiences such as this make one wonder what is still being missed or redlined in the algorithmic function of podcast platforms.

As the history of lesbian radio has shown, the ability to customize language for recognition from community is vital to building those very same queer and feminist networks. This is a crucial problematic in what Jeremy Morris terms "infrastructures of discovery," the network of interfaces, mechanisms, and features involved in making content searchable and legible.[44] In their study of podcasting's infrastructures of discoverability, Morris outlines that "ratings and rankings drive particular approaches to content production that emphasize discoverability over other aspects of cultural production."[45] In a culture where podcasters are left to guess how Apple ranks and features podcasts, we see tactics emerge to try and beat the algorithm like "please rate and comment on our podcast" audio at the end of many shows. The 2018 Apple ranking fiasco is a prime example of this, where several unknown shows were ranked above consistently chart-topping ones due partly to bot-driven subscription gaming of the algorithm.[46] This optimization approach to podcasting isn't new in the broader scope of media practices, but it requires particular attention considering the platform DIY/amateur invitation that anyone can make a podcast. Meanwhile, the actual number of shows the interface displays is limited by Apple Podcasts' opaque algorithm. Following the uptick of such critiques from researchers and podcasters alike, in 2022 Apple Podcasts added support details on how their search works to pull from the show name, channel name, and episode title, along with data based on popularity and user behavior. This support page

followed an in-depth 2021 study by Mark Steadman and James Cridland for *PodNews* of indexing across various podcast platforms. Steadman and Cridland found that due to most podcast apps' limitations, podcasters must go elsewhere to boost discoverability, stating, "In-app search is not where you'll be found."[47] As my examples illustrate, the techno-logics of podcast platforms play a significant role in what content is made discoverable and what communities have access to the world-making possibilities of podcasting. There are over 3.3 million active podcasts in the world.[48] With such an abundance of content in contrast with the limited search functionalities of Apple Podcasts' platform, how *are* these "queer" shows attempting to make their shows discoverable?

It is important to pause here to recall that my work is grounded in queer and feminist theory to help me theorize queer in two distinct yet overlapping ways. First, as an identity marker for sexuality and gender or what historian Laura Doane in *Disturbing Practices* calls "queer as being," indeed a much more commonly used and less radical terminology in mainstream anglophone culture these days.[49] Second, "queer as method" for queering how we experience and understand our relationships to media and culture. This is why queer is a term of particular interest in studying how podcasts are categorized and defined—not only because of its use as an umbrella term or a term that pushes back against past histories of lesbian or gay culture but because of its roots as a term of disruption, action, and disorientation. Still, there's my concept of "queer," and there's how podcasters actually use it to describe their shows.

When we take a step back and look at trends across title, description, and genre in podcasts returned through a search for "Queer" on Apple Podcasts and the popular podcast search engine Listen Notes, we start to see how these tools of constraint shape how shows define themselves, and potentially in turn limit how they produce and conceive of their content.[50] Titles are typically short or punny, or both, such as *Queer as Fact* or *Do You Queer What I Queer?* Others play on popular shows or genres like *A Queer Serial* does with *Serial*.[51] Many shows include "Queer" in their title, potentially to make it explicit to the person scrolling through their podcast feed, or to try and boost their discoverability on platform searches. This use of queer certainly echoes the long history of LGBTQ+ radio, including *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes*, in using obvious terms or a play on words to make their content known. These shows shout "We're Here and We're Queer! Come Check Us Out!" We see similar trends forming in the show descriptions too. Many mention LGBTQ+ community and host identity markers

like pronouns, race, or gender. They use words like "stories," "talk," "people," "living," "life," and "experience." When the average show description is 243 characters, these inclusions mean a lot.[52] Still, when it comes to genre, most shows follow the same logic as everyone else, categorizing by large fields like Society & Culture and subgenres that fit their specific niche like Sports, Chemistry, or Books.

Interestingly, in my query, very few shows place themselves in a "Sexuality" or "LGBTQ" subgenre, perhaps indicating a conscious attempt to "game" the algorithm and avoid categories considered less explored or showcased to the public. Take, for example, Chloe and Sidney's *Warriors Bards 'n Brews* podcast. Their show is categorized on Listen Notes under TV & Film. Their show description reads: "WBB began as a Xena podcast, and while we still chat about our favorite gal pals regularly, we also branch out into movies, other TV shows, pop culture, music and feminism. Special appearances from our producer PodCat on occasion."[53] Without "Queer" or specifically "Queer Feminist" in the title or description, WBB does not appear in my search for queer feminist podcasts on Apple or Google Podcasts.[54] Instead, I learned of the show through the local podcast community and engagement with the Vancouver Podcast Festival. Chloe and Sidney were invited to take part in a panel fittingly titled "Women and Non-Binary People in Podcasting: Creating a Feminist Network" hosted by local feminist podcaster and festival co-organizer Hannah McGregor. This style of feminist community network building through an in-person feminist organized gathering is perhaps more akin to DoMs' and TLS's lesbian feminist information activism than to the neoliberal practices of discoverability outlined above. A practice again harkening back to alternative media's emancipatory and countercultural orientations, community network building through local podcast festivals and events helps to circulate counterhegemonic information. Queer soundworkers are very much aware that algorithms don't work in their favor, and those who aren't "in the know" learn quickly through knowledge sharing and the barriers faced in attempts toward discoverability. This attention given to the importance of connecting with their Vancouver community over trying to "game" platform algorithms echoes the interest queer feminist community-driven shows like WBB have in highlighting Vancouver area queers and feminists in their content as well.

Nonetheless, for potential queer community members interested in listening to queer feminist work like WBB without having to navigate niche podcast spaces or festivals, there is no podcast equivalent sonic place like Vancouver Co-Op Radio or CKUT Montreal, where one knows they will be able to discover queer feminist soundwork outside of the most popular

search results on their chosen podcast platform. In contrast, *The Heart* does show up in searches for "Queer" on Apple Podcasts today, likely due to its current popularity and subscriber behavior. While there is a plethora of queer podcasts out there to choose from, the issue of discoverability directly affects podcasters' ability to produce queer soundwork as an income source rather than as a hobby. While there is a seeming abundance of queer podcasts returned in search results, only a select few are shows queer soundworkers trying to make a living can pitch to. This is a primary issue audio producer Mitra Kaboli, formerly of *The Heart*, sees in the podcast industry today. They expressed concern for the lack of options in where to send queer soundmakers to pitch stories that don't quite fit the homonormative narratives continuing to dominate the mainstream podcast industry. In our interview, Mitra went on to share that their journey with Kaitlin in creating *The Heart* as a show where folks could make even a small amount of money for queer soundwork was a continuous uphill battle: "If it wasn't for us, like constantly being in the scene, like in the radio scene, like the podcast scene, I think a lot of like media and radio and podcasts would be largely still mainstream ones, would be a lot more conservative than they are now. . . . We went through a lot of shit, man."[55] Kaitlin echoed Mitra's sentiments:

> The supremacy of *This American Life* style [of audio storytelling], that was a really big part of the landscape when I was coming up. . . . That's tough realiz[ing] that in the first chapter of *The Heart*, like all of our heroes were straight white man, you know? . . . They say, you can't dismantle the master's house with the master's tools, the Audre Lorde quote, [but] like the deeper you go into having a global impact or global audience, the more you have to conform with the power structures that are in play that you are fundamentally disagreeing with.[56]

The more Mitra and Kaitlin embedded themselves in the larger American public radio and for-profit podcast network scene of Radiotopia and PRX, the more they felt disconnected from the very queer feminist and activist ethos that first brought them to *Audio Smut* and later *The Heart*. Still, in reflecting on the past decade working toward where *The Heart* is situated now at the forefront of queer feminist soundwork, Kaitlin holds out hope that the industry is seeing a promising shift toward more support for nuanced and experimental forms of queer-centered media. Whether that work can also move away from universal narratives of queer identity and toward place-based information activism like DoMs and TLS advocated for is still up for debate:

> I'm always asking myself, how am I going to pay my rent? And so, I think you can make local culture. Can you make a living making local culture? Not really like unless, again, there's all these other hoops and power structures that you have to go through to be one of the artists that the Canada Council for the Arts supports. You know, then there's the CBC . . . . They're getting a little [better], the fact that they hired me and let me make my weirdo show like that was a pretty big risk for them.[57]

Kaitlin Prest had produced a selection of podcasts in partnership with CBC at the time of our interview, *The Shadows*, *Asking For It*, and *Appearances* in addition to select series of *The Heart*, all which carry a queer feminism production logic central to the Mermaid Palace Collectives body of work. Still, the opportunity to pitch and partner with a national broadcaster like CBC is not an avenue readily available to all queer producers today, nor is it the only option. The prevalence of podcasters using fundraising websites like Patreon, and a new uptick in podcasts shifting to pay-per-purchase distribution via music publishing platform Bandcamp,[58] offers potential alternative nodes of accessing funds to produce niche queer and feminist soundwork outside the mainstream podcast industry, but the issue of discoverability remains. Suppose queer podcasts are to flourish as digital communal surrogates to connect queer community and spaces across the globe. In that case, further critical action must be taken to consider how marginalized voices and their podcasts are being discovered (or not) across dominant platforms. With paywall options for big platforms like Apple Podcasts and Audible now entering the field, how can we sustain (or reclaim) podcasting's culture of possibilities for sustained community building and queer world-making? Here I propose a queering of the dominant rankings and ratings approach to podcast practices, through the application of queer theory and the lesbian feminist politics of DoMs and TLS to disrupt the current infrastructure, and move toward a queer feminist podcast model of community discoverability.

Toward a Queer Feminist Podcast Model

Queer theory and activism have much to offer in studying new media and related technologies, including podcasting. Kara Keeling (2014) outlines this contribution in their foundational work on Queer OS: scholarship at the intersection of queer theory, new media studies, and technology studies. By attending to Queer OS, Keeling seeks to "make queer into the logic of 'an operating system of a larger order' that unsettles the common sense

that secures those presently hegemonic social relations that can be characterized by domination, exploitation, oppression, and other violence."[59] Going back to my experience searching for "Queer" content on Apple Podcasts, only to be provided with results for shows on the Queen of England, beyond my initial connections to algorithmic redlining, this experience got me thinking about Keeling's Queer OS. What if the corrective function of turning "queer" to "queen" was not an erasure or error in the algorithm but an intentional tongue-in-cheek queer code written by a fellow queer to game the system? In applying the same queer tongue-in-cheek vernacular applied by *The Lesbian Show* in their Ms Claus ads for *Angles*, what other kinds of queer codes could be applied to Apple Podcasts' search functions?

While there is yet to be an ideal Queer OS approach to the podcast industry, podcasters and coders alike looking to advocate for infrastructures of discoverability can look to experimental projects outside the world of podcasting. For example, projects such as Queer Technologies' *transCoder* can inspire a more equitable or even queer customizable interface and corresponding algorithm. Queer Technologies created *transCoder* as a "queer programming anti-language."[60] With no functional implementation, the project by artist Zach Blas uses coding language terms such as API, libraries, license, and execution to reconsider how we perceive coding structures as neutral or nonpolitical. As a result, *transCoder* aims to resist the heteronormative ties they claim dominant coding languages uphold by providing an invitation through code language to radically resist and modify how technologies are designed and how they operate. The queer politics of *transCoder* can invite us to revisit how community safety and queer experience were designed into the production approach of DoMs and TLS and into the safety possibilities offered by the radio technology itself. For example, the way guests could opt for relative anonymity, and listeners could dip in and out of the show by changing the dial without the risks involved in carrying queer materials on their person or, in the modern case of podcasting, a history of subscriptions and searches on their device. Perhaps integration of queer safety factors into podcast platform design that reflect the advances of radio might include an incognito option to listen to a podcast without a subscription downloaded in your main library or search history, like the incognito options made available through Google Chrome and taken even further by open-source web browsers like Tor. To help mimic the dial browsing functionality of the radio interface, why not a randomization button to "play something" at random, as was recently incorporated into Netflix?[61] Such applications of lesbian feminist community radio experience offer a starting point for how we might consider designing podcast platforms with queer

safety and discoverability in mind. However, these steps continue to feel far from reality given the current prioritization and celebration of problematic figures such as PJ Vogt and Joe Rogan.[62]

Following Joe Rogan's inauguration as a Spotify exclusive podcast in 2020, many noticed the absence of some of the more controversial episodes featuring racist, sexist, and far-right figures in conversation with Joe. While the platform's move to exclude such discriminatory content is promising, the reportedly $100 million or more agreement with the show still signals to queer and feminist podcasters what voices and formats are valued in the podcasting soundscape.[63] Spotify has taken the initiative to encourage women of color podcasters and LGBTTIQ podcasters through their Sound Up Bootcamps and their EQUAL hub showcasing women artists and podcasters; this shows a conscious effort by the platform to encourage marginalized podcasters to produce content and affiliate their shows with the platform. Still, further research is needed to uncover whether these initiatives result in more discoverable podcasts and community-rich listener experiences. Podcast platforms continue the segregation of queer and feminist content to special Pride Month features and Women's History Month playlists rather than reevaluating how their algorithms may prioritize particular content or exclude it altogether. In doing so, podcast platforms risk mirroring the same hegemonic racist, patriarchal social hierarchies that podcasting's DIY ethos was meant to destabilize. It's a real possibility that posting your podcast to Apple Podcasts and Spotify may still be a necessary step in providing access to your show for a global audience. Nevertheless, in turning to DoMs and TLS we can also begin to reimagine and reprioritize community-driven platforms such as queer-run digital magazines (the modern newsletter) and local community radio stations where your podcast can be brought into conversation with other shows and other media forms (articles, poetry, and so forth) geared toward a similar counterpublic or niche.

Echoes of the lesbian feminist politics found in DoMs' and TLS's community radio stations and media networks can further point us to similar models taken up in queer and feminist media collectives such as Bitch Media, Queer Collective TO, or Mermaid Palace. Launched in 1996 and closed in 2022, *Bitch Media* was a print and online magazine that sought to bring contemporary feminism into conversation with mainstream media and popular culture. They even posted their annual tax return information and political history publicly on their website. Their two long-standing affiliated podcasts since 2013, *Popaganda* and *Backtalk*, provided expanded and original conversations within the feminist framework of *Bitch Media*. We may also look to Procyon Network, home to podcaster and "ex-journalist" Andrea Klassen's

queer audio fiction series *Me and AU*. "Procyon is actually more of a collective than a network in the sense that we don't do a lot of kind of the traditional network stuff that's more around like advertising," Klassen told me. "It's more of a sort of mutual labor, mutual support, and mutual promotion network."[64] While Procyon does not explicitly identify as a queer feminist podcast network, the community care and high representation of queer women in their soundworks and collective evokes a familiar feminism to the mandates of lesbian feminist radio shows like TLS and DoMs. When asked if their network considered themselves a feminist project, Andrea replied, "You know, I don't think we've ever had that conversation, which is kind of funny, because I would say all of us are feminists and some of us very explicitly kind of consider that part of our politics." The queer feminism of Procyon, unlike their lesbian feminist predecessors, is framed as an unspoken preestablished politics. As Andrea shares, "It's just kind of a natural outcropping of two things actually like one of them is that everybody is queer in Procyon [*laughs*]. So we all kind of gravitate towards that stuff." Perhaps it's much like my own experience of not having to "come out" in my YouTube community per se, but rather simply doing so through engaging in community and positioning myself as a queer networked self.

Still, there is also a postfeminist tinge to Procyon's lack of feminist assertions in how the collective positions and describes themselves. While their mission statement reads "largely-female," there is no indication of any activist orientation or politics behind this formation. The response from Andrea to my question of queer feminism in their collective—"I don't think we've ever had that conversation"—plays into Rosalind Gill's definition of postfeminism as a "sensibility" deeply enmeshed with neoliberalism. Rather than indicating a generation or period of time, postfeminism as a sensibility has led to the reemergence of feminism in popular culture as a "fashionable" identity marker rather than a political action.[65] Despite Andrea noting that individual members would identify as feminists, the postfeminist logic of not needing to or even thinking about taking on a feminist collective identity leaves Procyon without clear ties to the feminist podcast community or to the potential benefits of modeling their collective organizing after past feminist collective actions rather than trying to reinvent the practice. This postfeminist sensibility in positioning "feminist" as identity rather than feminism as an intersectional community activism was also echoed by Erin McGregor of *Queer Public* while drawing out more of the tensions felt about feminism within queer community today. In our conversation on their time as a member of *Dykes on Mykes* (DoMs) compared to their current podcasting work, Erin reflected back that "identifying as a feminist has not aged

well. It has not aged well in this world of like trans and nonbinary people. I also really understand the criticisms of feminism as being like super white and like I'm a white lady with a very white name."[66] I've talked at length about the whiteness and TERF (Trans Exclusive Radical Feminism) hauntings tied to feminism, very much at odds with the intersectional antiracist and queer feminist activism heard in many of the works here and throughout feminist history. Here one might simply name Erin's and Andrea's comments as part of a postfeminist sensibility, but in doing so the clear undertone of concern and solidarity among community would be erased. It's a queer solidarity and community respect that speaks to the fundamental goals of feminism to "end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression."[67] If the work being done by Procyon Network looks and sounds feminist, does it matter that it doesn't proclaim itself as such?

Founded by a group of women and nonbinary creatives, Procyon grew from a queer fan fiction Slack channel on podcasts, and a collective frustration with the lack of robust queer women characters in audio fiction. "It tends to be more like big space adventures that have a couple of women who are in love or big—no, space adventures actually cover like 80 percent of it [*laughs*]. It tends to be a B or C plot thing. And there weren't a lot at the time that I could find, like, really compelling queer female romance podcasts."[68] What started with two flagship shows, *Station to Station* and *The Strange Case of Starship Iris*, has now expanded to include five original shows, thanks to Procyon's labor sharing and occasional cross-podcast crowdfund sharing collective approach. While Andrea noted that funding and pay for their shows "aren't much," the shared labor, including production and marketing efforts, and nonhierarchical model the collective operates under shows a promising remix on lesbian feminist labor politics. In 2019, the network also launched their Rocket Booster program to assist "first-time audio drama producers on their journey by providing individual consultation for their scripts."[69]

Possibly grown out of *The Heart*'s continued struggle to uphold a queer feminism in the mainstream podcasting space, Kaitlin's nonprofit art company, Mermaid Palace, was formed as another example of feminist collective logic at work in podcasting. "We operate as a non-profit because creating groundbreaking art is rarely profitable in the strictly capitalist sense," their website reads.[70] Mermaid Palace grew out of the successes of the long-running podcast *The Heart*. Kaitlin Prest announced Mermaid Palace in 2019, alongside Mitra Kaboli, as an audio and art company rooted in the same queer feminist ethos at the very heart of *The Heart*. In conversation with Kaitlin Prest during the same video chat where we listened together to

the lavender sounds of DoMs, Prest shared with me some of the ongoing challenges in running a queer feminist company:

> How do I make the policies of this company feminist? How do I resist capitalism in the way I pay people and the way I work with people? How do you make a healthy work culture? That's the new site of my feminism at this point. There's no other feminist audio art company that I can call and be like, "So, how do you guys run your business fairly?"[71]

Much of this chapter focuses on the issue of discoverability, but this is only one side of the coin. While podcast listenership during its early mainstream adoption in 2014–15 was still predominantly white, male, young "college graduates [living] in an urban area," these demographics have drastically changed as the podcast industry exploded into the next decade.[72] Increased listenership across racialized communities in the US has even prompted dedicated reports on Black and Latino podcast listeners. Despite growing diversity in podcast listeners over the past decade, overall consumer preferences are still shown to lean toward what is already familiar to them in the podcasting space thus far, dominated by true crime and male-hosted news and interview shows. The white patriarchal ear seems yet again to rear its head (or earlobe? Insert choice of ear anatomy here). Without the market showing a demand for queerer and more feminist soundwork, queer feminist soundworkers must find more unconventional, innovative, and community-centered methods to make their work sustainable. These tensions between queer feminist activist practices and the reality of also trying to sustain a profitable audio art company bring us back to some of the same reasons that shows like *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show* found themselves on community radio stations: a lack of space, place, and nuanced representation in the media they had to choose from as consumers. The line of questioning Kaitlin brings forward is perhaps one that a hybrid model between community radio and feminist podcasting could help put into practice. While relatively little equipment is needed to create soundwork today for digital consumption compared to a radio show in the 1980s or '90s, what are we losing in separating from radio's physical locality? What sort of queer soundwork might flourish under community radio's public funding and localized shared community space, mixed with the global reach and creative sandbox potential of podcasting in contrast to traditional broadcast radio?

Throughout this chapter, I have proposed practices drawn from lesbian feminist community radio that media-makers and activists might draw for-

ward into the digital present. The work these queer and feminist-centered media collectives are taking up provides exciting potential for future models of podcast production that incorporate lesbian feminist logics. On the topic of discoverability, soundmakers today would do well to follow *The Lesbian Show's* network-building efforts and reach out to and make lasting information-sharing efforts with other queer and feminist media forms across magazines and blogs, television, coffee shops, and more. Additionally, the feminist activist ethos of DoMs and TLS to queer the technological practices of soundworks distribution should be brought into conversation with Queer OS, to advocate for podcast platform affordances that introduce queer and playful ways to find content outside of the predictable insights of popularity and user behavior. It could be something more akin to surfing the radio dial, perhaps even with the potential to listen in to particular geographies to bring the local back into soundwork discovery.

Nevertheless, it cannot go unnoticed that much of the work celebrated in these spaces continues to be concentrated in larger media markets such as Los Angeles, New York City, and Toronto, a problem echoed in the current mapping of community radio stations in Canada.[73] If the voices of marginalized populations are to be prioritized in our queer feminist media practices, collectives and industry giants alike must expand their focus to underserved areas in northern Canada, to rural areas, and to Indigenous communities in order to promote local talent and produce original content that centers local perspectives and stories for both a local listener and the broader listening public. Partnerships with national public broadcasters, community radio stations, and media collectives may promise new sustainable models in podcasting that incorporate the lessons of lesbian feminist information activism. Just as DoMs and TLS applied their lesbian feminism to make sure queer safety was always at the forefront, soundworkers today must advocate for queer safety in show production and ethics as well as at the level of the podcast app interface. Safety and access should not be a privilege but a right. The podcast industry has a long road ahead to becoming a space rich with inclusive design and accessible user listening experiences. Whatever practices come next, they must equally grapple with the discriminatory infrastructures of giants like Apple Podcasts and Spotify toward more community-centered media activism that listens back while looking forward.

Despite the challenges of discoverability and sustainability outlined in this chapter, podcasts rooted in feminist and queer ideologies are still finding their way into listeners' subscription boxes. Information is circulated whether that discovery happens through word-of-mouth podcast sharing, showcases on feminist or queer " top podcast" lists, or simply sheer listener

determination to find the content they desire. Similar to their community radio counterparts, though, sustaining a feminist community-driven ideology within the capitalist constraints of platform culture is felt by producers and shows in the short run of shows deemed successful in the queer category. As uncovered in the study of DoMs and TLS, transparency in politics, the production process, and a strong community ethos are integral aspects of lesbian feminist activism. The community network, including queer and feminist newsletters and collaboration with similarly aligned organizations, was key to the longevity and relative success of DoMs and TLS in queer audio activist history.

Returning to the demise of the popular queer podcast *Nancy*, perhaps the very professionalism and exclusivity (WNYC network prestige, highly polished sound) for which *Nancy* was celebrated was also its downfall. Rather than mourning the continued loss of queer media institutions like *Nancy*, the application of Queer OS in conversation with an informed understanding of historical queer media practices can help to radically shift the way creators approach the liberatory possibilities of podcasting. This includes the reality of discoverability and the financial stability required for marginalized communities to reach relative success and longevity in media production. While many queer soundworks use community-oriented language in their RSS feeds, further engagement with lesbian feminist practices of discoverability, labor and safety is limited by the current coding operations and interface design on the side of Apple, Spotify, or their competitors. In reimagining these practices toward a queer podcast future, I begin to dream of future platform features, ones where the user can opt to have particular podcasts excluded from their listening history to avoid AI-generated ads and suggestions across their other applications, and where users might rename their favorite queer podcasts with a pseudonym to avoid safety risks in subscribing or listening, whether it be at home or in public.

Through conversation with queer audio makers, and critical analysis of the distribution and production of select queer and lesbian soundwork, this chapter ultimately advocates for podcast practitioners and media scholars alike to look to lesbian feminist community radio as a model for a reimagining of podcast practice that can foster a sustainable future for the sonic world-making possibilities of queer and marginalized experience. Community radio certainly isn't perfect,[74] but perhaps in queering the very understanding of how these spaces operate, their intentions, and the communities they serve, we can imagine new possibilities for a more sustained media alternative that cultivates community-grown work opportunities and boundary-pushing experimentation through sound.

Epilogue

Sound Politics across Forms and Futures

> In order to survive what we come up against, in order to build worlds from the shattered pieces, we need a revival of lesbian feminism.
>
> —Sara Ahmed[1]

It's June 25, 2022. I'm standing on the hot sun-baked pavement at the corner of Church and Wellesley, holding a handmade sign that reads "Dykes for Abortion Rights." I'm waiting for my friend and coconspirator Elena to emerge from the subway station here in the heart of Toronto's Gay Village. Today is the annual Dyke March and Rally, the first official one on these streets since the COVID-19 pandemic meant the cancellation of Pride events two years in a row. You can feel the air of excitement and anxiety in equal measure as the rainbow-washed partygoers and city onlookers descend in flocks to enjoy the bank-sponsored festivities. As I wait, a queer elder approaches me, someone I recognize as a gifted mural artist in the community. "I love your sign!," they exclaim. "Can I take your photo?" We chat about the latest maddening news. Today, it is the US Supreme Court overturning of *Roe vs. Wade*, ending the national right to abortion upheld over the border for decades. The muralist continues on to catch up with their friends for the rally start. Another fellow queer, younger this time, whom I noticed eyeing my sign earlier, musters the courage to approach for a photo as well. Then a reporter. His demeanor reads "fish out of water" as he asks if "there will be more of me" at today's march. I'm not sure how to respond. I made my sign that morning alone in my kitchen, but I knew I wouldn't be alone. I carried it with me through the city streets, on buses and trains, to get here. Along the way, there were looks of confusion, solidarity, disgust, and apathy, but in that temporary aloneness, I still knew I wasn't alone. I wasn't responding to a group call, though I later found out there were many. Instead, it was a sign made in rage and a knowing that it would find a dialogue. I knew

many dykes, lesbians, and queers would be called to bring their fight to Dyke Day, through a collective understanding of what it means to uphold the queer feminist political community the Dyke March embodies.

Elena arrives in their super gay T-shirt (it literally reads "super gay" across their chest), and we make our way up Church Street to the rally where community speakers are amping up the crowd with stories of resilience, queerness, rage, and love. I can't quite hear our local queer councilor or that viral TikTok radio host on the makeshift rally stage. Covering city blocks, the crowd is so dense that our bodies work as sound absorption material, soaking up their voices and soundings. It doesn't matter though. We resonate the crowd's cheers all the way to the back like rolling waves. As I gaze around at the varied facial expressions and bodies around me a sea of midwives, nurses, union workers, political factions, and characters take shape. A queer ecosystem of arms and other various limbs and fixtures holding sister signs to mine. "Dykes for Abortion Rights" is resounded in "My Body Not Yours," "F*ck Your Fetus Fetish" "Midwives for Reproductive Rights," "Hoes Before Embryos," and at the front of the pack a larger-than-life coat hanger and its many human collaborators serving as unofficial grand marshal.

The crowd begins to shuffle forward to the beat of roaring motorcycle dykes and reggaetón music blasting from the back of a pickup truck as their sonic fusion ricochets off high-rise apartments and the glass storefront of the resident homophobic chicken franchise. Shouts of "F*ck Chick-fil-A" gain momentum as others stop to make out in front of the "repent and choose Jesus" gay-hating religious protestors lining the march path. We recite our traditional Dyke March chants, including but not limited to "What do we want? Lesbian Rights!" and "Hey ho, Sexism has got to go!" as we round the block and near the postmarch festivities in Allan Gardens, an urban park with its own complex histories. I join in the chants as the sun beams down on my nocturnal graduate student skin, and sweat begins to create small patches of dark purple through my Lavender Menace tee.

Dykes, queers, and allies spread their blankets and jean jackets down on the soft park earth. I scope out a shaded spot under an old beech tree where Elena and I settle in. The crowd begins to settle, and a member of the opening act, the Raging Asian Women (RAW) Taiko Drummers, takes to the mic. An energy-filled welcome and introduction of their group lead to a question toward the crowd, "How many of you here, this is your first Dyke March?" A roar of "yeah!" and "woo!" and a flurry of hands take to the air. It looks to be over half the crowd. During the march, I hadn't noticed how young so many of the marchers were; their faces still seemed so familiar, part of the same communal dyke energy felt each year. "Wow, Wow!" the RAW member

laughs with joy at the kind-hearted buzz of the park. I look to Elena, it's not our first march, but we're also young enough not to have been around during that first Dyke March held by the Lesbian Avengers in Washington, DC, in 1993. Young enough to have never known of the first documented lesbian march in Canada held a decade earlier in Vancouver in 1981, or the Dykes in the Streets march held later that same year in Toronto.

I know these dyke histories for the first time this year. The very real connections—chants, language, rally practices—and the imagined connections I draw up in my theater of mind bring a different feel to the march. They also color my reflection on why so many queers still feel the pull to participate in Dyke Day despite shifts in queer culture toward more gender fluid and queer sexual orientations in refusal of gay/lesbian or man/woman binaries. Despite changing identity politics, expansions in queer language and expression, callouts of TERF and racist ills in queer feminisms throughout the decades, dyke politics are more than just alive and well; they are thriving. When Sara Ahmed wrote, "In order to survive what we come up against, in order to build worlds from the shattered pieces, we need a revival of lesbian feminism," I believe they knew lesbian feminism had never truly left the fight.[2] Lesbian feminism is everywhere. Although it's not in its same capital "L" Lesbian visibility activism shape central to lesbian feminism of the 1970s and '80s. Instead, lesbian feminism has transformed into a rich diffusion of interconnected identities and political standpoints across queer feminisms that all still feel the pull to stand together whenever sexism, homophobia, or transphobia rear their head. The potentiality, the promise of lesbian feminism, continues to reverberate, calling dykes, queers, and deviants to action.

Why speak of marches and rallies in a text about soundwork? I hope you take away from this work twofold. First, soundwork has been and continues to be essential to queer and feminist community information sharing and advocacy in both technological *and* political spheres. Second, the sounds of queer feminism are everywhere if we listen closely with a tuned ear, and no matter what form we engage with, we can participate in their amplification. That is to say, while this study focuses on soundworks—radio shows and podcasts—that explicitly claim queer or lesbian feminist activisms, narratives, and aesthetics, these queer feminist sonic techniques can be heard across a plethora of other electroacoustic and acoustic communications. You can listen to and share a podcast, and you can even make one or lend support through donations. Similarly, you can also attend rallies or events to support queer feminist voices with your own voice in a chorus. This is queer feminist sound at work, whether or not it is *soundwork*: from protests to community radio to music to podcasting to TikTok. I can hear queer feminist soundwork

techniques in the chants and cheers on Dyke Day, and I can hear it in the soundwork of *Dykes on Mykes*, *The Lesbian Show*, *The Heart*, *Queer Public*, *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, and the Procyon Network. This is my call to ears.[3]

In this call toward critically engaged listening, it is important to note that along with the generative analysis these select works open up, there are also limitations to what could be addressed in these pages. What is written here is only the start of a larger complex network of stories and experiences in queer feminist soundwork. On a macro scale, this work provides a slice of queer feminist soundwork within the North American anglophone context. While many of these queer feminist techno-logics of radio and podcasting are mirrored in soundwork across geographies, cultures, and languages, there is still much to explore regarding how techniques showcased here are subverted or reoriented within different cultural contexts. Furthermore, sonic subjectivity is often dependent upon or enriched by cultural touchpoints that evoke collective understandings of identity. In *The Lesbian Show*, for example, as discussed in chapter 3, *The Muppets*' "Pigs in Space" parody of *Star Trek* was used as the inspiration behind some of the narrative and aesthetic production choices made in their lesbian camp radio drama "Dykes in Space." As a pop culture touchstone at the time of the TLS broadcast "Dykes in Space," TLS soundworkers could assume many of their listeners, if not all, would be able to make the parody connection. While I've demonstrated that we see and hear echoes of this lesbian campiness in contemporary queer feminist soundworks like *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, further analysis of different language and region-based shows would need to be done to make more robust claims about the significance of camp to queer feminist soundwork, and the particular aesthetic and production techniques applied to create a queer campy sound. Such limitations are an essential result of political phenomenology. By refusing traditional phenomenological absolutionism,[4] political phenomenology instead advocates for a situating of the self historically and politically.

Nonetheless, when we look to pop culture it is clear that a lesbian camp revival is on its way. Perhaps it's already here. As I write this in summer 2024, fans and critics have been analyzing Muppets' inspired looks from sapphic pop star Chappell Roan.[5] From Missy Piggy as Lady Liberty to Kermit's evil twin Constantine, the campiness of *The Muppets* echoed in Chappell Roan's visual aesthetics signals a renewal of lesbian and queer camp aesthetics for a new generation. When the news hit that Chappell Roan may have drawn the largest crowd in Lollapalooza history, my jaw dropped.[6] For years I studied what many told me was too niche, and yet today, lesbian camp and sapphic sounds are on the main stage. There is value in attending to what others deem

as perhaps insignificant or too niche—and not simply because it might become part of the next zeitgeist. Rather, it is crucial that the queer feminist political and community roots survive if we are to stand a chance for a better future. Countercultural politics embedded in the aesthetics of icons like Chappell Roan can flux and flow their way in and out of popular culture at seemingly rapid speed, but they never disappear altogether. It is in these seams, corners, and cracks that we can best learn how the foundation of a structure is made, where it needs fixing, or whether it is worth fixing. Whether that structure is the soundwork industry, the music industry, or more amorphous social structures of power, you can never know the entirety of a structure alone. It is in this spirit of collective knowledge building that I offer this work.

It is also not lost on me the lack of attention given to the current state of community/campus radio in the soundwork conversation. Shadowed by the shiny newness of podcasting, campus/community radio continues to be relegated (returned) to the basements of universities across the nation. As I have argued, this goes beyond queer feminist soundworks and into larger advocacy that must be done to support community-driven and activist media as both the radio and podcast industries see continued formalization and media monopolies take shape. The differences in their distribution and form matter, but in attending to soundworks across both radio and podcasting, my aim here is also to highlight the importance of thinking through the current reality of soundwork labor and media activism when the lines between the radio and podcast industry are murky at best.

Radio shows and podcasts that produce queer feminist and lesbian feminist content are a pivotal part of queer feminism's political, cultural, and historical soundscape. As I argue in chapter 2, "Being a Public Queer," queer feminist soundwork is dependent upon and at odds with the form, format, and stylistic techno-logics of broadcast radio and podcasting. It opens new conversations on what it means to shift from a lesbian feminist politics of visibility toward audibility activism, which attends to a diversity of voices and experiences and how those voices and experiences are edited and constructed. This focus on the tensions of soundwork production reveals the particular aesthetics that reemerge across queer feminist soundworks in community radio and the podcast space. Chapter 3, "Kisses through the Static," draws on moments of listening to and talking with soundworkers about the playful and intimate aesthetics and production choices in form, genre, and narrative that make a feminist soundwork *queer*. From lesbian camp to queerspeak to erotic power, different approaches to queer feminist aesthetics of play and intimacy throughout chapter 3 speak to the unique formations of

sonic identity and intersubjectivity that shows can carry. While chapter 3 attends to the labor of aesthetic production across close listening of select works in this series, chapter 4 addresses the collective labor and challenges involved in making soundwork discoverable across preinternet and digital contexts. As an audio companion to this book, the *Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives* series provides deeper insights and dialogue on queer feminist soundwork through the voices and sounds of the soundworkers featured here, who generously shared their time with me.[7] Ultimately, I hope this work helps develop your own critically embodied ear toward hearing, sharing, and producing more intersectional, radical, and boundary-pushing soundwork.

On a more microscale of limitations, there is so much context surrounding the shows featured in this study that I couldn't quite fit into the particular themes and narratives featured. In applying a three-pronged feminist media studies approach of iteration, reflexivity, and situatedness, I did not take lightly the choices of what histories and experiences made their way into this text. While some conversations left out of this book will no doubt find their way into other articles, presentations, and creative works, I would be remiss not to emphasize the plethora of stories still to be recovered about the networks supporting queer feminist soundwork as a phenomenon in the Canadian media context. For example, while *Kinesis* and *VGCC News* are highlighted in chapter 4, they are but two of a wide-ranging selection of queer and feminist newsletters, magazines, and listings that helped create the broad network of media activism surrounding *Dykes on Mykes* and *The Lesbian Show*. One example is *The Radical Reviewer*, a 1980s feminist journal, whose founding member Cy-Thea Sand can be seen in one of the initial documents sent to me by TLS member Silva Tenenbein before this project began. The photo in question also includes TLS member Connie Smith who contributed to *The Radical Reviewer*'s first issue. Bookstores, coffee shops, women's centers, and events where collectives like *The Lesbian Show* and *The Radical Reviewer* would meet are also key sites not fully explored in this work, including Ariel women's bookstore on Vancouver's Richard Street, which was hit by arson fire in 1980, and the many events held by Womankind promotions and productions, a group including TLS founding member Gisele Perreault that put on women's dances and concerts around Vancouver in the 1970s prior to the start of *The Lesbian Show*.[8]

The large crowds at this year's Dyke March in Toronto have me reflecting back on these histories and back to an opening quote from queer feminist Gayle Rubin that I use in chapter 2: "The more I explore these queer knowledges, the more I find out how much we have already forgotten, rediscovered,

and promptly forgotten again."[9] The weight of this forgetting is something I have only begun to experience in recovering queer histories through inviting other queer soundworkers to remember, to share, and to reflect. The more I listen, the more I feel that sonic dust building on my body, tickling my throat to speak. When I started this research those many years ago, I dwelled in Rubin's words, in an adamant belief that the "promptly forgotten" Rubin speaks of led to a fracture in queer community, with generations of "not knowing" the complexities of queer activisms past. But today, sitting in the grass among so many dykes and queers, my feelings have changed. Even if many of these young queers have no historical depth in queer knowledge, they feel the pull to this communal space. They chant and sing and love just the same.

As abortion rights are stripped in the US, it is a reminder of our continued need for queer feminisms, and once again, the dykes and queers take up the call to arms, or in the world of soundwork, the call to ears. Our continued need for media coverage, diversity, and inclusion in sexual education, for accessibility and safety on digital platforms all resurface in the face of such abhorrent news. However, one lesbian feminist practice that still needs reviving is dedicated information networks. Mainstream social media platforms like Instagram and Facebook have made it easier for LGBTQ+ activist and media organizations to publish their own content online, making it arguably even easier for audiences to find that content too. Still, in a digital world where content was once king, an overabundance of content drives social media platforms to filter what content you see, and often not in favor of smaller nonprofit or less-than-platform-savvy groups without advertising dollars. In the search for "real" connection, for content that makes you feel something, anything, among the endless scroll and fake news debates, some younger groups have turned to alternative social media like TikTok, Signal, or Discord. In contrast, others turn yet again to traditional feminist community-based media practices of soundwork, zines, and newsletters. Now, this doesn't mean queer feminists aren't also using digital platforms to promote and present their work. Soundwork is now a screen-first media after all. When the very structure of platforms "straightens and whitens" queer and feminist movements through their privileging of dominant spatial tactics,[10] it is time to rethink where production labor is placed, and this doesn't mean starting from scratch.

A presumption that any idea is new is a product of the neoliberal imaginary. It doesn't mean a complete exit from the structures of oppression either. Lesbian separatism has taught us that "exiting" is a privilege not everyone can wager. Rather, what I mean by rethinking where production labor is placed is spending some of that labor on listening back to what worked and why. Instead of reading Rubin's quote as resulting in a "not knowing," I now read

it as a potentiality for remembering what has been forgotten and building on those knowledges. In their writing on "exit," Sarah Sharma argues that "exiting" is a male fantasy and a privilege that operates in opposition to care.[11] Sharma is mainly writing in regard to "exit" as a gendered political strategy during the context of early discussion of "Brexit" making news headlines.[12] Here I make the correlation along the social privileges also associated with whiteness and cisgenderness in lesbian separatist movements concerning who was predominantly able to make such an exit from mainstream heterosexual society. This brings forward renewed conversations about the complexities of privilege in radio and podcasting and of who has the privilege to engage freely in queer feminist soundwork. Such discussions of privilege regarding who could take risks involved in creating past soundwork open new questions for exploring what queer and feminist soundworkers today and into the future might expand on from the past, and what they instead will disrupt, reorient, or reimagine anew.

Around the same time as my Dyke March memories in 2022, Robyn Badger, a founding member of *Dykes on Mykes*, sent me a link to a newly founded *Dyke News* newsletter and film screening series on Vancouver Island. Yes, you are reading this correctly; the founding year is 2022. In my email inbox, Gisele and Sherry, of *The Lesbian Show* circa 1979, correspond about the latest documentary called *Ahead of the Curve* (2021), about the story behind the once popular lesbian magazine *Curve* (formerly *Deneuve*) and its founder Franco Stevens. The film is also tied to a larger archival and nonprofit initiative currently taking place under the *Curve* name. It seems that in the 2020s, lesbian feminism is everywhere. Granted, as someone who studies queer and feminist media, people tend to think of me when they come across something they think I'll find interesting. However, it is hard to deny the renewal of queer feminism across various media over the past few years. Media is never made without a public in mind after all. In both these cases, it seems to be contemporary queer publics with interest in lesbian media activist histories and how those histories might inform or map onto the present. This style of unapologetically queer feminist media is the first of two modes of world-building I see taking place, as more and more individuals find a collective potentiality in the histories of lesbian feminist activism. We might call this world-building style a renovation. New technology is brought in to provide potential additional modes of communication and accessibility. The walls, pipes, and finishes are assessed for repair, but the bones of the house are deemed good.

Indeed, nostalgia plays a role in this style of lesbian feminist appreciation and adaptation, particularly with the current resurgence of '90s pop culture

in the 2020s. In this context, a reemergence of "lesbian chic" comes as no surprise. The type of political ties to dyke activism heard at dyke marches and in queer feminist soundwork today is not simply a depoliticized mainstreaming of the past, however. We hear this sincerity in the queer feminist aesthetics of *The Heart* and in the campy laughter of *Warriors, Bards, 'n Brews*. The longing for, and often felt *be-longing* to, the past is hardwired into lesbian feminism. It is an essential practice in doing queer feminist work regardless of the approach taken. Lesbian is, after all, an ode to popular culture's "first lesbian," Sappho herself. Queer feminist soundworks that turn back toward lesbian feminism with such longing can also be viewed as part of a "larger aestheticized revival of lesbian-feminist history."[13] Radio and podcasting provide a breadth of space through which soundworkers can evoke multiple perspectives, through the techno-logics of long-form voice-driven narrative storytelling and multitracking afforded through their chosen media format. In contrast to many digital media forms today, soundwork asks the audience to stay in their world awhile, to let it diffuse and add new "dusty" layers of feeling and possibility to wherever you are now. While social media such as Instagram and TikTok play central roles in the discoverability and marketing lives of soundwork, the content is meant as an enticing draw into their sonic world. If an interested listener finds their way to the podcast platform of their choice, the podcast's artwork equally plays a teaser role in drawing them in. While I have only begun to unpack the labor politics and networked intricacies of queer feminist soundwork in the digital contemporary, such structures deserve further intermedial attention as podcasting continues to grow beyond its already $25 billion industry income.[14] How will this industrialization shape aesthetics?

The second of the two modes of world-building I see taking place as a building out of lesbian feminist media activism into the future is much more than a renovation. We might call this world-building style an expansion rather than a basic home renovation. In this metaphor, we can think of the expansion as an addition to the original structure of lesbian feminism or as a new building of its own using select pieces from the original to build anew. The structure is deemed not to suffice in its current form and thus needs an addition or utterly new structure to adapt to what is needed. Here we might again think of the "shattered pieces" Ahmed speaks of in their writing on lesbian feminism.[15] What are those shattered pieces and who did the shattering? One might assume the breakage was unintentional or from external sources, but in my experience much of the shattering comes from within the feminist movement, and often for a good reason. To find where cracks have made for a weak foundation, or to break down a wall and make room for

more feminists—transgender, queer, Indigenous, Black, disabled—to find shelter. There seems to be a growing feeling of stagnation in feminist and queer theory fields, and from that feeling, a theory that the world is broken, collapsed, and in ruin. While wars rage on across the globe, these are not the ruins that seem to be at the center of such discourse. The pandemic has brought a wave of academic work turning toward ruin as a theoretical space of resistance and refusal. Queer theorist Jack Halberstam argues that "this is not a world to repair," an anarchist stance drawing on queer and Black science fiction and abolitionist histories to find renewed potential freedom and desire in "unworlding."[16] Is it burnout? Or are we sick of caring for structures and systems that do not work for us? While critical attention on desires to unworld in abolitionist and feminist anarchist movements, along with the power of refusal against historically gendered institutional labor, can indeed open new visions of feminist worlds to come, this is not the approach I see taking shape in the future of queer feminist soundwork. While some may decide to "exit" or "unworld," I still see hope in the feminist world-building potential of repair and expansion over ruin. A potentiality is again central to lesbian feminism's past.[17] Such potentiality and expansion are perhaps heard in the new work by a former cofounder of *The Heart*, Mitra Kaboli.

On the topic of people sending me queer media, I was also recently sent a link to study participant Mitra Kaboli's soundwork release, *Welcome to Provincetown* (2022). Reading the podcast description, if you aren't familiar with the gay tourism of Provincetown, it does not immediately signal any queerness, let alone a feminist bent to the work. The opening description reads:

> Venture into Provincetown, Massachusetts, a two-street beach town at the end of a sand spit, and meet the fascinating people who live there. *Welcome to Provincetown* encapsulates stories of artistry, sensuality, solitude, and serendipity. Listen to the sounds of hopes and dreams being carried through the summer breeze, the feeling of letting go, and the feeling of going all in. This is a place where you can find yourself or lose yourself.[18]

Despite the lack of blatant queer or feminist labels, Mitra's signature blend of human portraiture via sound with sound-rich ambiences and an erotics of place comes through clearly in the carefully crafted language of their three-line hook. Headphones on, the series trailer begins to play, and I get lost in the unapologetically queer aesthetics and narratives teased out in just the first few moments of this two-and-a-half-minute sonic introduction.

Waves slowly lap in the background as Mitra's raspy voice leads into sonic snapshots of the characters we will meet throughout the series—"the new meat on the block," "the bad bitch," and a cautionary "don't fall in love in P-Town, don't do it girl." I can already tell this may be the style of work Mitra hinted toward the last time we spoke regarding my question of what makes a soundwork "queer feminist":

> If you're a queer feminist and that's the lens that you are looking at things [with], then it is [queer feminist], you know? Like I don't think you have to necessarily be talking about like sex or gender or sexuality or those intersections at all, so much as like looking at how the intersection of those things effect literally everything else in our lives.[19]

In the queer-feminist-informed world of *Welcome to Provincetown*, queers aren't positioned on the periphery—they are Provincetown. The show doesn't focus on the dominant white gay male narrative of Provincetown, but rather invites the listener to follow along with Mitra and various queer women and genderqueer people of color as they navigate questions of gay culture, labor, housing, art, and environmental justice. What makes this work a bit different than some of the other works studied throughout this text is that it is a queer feminist-informed and centered story without actually selling itself under the explicit banner of queer feminism's once pivotal politics of visibility. The narrative centers on queer lives and politics but without naming that queerness in the show description or centering its queerness on what have now become overrepresented stories of "coming out" and "queer trauma." So, the question is, can we consider *Welcome to Provincetown* and other works like it produced by queer feminist soundworkers as part of the queer feminist soundwork phenomenon? And should we? When it comes down to it, aesthetic and narrative parallels aside, Mitra's latest series can still be perceived as audibility activism. It takes on queer human-interest narratives and explores key social justice themes like housing insecurity, LGBTQ+ rights, and climate change through a "softer" feminist activism reminiscent of the kind of feminism *Dykes on Mykes* member Mel Hogan once dreamed their show would help cultivate for feminist media in the future.[20] *Welcome to Provincetown* still draws on many of the same central themes of queer feminist soundwork. Turning back to the table of traits originally set out in the introduction, copied again here as table 3, on initial listen, the case can be made for *Welcome to Provincetown* as a work evoking all of the major themes outlined in this study. While I would argue that its pol-

Table 3. What Is Queer Feminist Soundwork? A Few Essentials

Traits	Definition
Queer Feminist Politics	Ethos and practice are grounded in the politics of queer and lesbian feminism.
Embedded in Queer Publics	Geographically or ideologically positioned, or both, as part of a queer community.
Punk DIY Ethos	Labeled and celebrated as raw, unedited, playful, unprofessional, or punk.
Intimacy, Desire, Sexuality	Embraces sex-positive feminism and the communication of queer intimacy and desire.
Queer Experience-Driven Content	Focuses on queer stories and perspectives.
Connected to Other Media	Positioned as part of (or in contrast to) a larger media system of newspapers, magazines, internet, television, and radio.
A Balance of Serious Politics, Camp, and Play	Politically grounded in queer activism and feminism articulated through "serious" news and narrative storytelling juxtaposed with playful and campy experimentation.
Made by Queer People	Purposefully produced by collectives, groups and individuals who identify as part of the LGBTQ+ community.
Community and Individual Identity Work	Experienced as an ongoing extension or labored distillation, or both, of one's subjecthood and community identity.

ished sound doesn't read punk DIY ethos, the characters featured in the work certainly fill that role.

Whether shows like *Welcome to Provincetown* define themselves as queer feminist or not, one can certainly hear the influence of decades of queer and feminist activist ideology and care layered in its mix. It also provides new avenues of study to listen for these tenets in other works produced with queer feminist politics without explicitly naming them as such. This style of feminist sonic world-building demonstrated in *Welcome to Provincetown* reminds me of how Kaitlin Prest also describes their approach to queer feminism with *The Heart* podcast: "The method is like the Trojan horse, you know? The Trojan horse is narrative and excellent quality, like really high quality, beautifully made narrative cinematic work. And the soldiers hiding inside of the horse is our radical politics."[21] This softer approach does not have the same upfront impact of the visibility politic that shows like *Dykes on Mykes* or *The Lesbian Show* embodied through their show titles and radically queer content. Instead, it seems to harken back to the algorithmic reality of

the neoliberal capitalist patriarchal system that independent podcasters must navigate to make their work heard—through promotion and discovery across larger platforms.

As discussed in chapter 4, algorithms in the age of neoliberalism reinforce oppressive social relationships and enact what Safiya Umoja Noble terms "technological redlining."[22] Given that postfeminism is a "sensibility" deeply enmeshed with neoliberalism, queer feminist soundworkers like Mitra have developed complex media methods of subtler or hidden-from-the-surface activist politics that work to infiltrate the ears of a wider public among a digital glut of content. When queer feminist soundwork becomes caught up in marketability, in making profit to pay the bills, hiding inside the Trojan horse can become a necessary approach. Nevertheless, their work demonstrates how lesbian feminist activism has diffused into varied streams of hard and soft approaches to queer feminist soundwork. In the study of queer feminist soundwork, political phenomenology offers the ability to attend to the experiences and motivations behind these different approaches. The lived realities of trying to make queer feminist work across different contexts of community radio and podcasting speak to the particular challenges soundworkers face against neoliberal corporate diversity, platform discoverability, and community accountability. Sometimes a raised fist is needed to get the job done, a feminist call to arms, but in other contexts, a bent ear tuned to soft lips is exactly what is needed to connect with others, to share knowledge, and to build community through soundwork. The continued experimentation and variation in both stylistic approaches to queer feminist soundwork excites me about the future of media activist practices.

In speaking with queer feminist soundworkers over the past five years for this project, former members of *The Lesbian Show* and *Dykes on Mykes* shared similar sentiments when they heard the news of their show's eventual retirement from the radio dial.[23] Let us turn back to my conversation with Elana Wright and Deb VanSlet of DoMs. After hearing the original DoMs time slot was now home to a new intersectional feminist show called *Dragonroot*, Elana shared, "I feel a little sad that the show's not on anymore, but I feel that would be a continuation of our show. I'm sure. And maybe they're much more trans aware and not as limited, you know, in how they see their community." Deb then responded, "Well, I would never use the word limited to describe us, really [Elana: *It's true*.], but it's just a different time where there's just more, there's always more."[24] Here Deb and Elana recognize that the needs of community have changed. However, those needs have always been in flux, and queer feminisms past and present have long taken on strategic new forms to advocate for equity and social justice for queers and dykes

galore. Just as Jennifer Nash argues in debates on Black feminism and intersectionality, "property claim" stakes can haunt and divide "identity-driven feminism."[25] If we are to move toward more effective approaches to intersectional feminisms, we must reflexively reckon with historical engagement and labor in dialogue with a process of "letting go" to allow for new and forgotten practices and experiences to emerge.[26] Queer and feminist work must attend to backward futures that feel the past while embracing the promise of better queer futures to come.[27] In this context, Deb's and Elana's sentiments echo what is at the root of lesbian feminism, a desire for a radical reconfiguration of society for the future, a backward future that attends to the dusty weight of lesbian feminist histories while acknowledging what might be better to shake off, and perhaps even let go. From the 1970s to the present, it then comes as no surprise that queer existence sounds and feels radically different today while simultaneously evoking a sense of belonging across generations through continued creative expression, queer kinship, and community building.

Lesbian feminism is everywhere. It is not forgotten. They might go by a different name or many names, but if you bend your ear and listen, you will hear their chants and whispers in lavender reverberation.

Notes

Introduction

1. "Co-Op Radio Fundraising Drive," radio broadcast recording, *The Lesbian Show* (Vancouver, Canada, 1990 or 1989), Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony, Simon Fraser University, https://alotarchives.org/interview/co-op-radio-fundraising-drive

2. In *The Soundscape* (1977), composer and theorist R. Murray Schafer defines an earwitness as "one who testifies or can testify to what he or she has heard," 272.

3. Michele Hilmes, "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 177.

4. This book builds on a foundation of work on LGBTQ radio that shaped my early ideas of this subfield, the work of scholars such as Phylis Johnson, Chuck Hoy, and Dhyana Ziegler (1995); Sheridan Nye, Nicola Godwin, and Belinda Hollows (2000); and Phylis Johnson and Michael C. Keith (2001).

5. For more on the lavender scare, see David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

6. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Duke University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002703

7. See also the thoughtful writing on scavenging as methodology across Black studies, queer studies, and Indigenous studies by Sophie Marie Niang, "In Defence of What's There: Notes on Scavenging as Methodology," *Feminist Review* 136, no. 1 (March 1, 2024): 52–66, https://doi.org/10.1177/01417789231222606

8. Jody Berland, "Radio Space and Industrial Time: Music Formats, Local Narratives and Technological Mediation," *Popular Music* 9, no. 2 (1990): 179.

9. The fields of musicology and music psychology have long studied the effects of music on psychological factors from mood to memory (see *The Psychology of Music* by Susan Hallam, 2019). Sound has also been studied at length in our acoustic environment for its impact on physical and mental health (see Stephanie Dutchen, *"The Effects of Noise on Health," Harvard Medicine* (blog), Spring 2022, https://hms.harvard.edu/magazine/viral-world/effects-noise-health). As a result, it is not such a far leap to understand sounds' equally significant role in shaping cultural understanding, community, and subjectivity.

10. Hilmes, "On a Screen Near You," 177.

11. Sarah Sharma and Rianka Singh, eds., *Re-Understanding Media: Feminist Extensions of Marshall McLuhan* (Duke University Press, 2022), 5.

12. Lori Wright et al., "Feminist Citational Praxis and Problems of Practice," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 50, nos. 3–4 (2022): 124–40.

13. Jonathan Sterne, *Diminished Faculties: A Political Phenomenology of Impairment* (Duke University Press, 2022), 11.

14. Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Harvard University Press, 2007), 175.

15. Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place* (New York University Press, 2005).

16. Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*, Series Q (Duke University Press, 2004).

17. José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, 10th anniversary ed., Sexual Cultures (New York University Press, 2019).

18. Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, E-Duke Books Scholarly Collection (Duke University Press, 2006).

19. bell hooks, *Feminism Is for Everybody* (Routledge, 2015), 1.

20. Allyson Mitchell and Cait McKinney, *Inside Killjoy's Kastle: Dykey Ghosts, Feminist Monsters, and Other Lesbian Hauntings* (UBC Press, 2019), 16.

21. Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Duke University Press, 2017), 216.

22. It is important to note that calling out and addressing the trans-exclusionary and racist practices of groups who take up lesbian, feminist, or queer banners continues to be crucial. Further discussions on these histories are unpacked in chapters to come. As I outline further in chapter 1, feminisms that exclude trans people and do not employ antiracist practices are not the feminisms this study is interested in giving a scholarly platform.

23. Adrienne Rich, *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979–1985* (Norton, 1986), 23.

24. Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 213.

25. Rox Samer, *Lesbian Potentiality and Feminist Media in the 1970s* (Duke University Press, 2022), 4.

26. "Future histories" is a nod to the work of Stephanie Dinkins. During the late stages of my writing, they came on my radar as an increasingly influential creator and theorist in my thinking on race, gender, and sexuality in the study of digital technologies. "Future histories" is a nod, particularly to Stephanie Dinkins's essay "Afro-now-ism," *Noēma*, June 2020, https://www.noemamag.com/afro-now-ism

27. See works such as Kara Keeling, "Queer OS," *Cinema Journal* 53, no. 2 (2014): 152–57, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2014.0004; and Kate McNicholas Smith, *Lesbians on Television: New Queer Visibility & the Lesbian Normal* (Intellect, 2020), https://directory.doabooks.org/handle/20.500.12854/64076.

28. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 132.

29. Dayna McLeod, Jasmine Rault, and T. L. Cowan, "Speculative Praxis towards a Queer Feminist Digital Archive: A Collaborative Research-Creation Project," July 2014, 294, https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/26990

30. See "Gay Radio Talk Show," *Gay: A Newsletter* 1 (January 16th, 1973): 1, for mention of Montréal Gay. Montréal Gay may be the show that David Shannon and Donnie Rossiter participated in before starting the *HomoShow*, the gay men's program on CKUT alongside *Dykes on Mykes*.

31. Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), "Campus and Community Radio Policy—CRTC's 2010 Revised Policy for Campus and Community Radio Stations," Regulatory policies (Government of Canada, CRTC), July 22, 2010, https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/archive/2010/2010-499.htm.

32. Becki Ross, "The House That Jill Built: Lesbian Feminist Organizing in Toronto, 1976–1980," *Feminist Review*, no. 35 (1990): 65, https://doi.org/10.2307/1395402

33. *Dykes on Mykes*' French language counterpart *Lesbo-sons*, formerly known as *Funky Gouines* then *La Ballade des Furies*, continues to air on CKUT 90.3FM. For this study, I limited the focus to English-language shows as francophone lesbian feminism in Quebec holds its unique context and history that I hope to attend more closely to in future research on Canadian queer feminist soundwork. As I write, I have begun correspondence with the Archives lesbiennes du Quebec where a collection of radio recordings is reportedly held.

34. Vinny Mohr, "Co-op Radio Committed to Non-sexist Policies," *Vancouver Sun*, May 31, 1983, newspaper clipping from radio station organizer.

35. Nym Hughes, Yvonne Johnson, and Yvette Perreault, *Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism* (Press Gang Publishers, 1984), 139.

36. Hughes, Johnson, and Perreault, *Stepping Out of Line*, 139.

37. For more on the legacy of *Rubymusic*, see Connie Kuhns, *Rubymusic: A Popular History of Women's Music and Culture* (Caitlin Press, 2023), https://caitlinpress.com/Books/R/Rubymusic

38. The date *The Lesbian Show* had its final broadcast is unconfirmed, but 2014 is the most likely year, given the time slot takeover on Thursdays at 7:30 pm (TLS's last known airtime) by *Gender Queeries* according to Co-Op Radio staff inquiries on my behalf in 2022.

39. You can listen to *Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives* "Part 1—Love, Radio, and Lesbian Separatism" here: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.7

40. M-C MacPhee and Mel Hogan, "The Importance of Community-Based Media for Building and Sustaining Lesbian Subcultures: The Role of Montréal's Dykes on Mykes Radio Show," *Global Media Journal* 5, no. 12 (2006): 1–5.

41. "CKUT 30th Anniversary Zine," CKUT Time Capsule Project, 2017, http://online.fliphtml5.com/jzwy/glgr/#p=1, 23.

42. While I speak in the past tense about DoMs throughout this book, the radio show has since returned to the airwaves. Dykes on Mykes is back as of 2025 on CKUT Montreal with host Becca Love reviving the show's lesbian politics for a new audience (https://ckut.ca/playlists/DM).

43. Wayne R. Dynes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality: Volume I* (Routledge, 2016), 335–6, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315670782,

44. MacPhee and Hogan, "Importance of Community-Based Media," 3.

45. Listen to *Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives* "Part 2—A Box of Tapes" here: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.8

46. Quote from Deanne Smith, "The Birth of No More Potlucks," *Xtra Magazine* (blog), February 9, 2009, https://xtramagazine.com/culture/the-birth-of-no-more-potlucks-37114. *No More Potlucks* was active from 2009 to 2018 at nomorepotlucks.org, featuring writing from a variety of artists, activists, and researchers on topics ranging from gendered affective labor and community-building to the aesthetics and politics of porn.

47. Sidney (they/them) was formerly known by the name "Sara" at the time of interview for this project in 2021. Mentions of "Sara" in this text have been changed to Sidney, by their request, as of September 2024. Note: the original transcript and past episodes of *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* analyzed by the author and cited in this book include audio mentions of Sidney under their former name—Sara Gill.

48 *Xena: Warrior Princess* ran for six seasons from 1995 to 2001, starring Lucy Lawless (Xena) and Renee O'Connor (Gabrielle). The show is a fantasy action-comedy about a warrior princess (Xena) traveling around ancient Greece and fighting evil with her bard and "friend" Gabrielle.

49. Siobhán McHugh, "How Podcasting Is Changing the Audio Storytelling Genre," *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14, no. 1 (April 2016): 12, https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.65_1

50. See works by authors such as Sarah Florini, *Beyond Hashtags: Racial Politics and Black Digital Networks*, *beyond Hashtags* (New York University Press, 2015), and Siobhán McHugh, *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound* (Columbia University Press, 2022).

51. Chloe Krause and Sidney Gill, interview with the author about *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, November 8, 2021.

52. While I do not unpack *Me & AU* in detail in the chapters to come, you can listen to an excerpt of *Me & AU* and my interview with Andrea Klassen alongside other select works from the shows included in this study. I look forward to future studies on the vast world of queer audio fiction.

53. I draw on queer cultural scholars such as Mimi Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory*, 2nd ed. (Zed Books, 2016), and Sam McBean, *Feminism's Queer Temporalities* (Routledge, 2015).

54. My own engagement at this intersection is thanks to works such as Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Christine Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930–1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2015); Jennifer Lynn Stoever, *The Sonic Color Line* (New York University Press, 2016).

55. Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Duke University Press, 2010), 96, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184

56. Here I am inspired by the work of Karen Barad on intra-action to replace "interaction," Intra-action positions agency not as an inherent trait of a person or an individual that can be exercised but as a dynamism of forces. The term can be used to describe not only human-to-human connectivity but also the constant role of "things" like technology as equal agents in intra-action. Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Duke University Press, 2007).

57. For another theoretical approach to a "feminist ear" from a film studies perspective, see Pavitra Sundar, *Listening with a Feminist Ear: Soundwork in Bombay Cinema* (University of Michigan Press, 2023).

58. Alison Harvey, *Feminist Media Studies* (Polity Press, 2019), 39–40.

59. Amy Spencer, *DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture*, 2nd ed. (Marion Boyars, 2008), 8.

60. See chapter 3 "In Bed with Radiotopians" for more discussion of *The Heart* and podcast intimacy as part of Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann's *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution* (Bloomsbury, 2019).

61. Cait McKinney, *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies* (Duke University Press, 2020).

62. Safiya Umoja Noble, "Introduction: The Power of Algorithms," in *Algorithms of Oppression*: *How Search Engines Reinforce Racism* (New York University Press, 2018), 1–14, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1pwt9w5.4

63. Hughes, Johnson, and Perreault, *Stepping Out of Line*, 139.

64. Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 84.

65. Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 85.

66. Rianka Singh, "Platform Feminism: Protest and the Politics of Spatial Organization," *Ada New Media*, November 2018. Singh offers a theory of inclination as a potential mode of marginalized action by drawing on Adriana Cavarero, *Inclinations: A Critique of Rectitude*, trans. Amanda Minervini and Adam Sitze (Stanford University Press, 2016).

Chapter 1

1. You can hear audio excerpts of Jamie's box delivery in the accompanying audio documentary to this book. Listen to "Part 2—A Box of Tapes": https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.8

2. Alison Harvey, *Feminist Media Studies* (Polity Press, 2019), 5. Emphasis my own.

3. Here, I draw on the work of Komarine Romdenh-Romluc, who writes of an intersubjective world of things; her reinterpretations of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception have been boundlessly helpful. Komarine Romdenh-Romluc, *Routledge Philosophy GuideBook to Merleau-Ponty and Phenomenology of Perception* (Routledge, 2010), 17.

4. Here I draw on Elizabeth Freeman's conceptualization of temporal drag as a mode of putting on masculinities and femininities of the past that have perhaps been thrown away or relegated to a different time and place. Freeman notes the pull that "lesbian" and especially "lesbian feminist" carries binding it to the past. Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Duke University Press, 2010), https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184

5. Freeman, *Time Binds*, 65.

6. North American " queer" politics began to emerge in the mid-1980s and 1990s with the formation of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) to pressure the US government to develop affordable drugs for people with HIV/AIDS. The establishment of Queer Nation quickly followed in order to challenge homophobic violence and heterosexism in mainstream society.

7. Mimi Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory* , 2nd ed. (Zed Books, 2016), 105.

8. See, for example, E. Patrick Johnson, "'Quare' Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know about Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2010): 1–25; Jasmine Rault, "White Noise, White Affects: Filtering the Sameness of Queer Suffering," *Feminist Media Studies* 17, no. 4 (July 4, 2017): 585–99.

9. Christine Ehrick, Adriana Caverero, and Nina Sun Eidsheim are writers through whom I draw inspiration on the politics of embodied voice. Christine Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930–1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2015); Adriana Cavarero, *For More Than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*, trans. Paul A. Kottman (Stanford University Press, 2005); Nina Sun Eidsheim, *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music* (Duke University Press, 2019).

10. Annamarie Jagose, "Feminism's Queer Theory," *Feminism & Psychology* 19, no. 2 (May 2009): 172.

11. Teresa de Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities—An Introduction," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 3, no. 2 (Summer 1991): iii–iv.

12. de Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities," x–xi.

13. Teresa de Lauretis, "Habit Changes," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 6, nos. 2–3 (1994): 297.

14. de Lauretis, "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities," iv.

15. Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer*, xv.

16. For the introspective turn in Black feminism, see Jennifer C. Nash, Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality (Duke University Press, 2019).

17. Merriam-Webster's definition of intersectionality intriguingly excludes any note of Black feminism, homophobia, or transphobia: "the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalized individuals or groups." https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/intersectionality

18. Here I quote Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*, 7. It is important to note here that intersectionality's origins are often attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw's key texts on the subject; "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics" (1989) and "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color" (1991).

19. Robyn Wiegman, *Object Lessons* (Duke University Press, 2012), 302.

20. Adapted from reflections on "feminist utopia" and the "etc." in Jennifer C. Nash, "On Difficulty: Intersectionality as Feminist Labor," *Polyphonic Feminisms: Acting in Concert* 8, no. 3 (Summer 2010), https://sfonline.barnard.edu/polyphonic/print_nash.htm

21. Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, 302.

22. Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*, 138.

23. Here my understanding of "media" draws on Lisa Gitelman (2006) to define media "as socially realized structures of communication . . . and where communication is a culture practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map, sharing or engaged with popular ontologies of representation." Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (MIT Press, 2006), 1–22.

24. Miranda Banks et al., "Editors' Introduction: Genealogies of Feminist Media Studies (Book Review)," *Feminist Media Histories* 4, no. 2 (2018): 3.

25. For more on how culturally shared understandings and conceptions of "imagined" publics relate to media texts and their circulation, see Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Zone Books, 2002), and Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Polity Press, 2013). For how sex and sexuality are mediated by publics, see Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Sex in Public," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998): 547–66, https://doi.org/10.1086/448884

26. Stuart Hall's (1980) "encoding/decoding" is a theoretical approach to understanding the different ways audiences are presented messages through production, format, distribution, marketing, and so forth,., and in turn how those messages can be decoded or interpreted differently depending on the audience member/listener/spectator politics, background, and personal experiences. Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language* (Routledge, 1980).

27. Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer*, 33.

28. Jasbir Puar's concept of "assemblages" could be a valuable route for further exploration. Where "assemblages encompass not only ongoing attempts to destabilize identities and grids, but also the forces that continue to mandate and enforce them. That is to say, grid making is a recognized process of agencement." Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Duke University Press, 2007), 63.

29. Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer*, 34. What queer and intersectional feminist scholars may find through an "introspective turn" is the still very applicable concept in action—"*Strategic essentialism*," "whereby groups with mutual goals and interests temporarily present themselves[as] a united front, while simultaneously engaging in ongoing and less public disagreement and debate." Marinucci, *Feminism Is Queer*, 109.

30. In particular, historical events in the development of the public sphere, modern mass communication, and standards for media literacy.

31. See Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922–1952* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), and Brian Fauteux, *Music in Range* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015).

32. Kate Lacey, "Up in the Air? The Matter of Radio Studies," *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 16, no. 2 (October 1, 2018): 109–26, https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.16.2.109_1

33. Take, for example, the transition of the *Journal of Radio Studies* (1997–2007) to the *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* (2008–present) with expanded areas of research interest: "formats and programming, new technology, policy and regulation, rating systems, commercial and noncommercial networks, radio history, management and innovation, personalities, popular cultures, uses and effects studies, propaganda, social movements, advertising and sales, market concentration, Internet and satellite radio, podcasting, alternative formats, diversity, gender and international radio" (*Journal of Radio and Audio Media*, 2018 Aims and Scope).

34. Lacey, "Up in the Air?," 22.

35. Richard Berry, "Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 12, no. 2 (2006); Dario Llinares, Neil Fox, and Richard Berry, *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

36. I define this in the introduction but define it again here for quick reference: Hilmes defines soundwork as "media forms that are primarily aural, employing the three basic elements of sonic expression—music, speech, and noise—to create a lively economy of sound-based commodities and institutions." Michele Hilmes, "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 177–82, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0021

37. Michele Hilmes, "Soundwork: Something to Work With," *Resonance* 1, no. 4 (December 1, 2020): 340–43, https://doi.org/10.1525/res.2020.1.4.340

38. Sarah Murray, "Coming-of-Age in a Coming-of-Age: The Collective Individualism of Podcasting's Intimate Soundwork," *Popular Communication* 17, no. 4 (October 2, 2019): 304 https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2019.1622117

39. Murray, "Coming-of-Age in a Coming-of-Age," 302.

40. Rosalind Gill, "Unspeakable Inequalities: Post Feminism, Entrepreneurial Subjectivity, and the Repudiation of Sexism among Cultural Workers," *Social Politics* 21, no. 4 (2014): 509–28; Benjamin Anderson, "Refining Creative Labour: Precarity and

Autonomy in Cultural and Craft Industries," *Labour / Le Travail* 84, no. 1 (2019): 325–31, https://doi.org/10.1353/llt.2019.0042

41. I want to note here that a portion of this page is an excerpt from a chapter on podcasting practice I coauthored with Hannah McGregor and Katherine McLeod in the edited collection *Podcast Studies: Practice into Theory* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2024). The chapter titled "The Kitchen Table Is Always Where We Are: Podcasting as Feminist Self-Reflexive Practice" further addresses some of the key ideas on feminist self-reflexivity discussed here.

42. Dmitri Zakharine and Nils Meise, *Electrified Voices: Medial, Socio-Historical and Cultural Aspects of Voice Transfer* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 209, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ryerson/detail.action?docID=1102513

43. Anne McKay, "Speaking Up: Voice Amplification and Women's Struggle for Public Expression," in *Women and Radio: Airing Differences*, ed. Caroline Mitchell (Routledge, 2000), 15–28.

44. Jennifer Lynn Stoever, *The Sonic Color Line: Race and the Cultural Politics of Listening* (New York University Press, 2016), http://muse.jhu.edu/book/56459

45. Lacey, *Listening Publics*, 72.

46. Stoever, *Sonic Color Line*, 14.

47. Stoever, *Sonic Color Line*, 13.

48. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (October 1, 1975): 6–18, https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6

49. Stoever, *Sonic Color Line*, 7.

50. Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 15.

51. Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 45.

52. See Richard Berry, "Podcasting: Considering the Evolution of the Medium and Its Association with the Word 'Radio,'" *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14, no. 1 (April 2016): 7–22, https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.7_1; Siobhán McHugh, *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound* (Columbia University Press, 2022); and Alyn Euritt, *Podcasting as an Intimate Medium* (Routledge, 2023).

53. The lack of research into race and podcasting has been called out by Black scholars such as Kim Fox while they also work to fill this gap. See, for example, Kim Fox, David O. Dowling, and Kyle Miller, "A Curriculum for Blackness: Podcasts as Discursive Cultural Guides, 2010–2020," *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 27, no. 2 (November 2020): 298–318, https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1801687

54. Christine Mottram, "Finding a Pitch That Resonates: An Examination of Gender and Vocal Authority in Podcasting," *Voice & Speech Review* 10, no. 1 (2016): 53–69, https://doi.org/10.1080/23268263.2017.1282683, 66. Furthermore, as Freja Adler Berg points out in their study of Danish women's podcasting, hosts being "publicly criticized" as "immature" and "incompetent" due to the sound of their higher-pitched conversational tone continue to permeate the media industry. Freja Sørine Adler Berg, "Podcasting about Yourself and Challenging Norms: An Investigation of Independent Women Podcasters in Denmark," *Nordicom Review* 43, no. 1 (2022): 94–110, https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0006

55. Salomé Voegelin, *Sonic Possible Worlds, Revised Edition: Hearing the Continuum of Sound* (Bloomsbury, 2021), 35, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/sfu-ebooks/detail.action?docID=6416244

56. Steph Ceraso, *Sounding Composition: Multimodal Pedagogies for Embodied Listening* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 6, http://muse.jhu.edu/book/60438

57. Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape*, 7.

58. Kate Lacey, in *Listening Publics*, opens their introduction with a discussion of how listening has been overlooked in conceptualizations of the "public sphere" and in the study of media at large. Lacey's contribution advocates explicitly for a shift in ideologies, discourse, and political practice to locate "listening as a category that bridges both the realm of sensory, embodied experience and the political realm of debate and deliberation." Lacey, *Listening Publics*, 8.

59. Stoever, *Sonic Color Line*, 13.

60. Stoever, *Sonic Color Line*, 14–15.

61. Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* (Routledge, 2007), 124.

62. Lisa Yuk Ming Leung, "Online Radio Listening as 'Affective Publics'? (Closeted) Participation in the Post-Umbrella Movement Everyday," *Cultural Studies* 32, no. 4 (July 4, 2018): 511, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2017.1357133.

63. John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (SAGE, 2017), 159.

64. Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Duke University Press, 2017).

65. Daniel Makagon and Mark Neumann, *Recording Culture: Audio Documentary and the Ethnographic Experience* (SAGE, 2009), 26, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452226590

66. Kristidel McGregor, "Toward a Phenomenology of the Material," *Qualitative Inquiry* 26, no. 5 (2020): 507–13, https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419836690

Chapter 2

1. Sex Garage was a series of after-hours parties in Montreal's Old Montreal district that catered to LGBTQ+ patrons in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The 1990 Montreal Sex Garage Raid demonstrations marked a crucial turning point in Canadian 2SLGBTQ+ history.

2. Dayna McLeod (host), "Pervers/Cite," July 23, 2007, in *Dykes on Mykes*, radio broadcast, CKUT Montreal.

3. Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Duke University Press, 2012), 347. This opening scene is also excerpted in my chapter "Finding Queer Soundwork: Information Activism in Lesbian Feminist Radio and Queer Podcast Networks" in *The Oxford Handbook of Radio and Podcasting*, ed. Michele Hilmes and Andrew Bottomley (Oxford University Press, 2024.

4. Michele Hilmes, "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 177–82, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0021

5. According to Barbie Zelizer and Stuart Allan, "the first self-described magazine was the Gentleman's Magazine: or Trader's Monthly Intelligencer founded in 1731, which offered a news digest of events" in London, England: *Keywords in News and Journalism Studies* (McGraw-Hill, 2010, 72.

6. Wayne Munson, *All Talk: The Talkshow in Media Culture* (Temple University Press, 1993), 26.

7. Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power* (Stanford University Press, 1997), 10–11.

8. Shannon Herrick, interview with author about *Dykes on Mykes*, December 14, 2020.

9. Karuna Chandrashekar and Shraddha Chatterjee, "Speculations on Lesbian Feminism as Erotic Friendship," in *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatriarchies*, ed. Niharika Banjera et al. (Zed Books, 2019), 117.

10. Mel Hogan and M-C MacPhee, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

11. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (Routledge, 2012), 159.

12. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1984).

13. MacPhee as quoted in Hogan and MacPhee interview, 2020.

14. Lisa Nakamura, *Cybertypes* (Routledge, 2002).

15. Richard Burrnett. "Where in the World Is Montreal's Babyface?," *Xtra Magazine* (blog), January 28, 2010, https://xtramagazine.com/culture/where-in-the-world-is-montreals-babyface-30848

16. Searches for "Ricky et Ruby" at the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales Du Québec return numerous newspaper advertisements for the South American dancers-singers doing limbo-calypso at various Montreal hotels and nightclubs. See, for example, "L'Hotel Balmoral," *Courrier du Sud*, August 27, 1969, Collections de BAnQ.

17. Sara Ahmed writes, "to inhabit any place is a dynamic negotiation between the familiar and the unfamiliar," in *Queer Phenomenology* (Duke University Press, 2006), 8.

18. Eirene Cloma, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, Oct 18, 2020.

19. Pantayo's track "Divine" is also the theme song for to the audio companion to this book—*Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives* available online (see Author's Note for links).

20. Cloma interview, 2020.

21. Sam Akdogan, "Is Langara Really a Tolerant Place?," *Langara Voice Newspaper* (blog), February 7, 2013, https://issuu.com/langara-journalism/docs/voice14.13

22. Yolande Cole, "Vancouver Park Board to Establish Trans and Gender-Variant Working Group," *The Georgia Straight* (blog), May 14, 2013, https://www.straight.com/news/381471/vancouver-park-board-establish-trans-and-gender-variant-working-group

23. Cole, "Vancouver Park Board."

24. I have placed "feminist" in quotes here because I do not think anyone should be able to call themselves a feminist if their feminism is trans-exclusionary. While I have yet to come across in-depth discussions of trans politics in *The Lesbian Show* archives and collections, trans-inclusive or exclusive beyond the anecdotal shared here, Vancouver Co-Op Radio does have a history of transphobic activity related to the presence of trans-exclusionary radical feminist Meghan Murphy. Murphy was involved with Co-Op Radio's feminist show *The F Word* from 2010 to 2012 before launching their online magazine and podcast *Feminist Current*.

25. Cloma interview, 2020.

26. Erica Ciszek, Paxton Haven, and Nneka Logan, "Amplification and the Limits of Visibility: Complicating Strategies of Trans Voice and Representations on Social Media," *New Media & Society* 25, no. 7 (2021), 1461444821103l0-, https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211031031

27. See emerging works on transgender identity and podcasting, such as Christina DeJong, Max Osborn, and Harnoor Kaur, "Trans Panic: The Representation of Trans Women as Murder Victims in True Crime Podcasts," in *The (Mis)Representation of Queer Lives in True Crime* (Routledge, 2023); and Ella Watts's chapter, "Queer Networks versus Global Corporations: The Battle for the Soul of Audio Fiction," in *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Radio*, ed. Kathryn McDonald and High Chignell (Bloomsbury, 2023).

28. Dorothy Forester, "Letters to the Editor," *TransSisters: The Journal of Transsexual Feminism* (Summer 1994). Digital Transgender Archive, 2.

29. This issue of *Transsisters* (issue #5, summer 1994) also includes writing on protests against the exclusion of transsexual women from the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, transsexual organizing, and the establishment of a transgender caucus within historically gay and lesbian activist groups such as Hands of Washington, and an interview with playwright and performance artist Kate Bornstein on gender politics, transsexuality, lesbian sexuality, and lesbian separatism.

30. Dorothy Forster, *Lesbian Show [Dorothy Forster]* (Vancouver, Canada, 1995), Co-Op Radio Fonds, City of Vancouver Archives, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/lesbian-show-dorothy-forster

31. Cait McKinney, *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies* (Duke University Press, 2020), 42.

32. "Danielle," *Onmyplanet.ca* (blog), February 24, 2013, https://onmyplanet.ca/danielle/

33. Grandview Park at Commercial and Charles in Vancouver is so well known for its role in queer history that in 2018 the city erected a temporary "Dyke Chilling Park" sign in honor of the Dyke March and Eastside Pride events among many others that take place there each year. The sign gained a huge response online, including a petition to keep the sign as a permanent fixture.

34. Allyson Nadia Field, "Editor's Introduction: Acts of Speculation," *Feminist Media Histories* 8, no. 3 (July 1, 2022): 1–7, https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2022.8.3.1

35. Legacy Russell, *Glitch Feminism* (Verso, 2020).

36. Here I draw on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1985/1996 to define strategic essentialism as a group tactic to present a temporary united front when mutual goals and interests can benefit from an essentializing unity, when engaging with public disagreement and debate.

37. Russell, *Glitch Feminism*, 14–16.

38. Aristea Fotopoulou and Kate O'Riordan, "Introduction: Queer Feminist Media Praxis," *Ada New Media* (blog), July 7, 2014, https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/items/be61eafe-0d26-4cdd-bfb6-83af3f228f8b

39. See, for example, Radhika Gajjala and Yeon Ju Oh, *Cyberfeminism 2.0* (Peter Lang, 2020).

40. Quote from Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Duke University Press, 2010), 297. As Freeman (2010) and Judith Butler (2002) both outline so eloquently in their work on queer kinship, it is equally important to note that ethnic, racial, and working-class communities have long histories of "expansive notions of kinship that supersede the genealogical grid, a fact reflected in many ethnographic studies" of community, which demonstrate that such approaches are not an exclusively queer kin phenomenon (Freeman, *Time Binds*, 303).

41. Freeman, *Time Binds*, 299.

42. The term parasociality was first coined by Horton and Wohl (1956) to describe the "illusion of intimacy" an at-home audience feels for radio or television performers.

43. This experience of sound media's uncanniness versus its actuality as "canned" and stored for playback is further explored in Jonathan Sterne's notable sound studies text, *The Audible Past* (2003, chap. 6). Sterne outlines the history of the canned recordings metaphor as resulting from recorded sounds evolution alongside the canning industry boom of the mid-1800s. Canned recordings are then equated as not as good as the "real thing," just as canned food is thought of as not as good as fresh. Here I push against such cultural understandings of recorded voice as not as "good" as analog voice. Instead, I argue such debates take away from the multiplicity that sonic subjectivity across its many forms can contribute to dimensions of body-technology relations.

44. Mitra Kaboli, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.

45. Deb VanSlet and Elana Wright, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.

46. *Missing and Murdered: Finding Cleo* is an award-winning 2018 investigative true-crime podcast by CBC, hosted by Connie Walker. It follows the decades-long search for Cleo Semaganis Nicotine, a young Cree girl taken from her family during Canada's Sixties Scoop—a period when Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in non-Indigenous foster or adoptive care. Stacey Copeland and Lauren Knight, "Indigenizing the National Broadcast Soundscape—CBC Podcast: Missing and Murdered: Finding Cleo," *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 19, no. 1 (April 1, 2021): 102.

47. Norie Neumark, "Introduction: Voice, Voicetracks, New Materialism," in *Voicetracks* (MIT Press, 2017), 70.

48. Copeland and Knight, "Indigenizing the National Broadcast Soundscape," 2021, 103.

49. José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, 10th anniversary ed., Sexual Cultures (New York University Press, 2019), 48.

50. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 91.

51. Erin McGregor (host), "The Atlanta Letters," November 25, 2019, in *Queer Public*, audio podcast, runtime: 41 minutes, time stamp: 00:40.

52. "The Atlanta Letters," time stamp: 01:45.

53. Music track is from *Songs Linda Wrote Herself* (recorded album) by Linda Bruner, 2010.

54. Hogan and MacPhee interview, 2020.

55. Erin McGregor, interview with the author about *Queer Public*, April 22, 2021.

56. The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, often referred to as Michfest, was an annual women's music festival from 1976 to 2015. "Womyn-born womyn" policies started in the 1990s led to Trans action against the festival and criticism from numerous human rights and LGBTQ+ organizations. A new women's music festival denoted as "a safe and inclusive space for all women" debuted on the same property as Michfest (known as "The Land") in August 2022 under the name Fern Fest, http://www.michiganfernfest.com/

57. Erin McGregor (host), "Atlanta," December 23, 2019, in *Queer Public*, audio podcast, run time: 22 minutes, time stamp: 07:20.

58. Silva Tenenbein (interviewed), "The Lesbian Show" (radio broadcast),, *FemRadio*. The Scope 1280AM. Toronto, Canada: CJRU, March 26, 2018.

59. Cynthia Brooke, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.

60. Vett Lloyd, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, October 15, 2020.

Chapter 3

1. *FemRadio*, "The Lesbian Show," Silva Tenenbein (interviewee) and Stacey Copeland (host), radio broadcast March 26, 2018, CJRU 1280AM, Toronto.

2. The Lesbian Show Collective (producers), "The Humour Feature" (radio broadcast recording), *The Lesbian Show*, Vancouver Co-Op Radio, Vancouver, Canada, October 20, 1983.

The "Dykes in Space" clip selection is 14:29–32:24 (min:secs) of the broadcast audio file available through the City of Vancouver Archives. *The Lesbian Show* humour feature: side 1, Co-op Radio fonds, City of Vancouver Archives, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/the-lesbian-show-humour-feature-side-1

3. Morris Meyer, Morris, "Under the Sign of Wilde: An Archeology of Posing," In *The Politics and Poetics of Camp*ed. Morris Meyer (Routledge, 1994), 65–93.

4. Richard Dyer, *The Culture of Queers* (Routledge, 2002); David M. Halperin, *How to Be Gay* (Harvard University Press, 2012).

5. Elly-Jean Nielsen, "Lesbian Camp: An Unearthing," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 20, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 116–35, https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2015.1046040

6. As I work on revising this chapter in the summer of 2024, we are experiencing what some pop culture writers are coining a "Lesbian Renaissance" led by singer Chappell Roan. The artist's stage aesthetic increasingly draws on queer camp, including lesbian camp aesthetics in their visual and sonic forms. I look forward to the cultural research on lesbian camp and sapphic sounds the artist's rise to fame will surely evoke. See Miriam Balanescu, "We're in the Midst of a Lesbian Renaissance," *Dazed* (blog), June 14, 2024, https://www.dazeddigital.com/life-culture/article/62761/1/welcome-to-the-lesbian-renaissance-billie-eilish-chappell-roan

7. Nielsen, "Lesbian Camp," 121.

8. You can hear this via the audio recording in the archive, which is also excerpted in the accompanying audio documentary.

9. Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 200.

10. As observed in Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (Anchor Books, 1966).

11. Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 189.

12. *The Lesbian Show* Collective, 1983.

13. Cynthia Brooke, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.

14. Brooke, interview, 2020.

15. Nielsen, "Lesbian Camp," 120.

16. Chloe Krause and Sidney Gill, interview with the author about *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, November 8, 2021.

17. Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Duke University Press, 2010), 64.

18. This subtitle, "The Play's the Thing," is a nod to the *Xena: Warrior Princess* episode of the same name that originally aired on March 15, 1999. In the episode, Gabrielle is tricked into directing a theater play that, unbeknownst to her, is being financed by dangerous warlords as a money scheme by producer Zehra, who hires Gabrielle because they want the play to fail and think Gabrielle doesn't make work with mass appeal.

19. Susanna Paasonen, "Many Splendored Things: Sexuality, Playfulness and Play," *Sexualities* 21, no. 4 (2018): 537, https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460717731928

20. See, for example, on this topic, Liam Wignall and Mark McCormack, "An Exploratory Study of a New Kink Activity: 'Pup Play,'" *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 46 (April 1, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0636-8

21. It is important to note that while Silva and *The Lesbian Show*, as well as various other shows in this study, embraced a sex-positive feminist approach, lesbian feminism was not immune to the sex wars of the 1980s as individuals found themselves divided when it came to the topics of pornography and sexual subcultures such as sadomasochism. For more on lesbian feminism and the sex wars, see "Sisterhood, Separatism and Sex Wars" by Sophie Robinson in *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatriarchies*, ed. Nikarika Banerja, Kath Browne, Eduarda Ferreira, Marta Olasik, and Julie Podmore (Zed Books, 2019), 29–44.

22. Lauren Berlant and Lee Edelman, *Sex, or the Unbearable* (Duke University Press, 2013), 6.

23. Krause and Gill, interview, 2021.

24. Krause and Gill, interview, 2021.

25. See, for example, Birch Moonwomon-Baird, "Toward a Study of Lesbian Speech," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (Oxford University Press, 1997), 202–213, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195104707.003.0012; Ruth Morgan and Kathleen Wood, "Lesbians in the Living Room: Collusion, Co-construction, and Co-narration in Conversation," in *Beyond the Lavender Lexicon*, ed. William Leap (Gordon and Breach, 1995). See also the Lavender Language and Linguistic Conference, which has run annually since 1993. "The conference claims to be the longest running LGBT studies conference in the US" (LAVLANG 2021). https://digitalcommons.ciis.edu/lavlang/

26. See, for example, Christine Mottram's 2016 article "Finding a Pitch That Resonates," *Voice &Speech Review* 10, no. 1: 53–69, which takes on the topic of "authoritative voice" in relation to gender and podcasting.

27. Robin M. Queen, "'I Don't Speak Spritch': Locating Lesbian Language," in *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall (Oxford University Press, 1997), 233, https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195104707.003.0014

28. Queen, "'I Don't Speak Spritch,'" 240.

29. Here I draw on Sara Ahmed's concept of the "feminist killjoy" as someone who calls our sexism, racism, homophobia, or other forms of inequality and is thus perceived to disrupt "happy" narratives in prioritizing political justice over the comfort of others. This killjoy stance can also be applied in comedy where humor is used to expose and critique patriarchal systems as absurd through sharing frustrations and marginalized perspectives. Joanne Gilbert, *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique* (Wayne State University Press, 2004), https://wsupress.wayne.edu/9780814328033

30. Gilbert, *Performing Marginality*, 172.

31. Adorno and Horkheimer as quoted in Gilbert, *Performing Marginality*, 112.

32. Jennifer Reed, "Sexual Outlaws: Queer in a Funny Way," *Women's Studies* 40, no. 6 (September 2011): 762–77, https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2011.585590

33. Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Duke University Press, 2010), 87.

34. Sarah Balkin, "The Killjoy Comedian: Hannah Gadsby's Nanette," *Theatre Research International* 45, no. 1 (2020), 76, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0307883319000592

35. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 65.

36. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 87.

37. Hyper-intimacy is discussed in similar ways in Richard Berry, "Part of the Establishment: Reflecting on 10 Years of Podcasting as an Audio Medium," *Convergence* 22, no. 6 (2016): 661–71, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856516632105

38. While immersive soundwork production is not addressed in this chapter, spatial audio techniques are well established across media forms from film to virtual reality gaming and are now being increasingly taken up in the podcast space, as explored in Abigail Wincott, Jean Martin, and Ivor Richards, "Telling Stories in Sound Space: Placement, Embodiment and Authority in Immersive Audio Journalism," *Radio Journal* 19, no. 2 (2021): 253–70. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00048_1

39. Erin Cory and Hugo Boothby, "Sounds Like 'Home': The Synchrony and Dissonance of Podcasting as Boundary Object," *Radio Journal* 19, no. 1 (2021): 117–36, https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00037_1

40. Cory and Boothby, "Sounds Like 'Home,'" 118.

41. Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39," *Social Studies of Science* 19, no. 3 (1989): 387–420, https://doi.org/10.1177/030631289019003001. Star and Griesemer's proposition of boundary objects critically addresses the Latour-Callon model of interessement, or the use of devices by actors for interessement in other actors' translation process that "impose on or stabilize" definitions across networks. Star and Griesemer address interessement, or "the challenge intersecting social worlds pose to the coherence of translations" (Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects," 389), as taken from the work of Michel Callon (1986) and Bruno Latour (1986).

42. Star and Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology," 393.

43. Susan Leigh Star, "This Is Not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept," *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 35, no. 5 (2010), https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243910377624

44. Anna Durnová and Elaheh Mohammadi, "Intimacy, Home, and Emotions in the Era of the Pandemic," *Sociology Compass* 15, no. 4 (2021): e12852, https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12852

45. Ilana R. Emmett, "Feeling at Home: Sound, Affect and Domesticity on Radio Soap Operas," *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 19, no. 1 (April 2021): 23–39, https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00032_1

46. Amy Spencer, *DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture*, 2nd ed. (Marion Boyars, 2008), 8.

47. Spencer, *DIY*, 139.

48. Spencer, *DIY*, 140.

49. Curran Nault, *Queercore: Queer Punk Media Subculture* (Routledge, 2019), 2.

50. Quote from Krause and Gill, interview, 2021. TERF is a commonly used acronym for "Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminists." While commonly used, I also want to note how problematic the term TERF can be in perpetuating antifeminist narratives and reducing the wide array of radical feminist histories to transphobic events. If your feminism is trans-exclusionary, then it's NOT feminism. Let's stop giving them the pleasure of association.

51. Krause and Gill, interview, 2021.

52. Krause and Gill, interview, 2021.

53. Nault, *Queercore*, 9.

54. Nault, *Queercore*, 2.

55. Maria Katharina Wiedlack, *Queer-Feminist Punk: An Anti-Social History* (Zaglossus, 2015), 39.

56. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 14.

57. Alyn Euritt, *Podcasting as an Intimate Medium* (Routledge, 2023).

58. Alyn Euritt, "Within the Wires' Intimate Fan-Based Publics," *Gender Forum*, no. 77 (2020): 34.

59. Jennifer C Nash, *Gender: Love* (Macmillan, 2017).

60. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 117.

61. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 120.

62. Kaitlin Prest, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021.

63. Prest, interview, 2021.

64. Phoebe Unter and Nicole Kelly (producers), "Lesbian Separatism Is Inevitable," *The Heart* (podcast), January 2020, Mermaid Palace, accessed August 2, 2024, https://www.theheartradio.org/solos/2020/1/15/lesbian-separatism-is-inevitable

65. Nicole Kelly, interview with the author about *The Heart*, September 10, 2024.

66. The Zoom H1 is a pocket-size portable digital recorder, commonly known among soundworkers and lauded for its discrete portability, ease of use, and professional-quality built-in stereo microphone array.

67. This segment highlights a series of events in 2016: 1) Explosives at Pride parade where police arrested a man in Santa Monica after finding bomb-making materials, assault rifles, and ammunition in his car near the route of the Los Angeles Pride parade, prompting heightened security and public concern. 2) The sentencing of Brock Turner aka the Standford rapist to just six months in jail for sexual assault sparked outrage over rape culture, victim-blaming, and judicial leniency. 3) Black Lives Matter protests expanded globally against police violence and structural racism. 4) The Orlando mass shooting at Pulse nightclub in Orlando, which killed 49 people and marked one of the deadliest attacks on the LGBTQ+ community in U.S. history.

68. Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, Crossing Press Feminist Series (Crossing Press, 1984).

69. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 60.

70. *Dykes on Mykes*, "*Dykes on Mykes* 1991 Gay Day," radio broadcast recording (Montreal, 1991), *Dykes on Mykes* Fonds, ArQuives, https://collections.arquives.ca/link/descriptions43130. You can hear excerpts of this audio collage in the accompanying audio documentary.

71. Prest, interview, 2021.

72. M-C MacPhee in Mel Hogan and M-C MacPhee, interview with author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

73. Gloria Galvez, "Sweaty Concepts," *Womens Centre for Creative Work* (blog), March 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20250317023451/https://womenscenterforcreativework.com/sweaty-concepts/

74. Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Duke University Press, 2017), 13.

Chapter 4

1. An earlier version of this chapter is in *The Oxford Handbook of Radio and Podcasting*. Stacey Copeland, "Finding Queer Soundwork: Information Activism in Lesbian Feminist Radio and Queer Podcast Networks," in *The Oxford Handbook of Radio and Podcasting*, ed. Michele Hilmes and Andrew J. Bottomley (Oxford University Press, 2024), 480–500.

2. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 10th anniversary ed. (Routledge, 1999), 16.

3. Julian A. Rodriguez, "LGBTQ Incorporated: YouTube and the Management of Diversity," *Journal of Homosexuality* 70, no. 9 (July 29, 2023): 1807–28, https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2042664

4. Zizi Papacharissi's concept of the "networked self" offers a ground to study identity formation embedded in online platforms. Creating "a sense of self that is networked" rests upon the premises of "expression and connection, identity is performance, sociability is networked, sense of self is reflexive–liquid, and redactional acumen." Zizi Papacharissi, *A Networked Self and Platforms, Stories, Connections*, (Routledge, 2018), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315193434

5. Deb VanSlet and Elana Wright, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.

6. VanSlet and Wright, interview, 2020.

7. Reference to Richard Berry's foundational early work on what podcasting might mean for terrestrial radio, "Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio," *Convergence* 12, no. 2 (2006): 143–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856506066522

8. Mel Hogan and M-C MacPhee, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

9. Deanne Smith, "The Birth of No More Potlucks," *Xtra Magazine* (blog), February 9, 2009, https://xtramagazine.com/culture/the-birth-of-no-more-potlucks-37114

10. Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann, *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution* (Bloomsbury, 2019).

11. Mitra Kaboli, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.

12. Cocreators of *The Heart* podcast, Kaitlin Prest and Mitra Kaboli, were both contributors to the CKUT radio show *Audio Smut* from which the idea of their podcast grew to become rooted in queer feminism with a focus on stories of intimacy and humanity. Erin McGregor, creator of the *Queer Public* podcast, "a podcast about real queer life" (McGregor, 2021), was once a contributor to CKUT's *Dykes on Mykes*.

13. Rob Rosenthal, "Nancy Was Here," *Transom* (blog), November 24, 2020, https://transom.org/2020/nancy-was-here/

14. Erin McGregor, interview with the author about *Queer Public*, April 22, 2021.

15. Safiya Umoja Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression* (New York University Press, 2018).

16. Cait McKinney, *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies* (Duke University Press, 2020), 10.

17. McKinney, *Information Activism*, 33.

18. For more on lesbian feminist newsletter networks, see Cait McKinney, "The Internet That Lesbians Built: Newsletter Networks," in *Information Activism* (Duke University Press, 2020).

19. The inclusion of community radio advertisements is only mentioned briefly by McKinney, *Information Activism*, 60.

20. For more on *Kinesis* and the legacy of feminist periodicals in Canada, see Barbara M. Freeman, "One Part Creativity and Nine Parts Hard Work," in *Alternative Media in Canada*, ed. Kirsten Kozolanka, Patricia Mazepa, and David Skinner (UBC Press, 2012).

21. *Angles* magazine was also formerly known as *VGCC News*. *Xtra! West* succeeded *Angles*, later known as *Xtra Vancouver* and then simply *Xtra*, all published by Pink Triangle Press. Pink Triangle Press also published *The Body Politic*, a nationally circulated LGBT magazine where advertisements for *The Lesbian Show* have also been found. *Xtra Magazine* is still an active digital-only publication as of the time I am writing this (August 2024).

For more on *Angles*, see Alex Spence, *Angles and VGCC NEWS: A Subject Index to Two Canadian Periodical Publications of the Vancouver Gay Community, Covering the Period of 1980 to May 1998* (Iirg, 2013).

22. In 2013, community archivist Ron Dutton donated the BC Gay and Lesbian Archives collection to the City of Vancouver Archives. He began the archive in 1976 from his home in Vancouver's historically gay and lesbian West End. Parts of the collection are digitized and searchable on the City of Vancouver Archives website.

23. *The Coming Out Show*, a radio show for the gay and lesbian community, was one of the first shows established on Vancouver Co-Op Radio after it aired in 1978. Silva noted in our 2018 interview that it wasn't just the idea of lesbian visibility that led to *The Lesbian Show*. Differences in what to include in *The Coming Out Show* and conflicts with the "boys" involved also led to the establishment of *The Lesbian Show* in 1979.

24. *FemRadio*, "The Lesbian Show," Silva Tenenbein (interviewee) and Stacey Copeland (host), radio broadcast March 26, 2018, CJRU 1280AM, Toronto, Canada.

25. Cynthia Brooke, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.

26. Based on an analysis of the University of British Columbia Library periodicals collection for *Kinesis*, 1974–2001, there does not seem to be any trace of *The Lesbian Show* tape service advertised in *Kinesis* after April 1980.

27. In addition to Silva's engagement with British Columbia Federation of Women, many past hosts engaged in activist and community-building initiatives outside of *The Lesbian Show*, including Cynthia Brooke writing for *Angles*, Eirene Cloma as part of Vancouver's queer music scene, and Dani McDonnell's stage manager role with the Vancouver Dyke March.

28. For more on Canada's lesbian history, see Becky L. Ross, *The House That Jill Built* (University of Toronto Press, 1995).

29. Nym Hughes, Yvonne Johnson, and Yvette Perreault, *Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism* (Press Gang Publishers, 1984).

30. Hughes, Johnson, and Perreault, *Stepping Out of Line*, 195.

31. See the discussion of lesbian separatism as "incompatible" with socialism and Marxism in Christina Rousseau, "Wages Due Lesbians: Visibility and Feminist Organizing in 1970s Canada," *Gender, Work & Organization* 22, no. 4 (2015): 364–74, https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12092

32. Beth E. Schneider and Janelle M. Pham, "The Turn toward Socialist, Radical, and Lesbian Feminisms," in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 2.

33. Vett Lloyd, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, October 15, 2020.

34. Lloyd, interview, 2020.

35. According to Eirene, *She Boom* was formerly known as *Blue Monday*. It was perhaps what came to replace the popular women's music show *Ruby Music* on air at Vancouver Co-Op when *The Lesbian Show* was established in 1979.

36. At the time of writing (August 2024), *Fruit Salad* has since changed its name to *Out & About Canada* and is followed by a gender-focused show called *Gender Queeries* in what used to be *The Lesbian Show* time slot.

37. Meita Winkler, interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, November 10, 2020.

38. Winkler, interview, 2020.

39. VanSlet and Wright, interview, 2020.

40. DoMs certainly was not the only lesbian feminist media activism happening in the 1990s to push back against the mainstream infantilization of the lesbian. DoMs's refusal to define what a lesbian sounds like correlates to various visual activist forms at the time as well. See, for example, the short work "What Does a Lesbian Look Like?" by Canadian performance duo Shawna Dempsey and Lorri Millan (1994). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Dempsey and Millan were also guests on DoMs during the 1990s.

41. VanSlet and Wright, interview, 2020.

42. This interview can be heard in full at this radio broadcast, Silva Tenenbein (interviewed), "The Lesbian Show," *FemRadio. The Scope 1280AM*. Toronto, Canada: CJRU, March 26, 2018 (the interview begins at 16:15). https://soundcloud.com/scopeatryerson/the-lesbian-show.

For more on this quote, see also Stacey Copeland, "Broadcasting Queer Feminisms: Lesbian and Queer Women Programming in Transnational, Local, and Community Radio," *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 25, no. 2 (July 3, 2018): 209–23, https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2018.1482899

43. Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression*.

44. Jeremy Wade Morris, "Infrastructures of Discovery: Examining Podcast Ratings and Rankings," *Cultural Studies* 35, nos. 4–5 (March 26, 2021): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2021.1895246

45. Morris, "Infrastructures of Discovery," 3.

46. Ashley Carman, "Gaming the Apple Podcast Charts Is Cheaper and Easier Than You Think," The Verge, November 29, 2018, https://www.theverge.com/2018/11/29/18097381/apple-podcast-charts-click-farm-advertiser-revenue

47. Mark Steadman and James Cridland, "How People Find Your Podcast in Apps—Who Indexes What?," podnews.net, July 14, 2021, https://podnews.net/article/who-indexes-what

48. This is as of August 2024 according to Listen Notes real-time data, which claims they are at least 3,390,880 podcasts with active RSS feeds. https://www.listennotes.com/podcast-stats/

49. Laura Doane, *Disturbing Practices* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/D/bo14637048.html

50. Based on a study the author conducted in 2021 and presented at Society of Cinema and Media in 2022, which examined 256 shows, a 10 percent sample of 2,556 total, retrieved on podcast search website Listen Notes by searching "Queer."

51. *Queer Serial* show description reads: "FBI hunts, outlaw drag queens, and not-so-secret societies. Radios, riots, and romance! The true story of American LGBTQ liberation from the beginning to Stonewall." Devlyn Camp, "Queer Serial: American LGBTQ+ History before Stonewall," *Queer Serial*, accessed August 6, 2024, https://queerserial.com/podcast

52. Matt Mise, "The Art and Science of Podcast Show Descriptions," *Pacific Content* (blog), February 20, 2020, https://blog.pacific-content.com/the-art-and-science-of-podcast-show-descriptions-44d5ed81df24

53. PodCat is their cats honorary producer name. Chloe Krause and Sidney Gill, "Warriors Bards 'n Brews: A *Xena* Podcast," *Warriors Bards 'n Brews*, accessed August 6, 2024, https://www.listennotes.com/es/podcasts/warriors-bards-n-brews-a-xena-podcast-PCK1GogzYpH/

54. At the time of writing, August 2024, Apple Podcasts does not claim to search channel descriptions, whereas Castbox, Listen Notes, Spotify, Stitcher, and select other podcast players and search engines will draw information from descriptions. "How Search Works on Apple Podcasts," Apple Podcasts for Creators, accessed August 6, 2024, https://podcasters.apple.com/support/3686-search-on-apple-podcasts

55. Mitra Kaboli, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.

56. Kaitlin Prest, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021.

57. Prest, interview, 2021.

58. At the time I am working on this chapter (August 2024), the company behind the popular online battle-royale-style videogame *Fortnite*, Epic Games, which purchased Bandcamp in 2022, has now sold it to Songtradr as of 2023. It is unclear what this sale will mean for the music platform moving forward but so far it has meant layoffs alongside promises of better licensing deals: https://pitchfork.com/news/epic-games-sells-bandcamp-amid-layoffs/

59. Kara Keeling, "Queer OS," *Cinema Journal* 53, no. 2 (2014): 152–57, https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2014.0004, 154.

60. Zach Blas, "Queer Technologies," *Zach Blas* (blog), 2010, https://zachblas.info/works/queer-technologies/

61. Todd Spangler, "Netflix to Roll Out 'Shuffle Play' Worldwide in First Half of 2021," *Variety*, January 20, 2021, https://variety.com/2021/digital/news/netflix-shuffle-play-feature-official-launch-1234888490/

62. Ashley Reese, "This Man Is Not Bright," *Jezebel*, May 18, 2021, https://jezebel.com/this-man-is-not-bright-1846917146

63. James Hibberd, "Joe Rogan's Most Controversial Episodes Are Missing from Spotify," *Entertainment Weekly*, September 1, 2020, https://ew.com/podcasts/joe-rogan-spotify-missing-episodes/

64. Andrea Klassen, interview with the author about Procyon Network, June 6, 2021.

65. Rosalind Gill, *Gender and the Media* (Polity, 2007), 611.

66. McGregor, interview, 2021.

67. bell hooks, *Feminism Is for Everybody* (Routledge, 2015), 1.

68. Klassen, interview, 2021.

69. "Rocket Booster," Procyon Podcast Network, 2021. Accessed August 6, 2024, https://www.procyonpodcastnetwork.com/

70. Procyon Podcast Network, 2021.

71. Prest, interview, 2021.

72. Charley Locke, "Podcasts' Biggest Problem Isn't Discovery, It's Diversity," *Wired*, August 31, 2015, https://www.wired.com/2015/08/podcast-discovery-vs-diversity/

73. Anne F. Maclennan, "Canadian Community/Campus Radio: Struggling and Coping on the Cusp of Change," in *Radio's Second Century: Past, Present, and Future Perspectives*, ed. John Allen Hendricks, 193–206 (Rutgers University Press, 2020), https://doi.org/10.36019/9780813598505-014

74. In an analysis of community radio license applications from 2007 to 2017, Anne MacLennan found the majority of Canadian community/campus stations were largely located in the same populous areas of the country where the commercial and network stations are also located. These tend to be the same major metropolis locations where podcast networks are situated as well. Their work also shows that increasing demands outlined in CRTC regulations governing community/campus radio are "generally considered burdensome and are sometimes the primary reason cited for the demise of many stations." MacLennan, " Canadian Community/Campus Radio," in *Radio's Second Century*, 203.

Epilogue

1. Sara Ahmed, "Lesbian Feminism," in *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatrarchies*, ed. Niharika Banerjea, Kath Browne, Eduarda Ferreira, Marta Olasik, and Julie Podmore (Zed Books, 2019), 303.

2. Ahmed, "Lesbian Feminism," 303.

3. As audio companion to this epilogue, you can hear the voices behind these shows along with my reflections in the final part of Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives, "Part 3—A Queer Feminist Call to Ears" here: https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.14485683.cmp.9

4. As I described earlier in this book, traditional phenomenological absolutism treats lived experience as revealing stable, universal structures of meaning and reductively but this does not take into account the varied ways different human experiences can shape perception and orientation in the world.

5. Mathew Rodriguez, "It Cannot Be a Coincidence That Chappell Roan Has Dropped This Many Muppet Easter Eggs," *Them* (blog), June 13, 2024, https://www.them.us/story/chappell-roan-muppets-easter-eggs-tiktok

6. Alejandra Gularte, "Chappell Roan May Have Had Lollapalooza's Biggest Crowd Ever," *Vulture* (blog), August 5, 2024, https://www.vulture.com/article/chappell-roan-lollapalooza-biggest-crowd-ever-2024.html

7. Find links to listen to *Lavender Sounds, the Audio Archives* in the Authors Note to this book.

8. Some of these histories and detailed connections not featured earlier in the text have only recently come to my attention thanks to continued conversation with Giselle and Sherry, founding members of *The Lesbian Show*.

9. Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Duke University Press, 2012), 347, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822394068

10. For great writing on the white and straight logic of platform space, see Rianka Singh, "Platform Feminism: Protest and the Politics of Spatial Organization," *Ada New Media*, November 2018, https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/26937

11. Sarah Sharma, "Exit and the Extensions of Man," *Transmediale* (blog), August 5, 2017, https://archive.transmediale.de/content/exit-and-the-extensions-of-man

12. Brexit was the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union that eventually passed into legislation and was put into effect on February 1, 2020.

13. Cait McKinney, *Information Activism* (Duke University Press, 2020), 208.

14. Jeffrey Brown, "Podcast Industry Faces Challenges after Explosive Growth," *PBS News*, March 26, 2024, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/podcast-industry-faces-challenges-after-explosive-growth

15. Ahmed, "Lesbian Feminism."

16. Jack Halberstam, "'Unworlding'—Jack Halberstam CCA Keynote," Canadian Communication Association 2022, virtual, May 19, 2022, https://www.federationhss.ca/en/blog/unworlding-jack-halberstam-keynote

17. Rox Samer, *Lesbian Potentiality and Feminist Media in the 1970s* (Duke University Press, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478022640

18. Mitra Kaboli, "Welcome to Provincetown," accessed August 7, 2024, https://www.stitcherstudios.com/shows/welcome-to-provincetown

19. Mitra Kaboli, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.

20. Mel Hogan and M-C MacPhee, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

21. Kaitlin Prest, interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021. In July 2024, as I work on edits for this chapter, Prest and the Mermaid Palace team have just released the trailer for an upcoming series revisiting the *Gaza Monologues* by Ashtar Theatre. The banner image clicks through to a GoFundMe page set up by Prest to raise funds for three young people in Gaza met through the making of the series. Another Trojan horse of the team's politics?

22. Safiya Umoja Noble, *Algorithms of Oppression* (New York University Press, 2018).

23. DoMs was off-air by the time I began writing this book. Yet, well after the manuscript was submitted and the proofs received for our 2026 release, I got word that *Dykes on Mykes* is back on CKUT Montreal's airwaves! Perhaps an exciting nod to the very desires for political revival I share in these pages.

24. Deb VanSlet and Elana Wright, interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.

25. Jennifer C. Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality* (Duke University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002253

26. Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*, 138.

27. Drawn from the work of Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

Bibliography

Introduction

Ahmed, Sara. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology Orientations, Objects, Others*. E-Duke Books Scholarly Collection. Duke University Press.

Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Duke University Press.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* Aunt Lute Books.

Barad, Karen. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Duke University Press.

Berland, Jody. 1984. "Contradicting Media: Toward a Political Phenomenology of Listening." *Border/Lines*, no. 1.

Berland, Jody. 1990. "Radio Space and Industrial Time: Music Formats, Local Narratives and Technological Mediation." *Popular Music* 9 (2): 179–192. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000003895

Cavarero, Adriana. 2016. *Inclinations: A Critique of Rectitude*. Translated by Amanda Minervini and Adam Sitze. Stanford University Press.

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). 2010. "Campus and Community Radio Policy—CRTC's 2010 Revised Policy for Campus and Community Radio Stations." Regulatory policies. Government of Canada (CRTC). July 22. https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/archive/2010/2010-499.htm

"CKUT 30th Anniversary Zine." 2017. CKUT Time Capsule Project. http://online.fliphtml5.com/jzwy/glgr/#p=1

Cvetkovich, Ann. 2003. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, sexuality, and lesbian public cultures*. Duke University Press.

de Lauretis, Teresa. 1994. "'Habit Changes.'" *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 6 (2–3): 296–313.

Dinkins, Stephanie. 2020. "Afro-now-ism." *Noëma*, June. https://www.noemamag.com/afro-now-ism

Dutchen, Stephanie. 2022. "The Effects of Noise on Health." *Harvard Medicine* (blog), Spring 2022. https://hms.harvard.edu/magazine/viral-world/effects-noise-health

Dynes, Wayne R., ed. 2016. *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality: Volume I*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315670782

Ehrick, Christine. 2015. *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930–1950*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139941945

Florini, Sarah. 2015. *Beyond Hashtags: Racial Politics and Black Digital Networks*. New York University Press.
Freeman, Elizabeth. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184
Halberstam, Jack. 2005. *In a Queer Time and Place*. New York University Press.
Halberstam, Jack. 2018. *Female Masculinity*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002703
Halperin, David M. 2012. *How To Be Gay*. Harvard University Press.
Harvey, Alison. 2019. *Feminist Media Studies*. Polity Press.
Hilmes, Michele. 1997. "The Disembodied Woman." In *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922–1952*. University of Minnesota Press.
Hilmes, Michele. 2013. "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry." *Cinema Journal* 52 (3): 177–82. https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0021
Hogan, Kristen. 2016. *The Feminist Bookstore Movement*. Duke University Press.
hooks, bell. 1996. *Reel to Real: Race, Sex, and Class at the Movies*. Routledge.
hooks, bell. 2015. *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Routledge.
Hughes, Nym, Yvonne Johnson, and Yvette Perreault. 1984. *Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism*. Press Gang Publishers. https://archive.org/details/steppingoutoflin0000hugh
Johnson, David K. 2003. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. University of Chicago Press.
Johnson, Phylis, Chuck Hoy, and Dhyana Ziegler. 1995. "A Case Study of KGAY: The Rise and Fall of the First Gay and Lesbian Radio Network," *Journal of Radio Studies* 3 (1). https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529509361981
Johnson, Phylis, and Michael Keith. 2001. *Queer Airwaves: The Story of Gay and Lesbian Broadcasting*. M.E. Sharpe.
Lacey, Kate. 2013. *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age*. Polity Press.
Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider*. Crossing Press.
Love, Heather. 2007. *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History*. Harvard University Press.
MacPhee, M-C, and Mel Hogan. 2006. "The Importance of Community-Based Media for Building and Sustaining Lesbian Subcultures: The Role of Montréal's Dykes on Mykes Radio Show." *Global Media Journal* 5 (12): 1–5.
Marinucci, Mimi. 2016. *Feminism Is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory*. 2nd ed. Zed Books.
McBean, Sam. 2015. *Feminism's Queer Temporalities*. Routledge.
McHugh, Siobhán. 2016. "How Podcasting Is Changing the Audio Storytelling Genre." *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14 (1): 65–82. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.65_1
McHugh, Siobhán. 2022. *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound*. Columbia University Press.
McKinney, Cait. 2020. *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies*. Duke University Press.
Mitchell, Allyson, and Cait McKinney. 2019. *Inside Killjoy's Kastle: Dykey Ghosts, Feminist Monsters, and Other Lesbian Hauntings*. UBC Press.

Moraga, Cherríe. 1983. *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Paso por Sus Labios*. South End Press.

Mulvey, Laura. 1975. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16 (3): 6–18. https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6

Muñoz, José Esteban. 2019. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. 10th anniversary ed. Sexual Cultures. New York University Press.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2019. *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002253

Niang, Sophie Marie. 2024. "In Defence of What's There: Notes on Scavenging as Methodology." *Feminist Review* 136 (1): 52–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/01417789231222606

Noble, Safiya Umoja. 2018. *Algorithms of Oppression*: *How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. New York University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1pwt9w5.4

Nye, Sheridan, Nicola Godwin, and Belinda Hollows, 2000. "Twisting the Dials: Lesbians on British Radio." In *Women and Radio: Airing Differences*, ed. Caroline Mitchell, chapter 6. Routledge.

Rich, Adrienne. 1986. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. W.W. Norton

Ross, Becki. 1990. "The House That Jill Built: Lesbian Feminist Organizing in Toronto, 1976–1980." *Feminist Review*, no. 35: 75–91. https://doi.org/10.2307/1395402

Ross, Becky L. 1995. *The House That Jill Built*. University of Toronto Press.

Samer, Rox. 2022. *Lesbian Potentiality and Feminist Media in the 1970s*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478022640

Schafer, R. Murray. 1977. *The Soundscape*. Knopf.

Sharma, Sarah. 2022. "Introduction: A Feminist Medium Is the Message." In *Re-Understanding Media: Feminist Extensions of Marshall McLuhan*, ed. Sarah Sharma and Rianka Singh). Duke University Press.

Silverman, Kaja. 1988. *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema*. Indiana University Press.

Singh, Rianka. 2018. "Platform Feminism: Protest and the Politics of Spatial Organization," *Ada New Media* (14). https://hdl.handle.net/1794/26937

Smith, Deanne. 2009. "The Birth of No More Potlucks." *Xtra Magazine* (blog), February 9, 2009. https://xtramagazine.com/culture/the-birth-of-no-more-potlucks-37114

Sontag, Susan. 1966. *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*. Anchor Books.

Spencer, Amy. 2008. *DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture*. 2nd ed. Marion Boyars.

Sterne, Jonathan. 2022. *Diminished Faculties: A Political Phenomenology of Impairment*. Duke University Press.

Stoever, Jennifer Lynn. 2016. *The Sonic Color Line: Race and the Cultural Politics of Listening*. New York University Press.

Wright, Lori, Neisha Wiley, Elizabeth VanWassenhove, Brandelyn Tosolt, Rae Loftis, and Meg L. Hensley. 2022. "Feminist Citational Praxis and Problems of Practice." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 50 (3–4): 124–40.

Interviews Referenced

Krause, Chloe, and Sidney Gill. Interview with the author about *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, November 8, 2021.

Soundworks Referenced

Audio Smut, producers. *Audio Smut*, 2006–, on CKUT 90.3FM Montreal, monthly radio broadcast. https://ckut.ca/playlists/AS

Best, Jessica, creator. 2017–21. *The Strange Case of Starship Iris*, from Procyon Podcast Network, audio podcast series. https://www.procyonpodcastnetwork.com/starship-iris

Coming Out Show, producers. *The Coming Out Show*, 1978–2000, on Vancouver Co-Op Radio, radio broadcast. Accessed via The Coming Out Show Fonds, The ArQuives, Toronto. https://collections.arquives.ca/link/descriptions22044

Dykes on Mykes, producers. *Dykes on Mykes*, 1987–2016, on CKUT 90.3FM Montreal, reoccurring radio broadcast. Accessed via the Dykes on Mykes Fonds, The ArQuives, Toronto. https://collections.arquives.ca/link/descriptions43123

Gender Queeries, producers. *Gender Queeries*, 2015–, on Vancouver Co-Op Radio, radio broadcast. https://coopradio.org/shows/gender-queeries/

Lesbian Show Collective, producers. *The Lesbian Show*, 1979–2014, on Vancouver Co-Op Radio, reoccurring radio broadcast.

Lesbian Show Collective, producers. "Co-Op Radio Fundraising Drive." 1989. Radio broadcast recording. *The Lesbian Show*. Vancouver: Archive of Lesbian Oral Testimony, Simon Fraser University. https://alotarchives.org/interview/co-op-radio-fundraising-drive

Krause, Chloe, and Sidney Gill, hosts. "The Debt: Pt. 1," July 2, 2019, in *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, audio podcast. Runtime: 51 minutes. https://podcasts.apple.com/ca/podcast/the-debt-pt-1/id1253820557?i=1000443411950

McGregor, Erin, host. *Queer Public*, 2019, audio podcast. https://www.queerpublic.org

Prest, Kaitlin, Mitra Kaboli, Nicole Kelly, and Phoebe Unter, hosts. *The Heart* 2012–, audio podcast, Mermaid Palace and PRX Radiotopia. https://www.theheartradio.org/

Queercorps, producers. *Queercorps* (formerly the *HomoShow*), 1987–, on CKUT 90.3FM Montreal, radio broadcast. https://ckut.ca/playlists/QC

Chapter 1

Adler Berg, Freja Sørine. 2022. "Podcasting about Yourself and Challenging Norms: An Investigation of Independent Women Podcasters in Denmark." *Nordicom Review* 43 (1): 94–110. https://doi.org/10.2478/nor-2022-0006

Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Duke University Press.

Banks, Miranda, Ralina L. Joseph, Shelley Stamp, and Michele White. 2018. "Editors' Introduction: Genealogies of Feminist Media Studies (Book Review)." *Feminist Media Histories* 4 (2): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2018.4.2.1

Berlant, Lauren, and Michael Warner. 1998. "Sex in Public." *Critical Inquiry* 24 (2): 547–66. https://doi.org/10.1086/448884

Berry, Richard. 2006. "Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 12 (2). https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856506066522

Berry, Richard. 2016. "Podcasting: Considering the Evolution of the Medium and Its Association with the Word 'Radio.'" *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 14 (1): 7–22. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.14.1.7_1

Cavarero, Adriana. 2005. *For More Than One Voice: Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*. Translated by Paul A. Kottman. Stanford University Press.

Ceraso, Steph. 2018. *Sounding Composition: Multimodal Pedagogies for Embodied Listening*. University of Pittsburgh Press. http://muse.jhu.edu/book/60438

Copeland, Stacey, Hannah McGregor, and Katherine McLeod. 2024. "The Kitchen Table Is Always Where We Are: Podcasting as Feminist Self-Reflexive Practice." In *Podcast Studies: Practice into Theory*, ed. Dario Llinares and Lori Beckstead. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics [1989]." In *Feminist Legal Theory*, ed. Katharine T. Bartlett and Rosanne Kennedy, 57–80. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429500480-5

Creswell, John W., and Cheryl N. Poth. 2017. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. SAGE.

de Lauretis, Teresa. 1991. "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities—an Introduction." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3 (2): i–xvii.

de Lauretis, Teresa. 1994. "'Habit Changes.'" *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 6 (2–3): 296–313.

Ehrick, Christine. 2015. *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape: Women and Broadcasting in Argentina and Uruguay, 1930–1950*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139941945

Eidsheim, Nina Sun. 2019. *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music*. Refiguring American Music. Duke University Press.

Euritt, Alyn. 2023. *Podcasting as an Intimate Medium*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003340980

Fauteux, Brian. 2015. *Music in Range*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Fox, Kim, David O. Dowling, and Kyle Miller. 2020. "A Curriculum for Blackness: Podcasts as Discursive Cultural Guides, 2010–2020." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 27 (2): 298–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2020.1801687

Freeman, Elizabeth. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184

Frith, Simon. 1996. "Music and Identity." In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay. SAGE.

Gill, Rosalind. 2014. "Unspeakable Inequalities: Post Feminism, Entrepreneurial Subjectivity, and the Repudiation of Sexism among Cultural Workers." *Social Politics* 21 (4): 509–28.

Gitelman, Lisa. 2006. *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture*. MIT Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1980. "Encoding/Decoding." In *Culture, Media, Language*. Routledge.

Harvey, Alison. 2019. *Feminist Media Studies*. Polity.

Hilmes, Michele. 1997. *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922–1952*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hilmes, Michele. 2013. "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry." *Cinema Journal* 52 (3): 177–82. https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0021

Hilmes, Michele. 2020. "Soundwork: Something to Work With." *Resonance* 1 (4): 340–43. https://doi.org/10.1525/res.2020.1.4.340

Jagose, Annamarie. 2009. "Feminism's Queer Theory." *Feminism & Psychology* 19 (2): 157–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353509102152

Johnson, E. Patrick. 2010. "'Quare' Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know about Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 21 (1): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/10462930128119

Lacey, Kate. 2013. *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age*. Polity Press.

Lacey, Kate. 2018. "Up in the Air? The Matter of Radio Studies." *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 16 (2): 109–26. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao.16.2.109_1

Leung, Lisa Yuk Ming. 2018. "Online Radio Listening as 'Affective Publics'? (Closeted) Participation in the Post-Umbrella Movement Everyday." *Cultural Studies* 32 (4): 511–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2017.1357133

Llinares, Dario, Neil Fox, and Richard Berry. 2018. *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Makagon, Daniel, and Mark Neumann. 2009. *Recording Culture: Audio Documentary and the Ethnographic Experience*. SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452226590

Marinucci, Mimi. 2016. *Feminism Is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory*. 2nd ed. Zed Books.

McGregor, Kristidel. 2020. "Toward a Phenomenology of the Material." *Qualitative Inquiry* 26 (5): 507–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419836690

McHugh, Siobhán. 2022. *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories through Sound*. Columbia University Press.

McKay, Anne. 2000. "Speaking Up: Voice Amplification and Women's Struggle for Public Expression." In *Women and Radio: Airing Differences*, ed. Caroline Mitchell, 15–28. Routledge.

Mottram, Christine. 2016. "Finding a Pitch That Resonates: An Examination of Gender and Vocal Authority in Podcasting." *Voice & Speech Review* 10 (1): 53–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/23268263.2017.1282683

Mulvey, Laura. 1975. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen* 16 (3): 6–18, https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6

Murray, Sarah. 2019. "Coming-of-Age in a Coming-of-Age: The Collective Individualism of Podcasting's Intimate Soundwork." *Popular Communication* 17 (4): 301–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2019.1622117

Nash, Jennifer C. 2010. "On Difficulty: Intersectionality as Feminist Labor." *Polyphonic Feminisms: Acting in Concert* 8 (3). https://sfonline.barnard.edu/polyphonic/print_nash.htm

Nash, Jennifer C. 2019. *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002253

Puar, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Next Wave. Duke University Press.

Rault, Jasmine. 2017. "White Noise, White Affects: Filtering the Sameness of Queer Suffering." *Feminist Media Studies* 17 (4): 585–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1326557

Robinson, Dylan. 2020. *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*. University of Minnesota Press.
Romdenh-Romluc, Komarine. 2010. *Routledge Philosophy GuideBook to Merleau-Ponty and Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge.
Stoever, Jennifer Lynn. 2016. *The Sonic Color Line: Race and the Cultural Politics of Listening*. New York University Press. http://muse.jhu.edu/book/56459
Voegelin, Salomé. 2021. *Sonic Possible Worlds, Revised Edition: Hearing the Continuum of Sound*. Bloomsbury.
Warner, Michael. 2002. *Publics and Counterpublics*. Zone Books.
Wiegman, Robyn. 2012. *Object Lessons*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822394945
Zakharine, Dmitri, and Nils Meise. 2012. *Electrified Voices: Medial, Socio-Historical and Cultural Aspects of Voice Transfer*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Chapter 2

Ahmed, Sara. 2006. *Queer Phenomenology Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke University Press.
Ahmed, Sara. 2019. "Lesbian Feminism." In *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatrarchies*, ed. Nikarika Banerja, Kath Browne, Eduarda Ferreira, Marta Olasik, and Julie Podmore. Zed Books.
Akdogan, Sam. 2013. "Is Langara Really a Tolerant Place?" *Langara Voice Newspaper* (blog), February 7. https://issuu.com/langara-journalism/docs/voice14.13
Butler, Judith. 1997. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford University Press.
Chandrashekar, Karuna, and Shradda Chatterjee. 2019. "Speculations on Lesbian Feminism as Erotic Friendship." In *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatrarchies*, ed. Nikarika Banerja, Kath Browne, Eduarda Ferreira, Marta Olasik, and Julie Podmore. Zed Books.
Ciszek, Erica, Paxton Haven, and Nneka Logan. 2021. "Amplification and the Limits of Visibility: Complicating Strategies of Trans Voice and Representations on Social Media." *New Media & Society*. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211031031
Cole, Yolande. 2013. "Vancouver Park Board to Establish Trans and Gender-Variant Working Group." *Georgia Straight* (blog), May 14. https://www.straight.com/news/381471/vancouver-park-board-establish-trans-and-gender-variant-working-group
Copeland, Stacey. 2024. "Finding Queer Soundwork: Information Activism in Lesbian Feminist Radio and Queer Podcast Networks." In *The Oxford Handbook of Radio and Podcasting*, ed. Michele Hilmes and Andrew J. Bottomley, 480–500. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197551127.013.24
"Danielle." 2013. *Onmyplanet.ca* (blog), February 24. https://onmyplanet.ca/danielle/
Field, Allyson Nadia. 2022. "Editor's Introduction: Sites of Speculative Encounter." *Feminist Media Histories* 8 (2): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2022.8.2.1
Fernie, Lynn, and Marilyn Weissman, dirs. 1992. *Forbidden Love: The Unashamed Stories of Lesbian Lives*. Documentary fiction. National Film Board of Canada. https://www.nfb.ca/film/forbidden_love/

Fotopoulou, Aristea, and Kate O'Riordan. 2014. "Introduction: Queer Feminist Media Praxis." *Ada New Media* (blog), July 7.
Freeman, Elizabeth. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184
Hilmes, Michele. 2013. "On a Screen Near You: The New Soundwork Industry." *Cinema Journal* 52 (3): 177–82. https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2013.0021
Horak, Laura. 2018. "Trans Studies." *Feminist Media Histories* 4 (2): 201–6. https://doi.org/10.1525/fmh.2018.4.2.201
Horton, Donald, and Richard Wohl. 1956. "Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction." *Psychiatry* 19 (3): 215–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1956.11023049
Hughes, Nym, Yvonne Johnson, and Yvette Perreault. 1984. *Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism*. Press Gang Publishers.
https://archive.org/details/steppingoutoflin0000hugh
La Gatta Cenerentola. 1977. Three-act musical by Roberto De Simone.
Love, Heather. 2007. *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History*. Harvard University Press.
Macnamara, Jim. 2013. "Beyond Voice: Audience-Making and the Work and Architecture of Listening as New Media Literacies." *Continuum* 27 (1): 160–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2013.736950
McKinney, Cait. 2020. *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies*. Duke University Press. http://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/2765/chapter/2170645/Introduction
Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 2002. *Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge.
Muñoz, José Esteban. 2019. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. 10th anniversary ed., with new essays and a foreword by Joshua Chambers-Letson, Tavia Nyong'o, and Ann Pellegrini. Sexual Cultures. New York University Press.
Munson, Wayne. 1993. *All Talk: The Talkshow in Media Culture*. Temple University Press.
Nakamura, Lisa, 2002. *Cybertypes: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity on the Internet*. Routledge.
Neumark, Norie. 2017. "Introduction: Voice, Voicetracks, New Materialism." In *Voicetracks*. MIT Press.
Puar, Jasbir K. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Next Wave . Duke University Press.
Rubin, Gayle S. 2011. *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smmmj
Russell, Legacy, 2020. *Glitch Feminism*. Verso.
Stryker, Susan, 2017. *Transgender History*. 2nd ed. Seal Press.

Interviews Referenced

Brooke, Cynthia. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.
Cloma, Eirene. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, October 18, 2020.
Herrick, Shannon. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, December 14, 2020.
Hogan, Mel, and M C. MacPhee. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

Kaboli, Mitra. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.
Lloyd, Vett. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, October 15, 2020.
McGregor, Erin. Interview with the author about *Queer Public*, April 22, 2021.
Tenenbein, Silva. (Interviewed). "The Lesbian Show" [Radio broadcast]. *FemRadio*. The Scope 1280AM. Toronto: CJRU, March 26, 2018.
VanSlet, Deb and Elana Wright. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.

Soundworks Referenced

Dykes on Mykes. 1991. *Dykes on Mykes 1991 Gay Day*. Radio broadcast recording. Montreal, . Dykes on Mykes Fonds. ArQuives. https://collections.arquives.ca/link/descriptions43130
Forster, Dorothy. 1995. *Lesbian Show*. Dorothy Foster. Vancouver, BC. Co-Op Radio Fonds. City of Vancouver Archives. https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/lesbian-show-dorothy-forster
McGregor, Erin, host. "Atlanta," December 23, 2019, in *Queer Public*, audio podcast, runtime: 22 minutes, https://www.queerpublic.org/podcast/episode/4b50cd28/atlanta
McGregor, Erin, host. "The Atlanta Letters," November 25, 2019, in *Queer Public*, audio podcast, runtime: 41 minutes, https://www.queerpublic.org/podcast/episode/31a68e17/the-atlanta-letters
McLeod, Dayna, host. "Pervers/Cite," July 23, 2007, in *Dykes on Mykes*, radio broadcast, CKUT Montreal.
Walker, Connie, host. *Missing and Murdered: Finding Cleo*, 2018, podcast series, CBC Podcasts. https://www.cbc.ca/radio/findingcleo

Chapter 3

Ahmed, Sara. 2010. *The Promise of Happiness*. Duke University Press.
Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life*. Duke University Press.
Balkin, Sarah. 2020. "The Killjoy Comedian: Hannah Gadsby's Nanette." *Theatre Research International* 45 (1). https://doi.org/10.1017/S0307883319000592
Berlant, Lauren, and Lee Edelman. 2013. *Sex, or the Unbearable*. Duke University Press.
Berry, Richard. 2016. "Part of the Establishment: Reflecting on 10 Years of Podcasting as an Audio Medium." *Convergence* 22 (6): 661–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856516632105
Cory, Erin, and Hugo Boothby. 2021. "Sounds Like 'Home': The Synchrony and Dissonance of Podcasting as Boundary Object." *Radio Journal* 19 (1): 117–36. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00037_1
Durnová, Anna, and Elaheh Mohammadi. 2021. "Intimacy, Home, and Emotions in the Era of the Pandemic." *Sociology Compass* 15 (4): e12852. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12852
Dyer, Richard. 2002. *The Culture of Queers*. Routledge.
Emmett, Ilana R. 2021. "Feeling at Home: Sound, Affect and Domesticity on Radio Soap Operas." *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 19 (1): 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00032_1

Euritt, Alyn. 2020. "Within the Wires' Intimate Fan-Based Publics." *Gender Forum*, no. 77: 34.

Euritt, Alyn. 2023. *Podcasting as an Intimate Medium*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003340980

Freeman, Elizabeth. 2010. *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822393184

Galvez, Gloria. 2019. "Sweaty Concepts." *Women's Centre for Creative Work* (blog), March. https://womenscenterforcreativework.com/sweaty-concepts/

Gilbert, Joanne. 2004. *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique*. Wayne State University Press. https://wsupress.wayne.edu/9780814328033

Halperin, David M. 2012. *How to Be Gay*. Harvard University Press.

Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press Feminist Series. Crossing Press.

Meyer, Morris. 1994. "Under the Sign of Wilde: An Archeology of Posing," In *The Politics and Poetics of Camp*, 65–93. Routledge.

Moonwomon-Baird, Birch. 1997. "Toward a Study of Lesbian Speech." In *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall, 202–13. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195104707.003.0012

Morgan, Ruth, and Kathleen Wood. 1995. "Lesbians in the Living Room: Collusion, Co-construction, and Co-narration in Conversation." In *Beyond the Lavender Lexicon: Authenticity, Imagination and Appropriation in Gay and Lesbian Languages*, ed. William Leap, 235–48. Gordon and Breach.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2017. *Gender: Love*. Macmillan.

Nault, Curran. 2019. *Queercore: Queer Punk Media Subculture*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315317861

Nielsen, Elly-Jean. 2016. "Lesbian Camp: An Unearthing." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 20 (1): 116–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2015.1046040

Paasonen, Susanna. 2018. "Many Splendored Things: Sexuality, Playfulness and Play." *Sexualities* 21 (4): 537–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460717731928

Queen, Robin M. 1997. "'I Don 't Speak Spritch': Locating Lesbian Language." In *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Anna Livia and Kira Hall, 233–56. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195104707.003.0014

Reed, Jennifer. 2011. "Sexual Outlaws: Queer in a Funny Way." *Women's Studies* 40 (6): 762–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.2011.585590

Sontag, Susan, 1966. *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*. Anchor.

Spencer, Amy. 2008. *DIY: The Rise of Lo-Fi Culture*. 2nd ed. Marion Boyars.

Star, Susan Leigh. 2010. "This Is Not a Boundary Object: Reflections on the Origin of a Concept." *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 35 (5). https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243910377624

Star, Susan Leigh, and James R. Griesemer. 1989. "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39." *Social Studies of Science* 19 (3): 387–420. https://doi.org/10.1177/030631289019003001

Wiedlack, Maria Katharina. 2015. *Queer-Feminist Punk: An Anti-Social History*. Zaglossus. https://doi.org/10.26530/oapen_574668

Wignall, Liam, and Mark McCormack. 2017. "An Exploratory Study of a New Kink Activity: 'Pup Play.'" *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 46 (April). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0636-8

Wincott, Abigail, Jean Martin, and Ivor Richards. 2021. "Telling Stories in Soundspace: Placement, Embodiment and Authority in Immersive Audio Journalism." *Radio Journal* 19 (2): 253–70. https://doi.org/10.1386/rjao_00048_1

Interviews Referenced

Brooke, Cynthia. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.

Hogan, Mel, and M-C MacPhee. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.

Kelly, Nicole. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, September 10, 2024.

Krause, Chloe, and Sidney Gill. Interview with the author about *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*, November 8, 2021.

Prest, Kaitlin. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021.

Soundworks Referenced

Kelly, Nicole, and Phoebe Unter, producers. 2018. *Bitchface* (audio podcast), Bitchface Audio Art Collective, n.d., https://www.bitchfacepodcast.com/

Dykes on Mykes. 1991. *Dykes on Mykes 1991 Gay Day*. Radio broadcast recording. Montreal, QC. Dykes on Mykes Fonds. ArQuives. https://collections.arquives.ca/link/descriptions43130

Lesbian Show Collective, producers. 1983. "The Humour Feature" (radio broadcast recording). *The Lesbian Show*, Vancouver Co-Op Radio, Vancouver, 1983, October 20, 1983.

Krause, Chloe and Sidney Gill, hosts. "The Debt: Pt 1," *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* (podcast), July 2, 2019, https://podcasts.apple.com/nl/podcast/the-debt-pt-1/id1253820557?i=1000443411950&l=en-GB

Krause, Chloe, and Sidney Gill, hosts. "But I'm a Cheerleader (with Andrea Warner, Dina Del Bucchia and Hannah McGregor)," *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews* (podcast), February 20, 2022, https://podcasts.apple.com/ca/podcast/but-im-a-cheerleader-with-andrea-warner-dina-del/id1253820557?i=1000551683840

Tenenbein, Silva (interviewee), and Stacey Copeland (host). 2018. "The Lesbian Show," *FemRadio*, CJRU 1280AM Toronto, March 28, 2018.

Unter, Phoebe, and Nicole Kelly, producers. "Lesbian Separatism is Inevitable," *The Heart* (podcast), January 2020, Mermaid Palace. https://www.theheartradio.org/solos/2020/1/15/lesbian-separatism-is-inevitable

Chapter 4

Berry, Richard. 2006. "Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star? Profiling Podcasting as Radio." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 12 (2). https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856506066522

Blas, Zach. 2010. "Queer Technologies." *Zach Blas* (blog). https://zachblas.info/works/queer-technologies/

Butler, Judith. 1999. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. 10th anniversary ed. Routledge.

Carman, Ashley. 2018. "Gaming the Apple Podcast Charts Is Cheaper and Easier Than You Think." The Verge, November 29. https://www.theverge.com/2018/11/29/18097381/apple-podcast-charts-click-farm-advertiser-revenue

Copeland, Stacey. 2018. "Broadcasting Queer Feminisms: Lesbian and Queer Women Programming in Transnational, Local, and Community Radio." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 25 (2): 209–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/19376529.2018.1482899

Copeland, Stacey. 2024. "Finding Queer Soundwork: Information Activism in Lesbian Feminist Radio and Queer Podcast Networks." In *The Oxford Handbook of Radio and Podcasting*, ed. Michele Hilmes and Andrew J. Bottomley, 480–500. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197551127.013.24

Doane, Laura. 2013. *Disturbing Practices*. University of Chicago Press.

Freeman, Barbara M. 2012. "One Part Creativity and Nine Parts Hard Work." In *Alternative Media in Canada*, ed. Kirsten Kozolanka, Patricia Mazepa, and David Skinner. UBC Press.

Gill, Rosalind. 2007. *Gender and the Media*. Polity.

hooks, bell. 2015. *Feminism Is for Everybody*. Routledge.

Hibberd, James. 2020. "Joe Rogan's Most Controversial Episodes Are Missing from Spotify." *Entertainment Weekly*, September 1. https://ew.com/podcasts/joe-rogan-spotify-missing-episodes/

"How Search Works on Apple Podcasts—Apple Podcasts for Creators." N.d. Apple Podcasts for Creators. Accessed August 6, 2024. https://podcasters.apple.com/support/3686-search-on-apple-podcasts

Hughes, Nym, Yvonne Johnson, and Yvette Perreault. 1984. *Stepping Out of Line: A Workbook on Lesbianism and Feminism*. Press Gang Publishers.

https://archive.org/details/steppingoutoflin0000hugh

Keeling, Kara. 2014. "Queer OS." *Cinema Journal* 53 (2): 152–57. https://doi.org/10.1353/cj.2014.0004

Locke, Charley. 2015. "Podcasts' Biggest Problem Isn't Discovery, It's Diversity." *Wired*, August 31. https://www.wired.com/2015/08/podcast-discovery-vs-diversity/

Maclennan, Anne F. 2020. "Canadian Community/Campus Radio: Struggling and Coping on the Cusp of Change." In *Radio's Second Century: Past, Present, and Future Perspectives*, ed. John Allen Hendricks, 193–206. Rutgers University Press.

McKinney, Cait. 2020. *Information Activism: A Queer History of Lesbian Media Technologies*. Duke University Press.

Mise, Matt. 2020. "The Art and Science of Podcast Show Descriptions." *Pacific Content* (blog), February 20. https://blog.pacific-content.com/the-art-and-science-of-podcast-show-descriptions-44d5ed81df24

Morris, Jeremy Wade. 2021. "Infrastructures of Discovery: Examining Podcast Ratings and Rankings." *Cultural Studies* 35 (4–5): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2021.1895246

Noble, Safiya Umoja. 2018. *Algorithms of Oppression*. New York University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1pwt9w5.4

Papacharissi, Zizi. 2018. *A Networked Self and Platforms, Stories, Connections*. Networked Self. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315193434

Reese, Ashley. 2021. "This Man Is Not Bright." *Jezebel*, May 18. https://jezebel.com/this-man-is-not-bright-1846917146

Rodriguez, Julian A. 2023. "LGBTQ Incorporated: YouTube and the Management of

Diversity." *Journal of Homosexuality* 70 (9): 1807–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2042664
Rosenthal, Rob. 2020. "Nancy Was Here." *Transom* (blog), November 24. https://transom.org/2020/nancy-was-here/
Ross, Becky L. 1995. *The House That Jill Built*. University of Toronto Press.
Rousseau, Christina. 2015. "Wages Due Lesbians: Visibility and Feminist Organizing in 1970s Canada." *Gender, Work & Organization* 22 (4): 364–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12092
Schneider, Beth E., and Janelle M. Pham. 2017. "The Turn toward Socialist, Radical, and Lesbian Feminisms." In *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism*, ed. Holly J. McCammon, Verta Taylor), Jo Reger, and Rachel L. Einwohner. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190204204.013.4
Smith, Deanne. 2009. "The Birth of No More Potlucks." *Xtra Magazine* (blog), February 9. https://xtramagazine.com/culture/the-birth-of-no-more-potlucks-37114
Spangler, Todd. 2021. "Netflix to Roll Out 'Shuffle Play' Worldwide in First Half of 2021." *Variety*, January 20. https://variety.com/2021/digital/news/netflix-shuffle-play-feature-official-launch-1234888490/
Spence, Alex. 2013. *Angles and VGCC NEWS: A Subject Index to Two Canadian Periodical Publications of the Vancouver Gay Community, Covering the Period of 1980 to May 1998*. iirg (independent intellectual resource group).
Spinelli, Martin, and Lance Dann. 2019. *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution*. Bloomsbury.
Steadman, Mark, and James Cridland. 2021. "How People Find Your Podcast in Apps—Who Indexes What?" Podnews.Net, July 14. https://podnews.net/article/who-indexes-what

Interviews Referenced

Brooke, Cynthia. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, September 21, 2020.
Hogan, Mel, and M-C MacPhee. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.
Kaboli, Mitra. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.
Kelly, Nicole. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, September 10, 2024.
Klassen, Andrea. Interview with the author about Procyon Network, June 6, 2021.
Lloyd, Vett. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, October 15, 2020.
McGregor, Erin. Interview with the author about *Queer Public*, April 22, 2021.
Prest, Kaitlin. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021.
VanSlet, Deb, and Elana Wright. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.
Winkler, Meita. Interview with the author about *The Lesbian Show*, November 10, 2020.

Soundworks Referenced

Camp, Devlyn. N.d. "Queer Serial: American LGBTQ History before Stonewall." Queer Serial. Accessed March 7, 2024. https://queerserial.com/podcast

FemRadio. "The Lesbian Show." Silva Tenenbein (interviewee) and Stacey Copeland (host), radio broadcast, March 26, 2018, CJRU 1280AM Toronto.
Krause, Chloe, and Sidney Gill. 2020. "Warriors Bards 'n Brews: A Xena Podcast." *Warriors, Bards 'n Brews*. Accessed August 6, 2024. https://www.listennotes.com/es/podcasts/warriors-bards-n-brews-a-xena-podcast-PCK1GogzYpH/
Procyon Podcast Network. 2021. "Procyon Podcast Network." Procyon Podcasts. 2021. https://www.procyonpodcastnetwork.com

Epilogue

Ahmed, Sara. 2019. "Lesbian Feminism." In *Lesbian Feminism: Essays Opposing Global Heteropatrarchies*, ed. Niharika Banerjea, Kath Browne, Eduarda Ferreira, and Marta Olasik. Zed Books.
Brown, Jeffrey. 2024. "Podcast Industry Faces Challenges after Explosive Growth." *PBS News*, March 26. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/podcast-industry-faces-challenges-after-explosive-growth
Gularte, Alejandra. 2024. "Chappell Roan May Have Had Lollapalooza's Biggest Crowd Ever." *Vulture* (blog,. August 5. https://www.vulture.com/article/chappell-roan-lollapalooza-biggest-crowd-ever-2024.html
Halberstam, Jack. 2022. "'Unworlding'—Jack Halberstam CCA Keynote." Presented at the Canadian Communication Association 2022, Virtual, May 19. https://www.federationhss.ca/en/blog/unworlding-jack-halberstam-keynote
Love, Heather. 2007. *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History*. Harvard University Press.
Nash, Jennifer C. 2019. *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478002253
Noble, Safiya Umoja. 2018. *Algorithms of Oppression.* New York University Press.
Rodriguez, Mathew. 2024. "It Cannot Be a Coincidence That Chappell Roan Has Dropped This Many Muppet Easter Eggs." *Them* (blog), June 13. https://www.them.us/story/chappell-roan-muppets-easter-eggs-tiktok
Rubin, Gayle S. 2012. *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader*. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822394068
Samer, Rox. 2022. *Lesbian Potentiality and Feminist Media in the 1970s*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9781478022640
Sharma, Sarah. 2017. "Exit and the Extensions of Man." *Transmediale* (blog), August 5. https://archive.transmediale.de/content/exit-and-the-extensions-of-man
Singh, Rianka. 2018. "Platform Feminism: Protest and the Politics of Spatial Organization." *Ada New Media*, November. https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/26937

Interviews Referenced

Hogan, Mel, and M-C MacPhee. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 16, 2020.
Kaboli, Mitra. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 24, 2021.
Prest, Kaitlin. Interview with the author about *The Heart*, March 22, 2021.

VanSlet, Deb, and Elana Wright. Interview with the author about *Dykes on Mykes*, September 30, 2020.

Soundworks Referenced

Kaboli, Mitra. 2022. "Welcome to Provincetown." Welcome to Provincetown. Accessed August 7, 2024. https://www.stitcherstudios.com/shows/welcome-to-provincetown

Index

Page numbers in *italics* refer to tables and figures.