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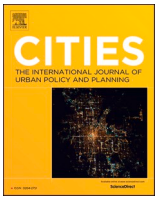

Alternative Brisbane: Evolution of goth and punk subcultures as 'counter-cities'

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ABSTRACT

This paper studies the evolution of the punk and goth subcultures in Brisbane, Australia. We analyse how these subcultures are representing the idea of the counter-city through the 'heterotopia' displayed in the city from the birth of the punk movement in the late 1970s until now. This paper reflects on the continuous presence of these two subcultures in the city, and examines their relationship to space and the city. We investigate how spaces in the city have served these subcultural practices over the past 50 years. We examine the link between the concept of the counter-city and the material concerns of urban life by detailing the ways in which those participating in these subcultures exemplify value systems that run counter to hegemonic social and cultural norms. Using a typology of "critical urban interventions", we examine the role the musicians and audiences in Brisbane's punk and goth scenes play in the urban sphere. First, we situate music scenes and subcultures within the broader 'counter-cities' theoretical framework. We then analyse interviews from participants in Brisbane's punk and goth scenes to examine the extent to which these subcultures have displayed counter-cities dispositions in the making and remaking of these subcultures.

1. Introduction

Brisbane, Australia's third largest city and part of a sprawling conurbation in the sub-tropics of Australia's north-eastern state of Queensland, has been home to a diversity of musical subcultures: punks, goths, skinheads, and earlier, in the 1960s, Mods. In this paper, we study the emergence and evolution of two of these subcultures, punks and goths, in relation to the concept of the 'counter-city' and of 'artistic/artivist cityzen-ship' (Kaddar, Barak, Hoop, Kirchberg, & de Shalit, 2022a). Brisbane's punk and goth subcultures have had an enduring presence in Brisbane over the past 40 years, and we argue that both subcultures exhibit 'counter-city' tendencies in the way in which they exemplify alternative modes of urban life. This paper analyses the relationship between these subcultures and the city of Brisbane by using Lefebvre's idea of *heterotopia*, a concept that allows us to examine how each subculture has used and uses places in the city to reflect their values in opposition to the dominant values of the time. Heterotopia represents the 'Otherness' ('Des espaces autres' as defined by Foucault) and exists in opposition to isotopia, which represents the values of mainstream society. In this sense, isotopia can be understood as the social and cultural status quo – a sense of reality that is taken for granted and homogeneous (Sandin, 2008, p. 78). Using Kaddar, Barak, et al.'s typology of "artistic city-zenship" (2022, p. 2), we situate these two subcultures in terms of their contestation of structural power, their political efficacy, and their civic participation. In the following sections, we detail the evolution of Brisbane's punk and goth subcultures over time and examine how aspects of subcultures that began as expressions of the counter-city became assimilated (or not) into a neoliberal system that has come to value the 'creative' city primarily in economic terms.

To determine the ways in which music can embody the idea of 'the counter-city', we analyse the reflections of participants of Brisbane's punk and goth subcultures on the emergence and evolution of the scenes, highlighting an increasing schismogenesis between the two subcultures that shared a common origin in the punk scene of the late 1970s. We focus on the evolving relationship between these two subcultures and spaces in the city of Brisbane, considering also the advent of social media and its impact on subcultural practices in recent times. In doing so, we demonstrate that the counter-city can be seen as a practical example of *another way of being, of doing, and of signifying.* The counter-city seen through this lens is a reclamation of the city, reclaiming the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996/1968). This right is a right to access both time and space: time to pursue activities that are valued in

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qualitative terms rather than quantitative fiscal metric terms, and space to hold events that strengthen community and produce valuable culture. In this way, the counter-city is an appeal to the humanness of the city, per Mumford (1961), a humanness that may reveal itself in any number of unique and distinct ways.

In Brisbane, the 1970s were a decade in which distinct and unique manifestations of humanness were not frequently met with openness and understanding. Conservative National Party governments led the state from the late 1950s. Joh Bjelke-Petersen held office as premier of Queensland from 1968 to 1987, and Brisbane, the state's capital, was a politically and socially conservative city – a "big country town" - that was ripe for countering. The city produced what is frequently considered one of the first 'punk[1]' records in the world, with The Saints "(I'm) Stranded" released in 1976, although the band rejected the punk label. Rebellion against Brisbane's idealized normative city was not just for locals – UK punk/new wave act the Stranglers, after a series of unpleasant experiences in Brisbane during their first tour to Australia, penned "Nuclear Device (The Wizard of Aus)" (1979), as a response to their interactions with both Bjelke-Petersen's politics and his violent undercover police force (Cornwell & Drury, 2010). While The Saints would escape Brisbane, moving to the UK soon after the success of their first single, the punk movement quickly embedded itself within a city that made no secret of its desire to prohibit any forms of gathering it perceived as a threat to socio-cultural hegemony. In doing so, Brisbane's nascent punk community exemplified Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s 'Political Artivist', described as strongly contesting "existing socio-political power structures" (2022, p. 482).

When the punk movement splintered in the early 1980s, distinct subcultures began to emerge across the globe – post-punk, goths, hardcore, New Wave, etc. Brisbane was no different, with the guitar-driven punk of the late 1970s sustained in the 80s and 90s by acts such as Screaming Tribesmen, Mystery of Sixes, La Fetts, Pictish Blood, The Upsets, Alien Virus, Strontium Dog and many more, while the post-punk wave was exemplified by more experimental acts such as Pork, Xero, Pineapples from the Dawn of Time, The Megamen, Wondrous Fair, and The Lamingtons. While ostensibly branches of the same tree, these subcultures exhibited schismogenesis in their rejection of certain cultural tropes, and while 'Punk' had initially acted as a catch-all for a relatively broad cross section of musical styles, participatory politics, fashions, and modes of musical production, it soon became associated with a more specific form of guitar-centered up-tempo music. In Australia, Brisbane's relative isolation, both politically and geographically, meant the city was less open to some of the international pop and dance imports that defined the 1980s, leading Brisbane's mode of musical production to remain resolutely guitar-driven (see Stafford, 2004). By investigating Brisbane's geographically distinct subcultural practices, we will examine how music can allow us to *hear* the counter-city. We do so by studying how the city of Brisbane contextualized local manifestations of punk and goth subcultures and by examining the dialectic tension between music-based cultural movements motivated by counter-city tendencies. The paper has two main objectives:

a. Analyse the relationship between two subcultures and space in Brisbane focusing on the heterotopia they create in the city through subcultural practices and how these can be situated in Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s typology of artistic city-zenship (2022);
b. Document the evolution over time of those practices in relation to space and the concept of the counter-city.

2. Methods

To address the aims of the research, the main method of data collection was semi-structured interviews with participants from both subcultures. We recorded more than 11 h of interviews with a dozen participants from the relevant scenes. The participants were chosen according to their involvement in each subculture and their roles included musicians, event organisers, and radio announcers/producers. The interview guidelines included questions about how cultural practice relates to the idea of the counter-city, with specific attention on how heterotopia were able to be created by each subculture. Additional relevant quotes were drawn from interviews conducted in relation to ongoing research into Brisbane's subcultural histories by author Willsteed. These interviews, in large part addressing the relationship between underground music scenes and the city, have been gathered since 2012 and informed his PhD performances and exegesis (Willsteed, 2015) as well as several academic and journalistic outputs. Willsteed's role as a significant participant in the Brisbane music scene since 1977 informs the interpretation of this data, and complements his studies into the remnants of this culture (music/posters/art etc.) Such subjectivity is at odds with the traditional notion of the interviewer as dispassionate and objective, but it frames the interviews as the work of an "active societal agent" (Milevska, 2013, p.69), whose interpretation is sharpened by this participation, using: "quotes…to provide added texture. It is analogous in some ways to a gallery curator who … has to select particular pieces and summarize what is not as visible to the audience" (Hockey & Forsey, 2012, p.81).

We also utilise the framework of critical urban interventions and typologies of artistic/political cityzen-ship (Kaddar et al., 2022b; Kaddar, Barak, et al., 2022a), as well as accessing various institutional and private archives to source contextual material about the Goth subculture in Brisbane in order to identify places in the city where ephemeral club-based events took place from the early 1980s until now, and to situate the sub-cultural practices in Brisbane's socio-political and historical context.

3. Music, the right to the city, and neoliberalism in the counter-city

The very use of the term 'counter-city' implies something to counter – to be part of a counter-city means, by definition, to be against something. Written in the lead-up to the May 1968 urban riots, Lefebvre's book 'The right to the city' (1996/1968) railed against the incurrence of market-based logic into day-to-day urban life. Lefebvre's 'right to the city' is both a cry and a demand: a cry to be heard over the dominant powers structuring daily life in the city, and a demand to rethink this daily life in such a way as to allow the restoration of meaning to daily activities. Harvey notes the abstract nature of this right, arguing that it doesn't make sense from an individual perspective – it must be a collective right (2012). Harvey believes the right to the city to be one of the "most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (2008, p.2), and that the right to the city is "both a political slogan and working ideal" that holds the potential to unify struggles over the control of urbanization and the use of capital surplus.

Mayer argues that the right to the city has become just one of many competing branding slogans associated with the city, such as the 'creative city' or the 'liveable city' and that some movements nominally working under right to the city ideals are "seriously watered-down ones compared with what was originally defined by Henri Lefebvre as a radical concept" (2010, p.362). Mayer (2009), Nugraha, Wesely, Ruszczyk, de Villiers, and Zhao (2023) and Chen, He, and Samara (2013) also challenge the primacy of European and North American cities in discourse focusing on the themes surrounding the right to the city. Chen et al. draw attention to three defining aspects of the right to the city: "social polarization and spatial division, unstable and conflict-prone redevelopment, and complicated politics" (2013, p.15).

Lefebvre's 'Urban Revolution' posited that urbanization would become key to the continuation of hegemonic capitalism (Lefebvre & Bononno, 2003), while Mayer (2009) and Harvey (2008) have since

[1] The Saints are considered more as a Garage Rock band than strictly a punk band.

traced the rise of neoliberal economic imperatives as emergent from the shift from Fordism to a service and knowledge economy. Chen et al. argue that the city today "cannot be understood separately from neoliberalism" (2013, p.25) and that while the concept of the right to the city is a move towards justice, neoliberalism's key tenets push the city towards enclosure, inequality, and marginalisation (2013). Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al. (2022b) and Kaddar, Barak, et al. (2022a) have examined the neoliberal urban turn from the perspective of the artist, inverting the typical analysis that focuses on how artists and activists (what they term 'artivists') shape the city to instead look at how urban factors influence art and 'artivism'. To determine the extent of the artist's activism, Kaddar, Barack, et al. synthesise the philosophical 'spirit of the city' with the sociological 'intrinsic logic of the city' to develop a typology that places a city's artist on a spectrum between an autonomous artist, a social artivist, a political artist, a political activist, or a high-status artist (2022). To qualify this typology, Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al. examine a spectrum of critical urban interventions made by the artists in the city to determine their civic participation, contestation of political power, and efficacy of action (2022). For the purposes of this research, we apply this typology to study the interaction of Brisbane's punk and goth subcultures with political power and to determine how prevailing socio-political structures have influenced the access to space over time.

While literature on the broader role of art in counter-city and right to the city discourse is growing (see Kaddar, Barak, et al., 2022a; Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al., 2022b; Kirchberg & Kagan, 2013), literature pertaining specifically to music and the notion of the counter-city is scarce. Music as a means to construct a counter-city seems to offer a strong theoretical lens, but much current literature primarily situates music within a live music ecology whose primary objective is connected to the instrumentalisation of culture in urban policy (see Darchen, Willsteed, & Browning, 2022).

3.1. Heterotopia and subcultures in the city

We situate the counter city/right to the city in musical terms as an aural and visual heterotopia countering the dominant forces determining life in the city. Lefebvre has placed heterotopia in conflict with isotopia (taken-for-granted, reflecting normality or homogeneity), with many ways of being and doing, in sharp contrast to seeing culture as hegemony. If Foucault opposed heterotopia (a real space) to utopia, Lefebvre developed a triad: isotopia, heterotopia, and utopia – or as he also labels them: "analogous places, contrasting places, and the places of what has no place" (Sandin, 2008, p. 78). Sandin (2008, p. 77) defines a heterotopia, as a "spatial condition of otherness in all societies". Heterotopia are not planned in the sense that they are not typically produced by the urban stakeholders such as developers, planners, or urban designers. Instead, they can be created by people reclaiming their time and pursuing the use of this time in spaces in the city. As such, this concept of a heterotopia can be exemplified by people involved in complex symbolic behavior, often collectively, to create a shared sense of the human experience. In a heterotopia, this collective behavior may run counter to normative behavior, and "(t)his 'something different' does not necessarily arise out of a conscious plan, but more simply out of what people do, feel, sense, and come to articulate as they seek meaning in their daily lives" (Harvey, 2012, p. 21). It is these smaller, often somewhat transgressive cultural movements that typify the collective attempt to make new social and cultural worlds that can be defined as heterotopias. The study of subcultures in urban studies is not new: the beginning of subcultural theory started with the Chicago School of the 1920s, when various theorists began to study deviant groups in the city (Hodkinson, 2002, p. 9). For Cohen (1955): "subcultures consisted of individuals collectively resolving societal status problems by developing new values…" (Cited in Hodkinson, 2002, p. 9). In this way, a heterotopia can be seen as an abstraction of the collective values that emerge from subcultural practice. Individuals who share similar socio-cultural problems gravitate towards one another and jointly establish new norms, creating new criteria of status which define as meritorious the characteristics they possess, and the kinds of conduct of which they are capable (Cohen, 1955, pp. 65–66).

Bennett (2011, p. 494) explains that contemporary societal and cultural contexts have made possible for more "individualized identity projects", and that the term 'post-subcultural' emerged in reaction to an "apparent breakdown of previous youth subdivisions" referring to the emergent dance music cultures in the 1980s and 1990s. Subculture, by contrast, he argues, is "too rooted in essentialist assumptions concerning the fixity of class and community." (p. 496). His concept of *scene* integrates the consideration of real and virtual spaces as well as the translocal and transnational connections that a *scene* might employ to evolve and thrive. As highlighted by Hodkinson (2002, p. 8), the internet as a mechanism for subcultural communications resulted in the former concept of subculture – mainly focusing on the local construct of subculture which relied on face-to-face interactions and the local integration of the people taking part in a specific subculture – no longer fitting the current context, with this trend having been amplified during the COVID-19 global pandemic. In the context of the contemporary city, subcultures are often very vulnerable as they "occupy spaces in unconventional ways and/or unconventional day/night use patterns (Ross, 2017, p. 122). On this point, Ross (2017, p. 123), citing Gelder (2007), explains that "subcultures territorialize their places rather than own them".

3.2. Changing cities, the counter-city and evolution of heterotopia

Much of the actual 'countering' in the counter-city goes on without any regard for academic thought or literature. Harvey describes the growing social movement, coalescing in the formation of the US-based Right to the City Alliance, as working towards its objective "without for the most part knowing Lefebvre's name" (2012, p. 27). These ideas of the counter-city, of the right to the city, can thus be seen, and, importantly for the purpose of our research, *heard* in the streets of the city more than they can be found in scholarship. Musically, the counter-city is a multitude of aural cries and righteous demands to find worth in whatever noise is collectively acknowledged as having meaning.

To be heard, however, music needs a place to be heard. Access to appropriate places in the city is frequently contested, and part of the countering in the counter-city is standing against being precluded from the right to gather and make noise. Here, our case study stands out, with Brisbane having had a domineering State Government from the 1960s to the late 1980s that actively worked to preclude opportunities for various forms of cultural expression perceived as being a threat to the conservative socio-political norm (see Stafford, 2004). Hae (2012) has noted that subcultures in the city are vulnerable to commodification, particularly in the urban cores of cities where night-spaces are targeted for their exchange value potential, and urban redevelopment initiatives threaten subcultures' access to the kinds of spaces necessary to hold events (see Shaw, 2013). Lefebvre saw this as a dynamic relationship between heterotopy and isotopy, though conceded that eventually heterotopic spaces became 'reclaimed' by the dominant political economic context (2003/1997).

While increasingly under threat, city-based music scenes and subcultural practices are thus a perfect example of a Lefebevurian heterotopia. As Harvey would argue, echoing Lefebvre's idea of 'reclamation', at a certain point these heterotopias are subsumed into the capitalist logic underpinning the dominant sociopolitical structure governing life in the city (2012). When a certain degree of success has been achieved, when audience numbers and independent record sales rise, the strata of what is typically referred as 'the music industry' enter the picture and turn the entire enterprise into a revenue-seeking endeavor where speculative capital is invested with the (often vain) hope of returning a profit. From a more revolutionary perspective, Harvey's key idea is that it will take more than isolated, geographically specific heterotopia,

vulnerable to being compromised by capitalist logic, to reach a point whereby the dominant economic substructure may be challenged. Attali (1985) considered music as prophetic in 'hearing' alternative political economic structures, and if the strength and resilience of musical subcultures are any guide, music provides no shortage of examples of alternative ways of being and doing. Harvey (2012) argues, though, that thus far all alternative visionary moments under such brief revolutionary activity have been too fleeting to construct lasting change. The city has always been emblematic of 'centrality' – a central square for speaking, gathering and listening. In the following, we will examine how two of Brisbane's musical subcultures can be viewed using the concept of the counter-city. Using Kaddar, Barak, et al.'s typology of the urban artivist (2022), we investigate how the changing political landscape of Brisbane over the past four decades has influenced the ways in which the local Punk and Goth scenes have had to engage in political and activist behavior in order to protect their 'right to the city'.

4. Findings: Brisbane's punk and goth scenes as counter-cities

This section traces the development of the two subcultures with an emphasis on the point of connections between the two but also highlighting a key distinction: the punk scene is primarily a live music scene, while the goth scene exists primarily as club culture.

4.1. Brisbane's punk: first phase

Seen as a somewhat of a cultural backwater by the southern cities of Sydney and Melbourne, 1960s Brisbane was a "fetid, fermenting mix of enervating heat, boredom, and unrelieved tension" (Stafford, 2004, p. 28). While Brisbane had birthed internationally recognized pop stars such as the Bee Gees and Johnny O'Keefe, acts such as these and other promising emerging artists typically fled the city at the first available opportunity.

The rise of punk bands in Brisbane echoed the arrival of the Sex Pistols. Although The Saints "(I'm) Stranded" pre-dated the release of the single "Anarchy in the UK", the Brisbane band were adamant about keeping their distance from the punk 'movement'. Saints' songwriter and guitarist Ed Kuepper stated: "People afterwards applied the punk label because they needed to have a way of describing the band. We rejected it... I liked punk but just lumping us with that genre is historically inaccurate" (Jacobs, 2022). When asked about the scene surrounding The Saints in 1975/76, Kuepper describes it with some amusement:

> "… there wasn't a scene you know, we were the scene. And it wasn't a very big scene. There was just us, and some people we forced to carry our gear" (Personal interview, 15 May 2021).

The bands that sprung up in the wake of "(I'm) Stranded" were from the edges of suburbia and the heart of the working class - The Leftovers and Tex Deadly and the Dumdums from Sandgate, a bayside suburb to the northeast; The Pits and This Five Minutes from the south-east; The Hardons, Kicks, and Razar from Mt. Gravatt in the south; Colours, Pinups, Toy Watches, and Skeletones from the old coal-mining town of Ipswich in the west. Hardons guitarist Mark Birskys recollects the sociocultural and economic context of the time:

> We came from really boring suburban, working class/lower middle-class homes, that were just a dearth of culture. And we wanted something interesting in our lives. But we also knew that anything interesting in our lives is suppressed by that stultifying political system. So we kicked against that … around 77 we formed a little band called Industrial Waste, and we did all covers of punk songs. (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022)

This is the way most bands begin, by covering the songs that excite them. The earliest gigs for these Brisbane bands were local: suburban halls whose caretakers were community groups and charities, or parties 'under the house', with timber houses on high stilts, colloquially known as 'Queenslanders'. A few of the halls were closer to the city, such as those in Petrie Terrace, Paddington, and Woolloongabba and with these, along with some small venues (such as The Curry Shop and 279 Club in the city, Romeo's and The Silver Dollar in The Valley), the punks began to stake their claim. Warehouses in the city and surrounds, slowly emptying as outer-suburban industrial estates grew, became available as practice rooms, squats, and sites of sub-cultural production. Mark Birskys remembers the scene:

> It was a very small … probably 300 or 400. You knew everybody. You knew the faces or you knew them personally. I remember we played at a Panel Van Club out at Redbank Plains. We also practiced at the Coorparoo School of Arts … And there was the Foresters Hall up at Paddington - there was a couple of gigs there. It's a tiny little hall. When we played there it had a picture of the Queen and we put the hammer and sickle flag up on top of it. (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022)

Raids by police on some of these shows, resulting in multiple arrests, reinforced the tightness of the scene, and the inherent political thread that ran through it. Birskys was a student at Griffith University, opened in 1975 in the afterglow of the Labour government of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam (1972–1975):

> Griffith was like a hotbed of radicalism. [The student union] was run by Lee Bermingham, Cherie Bradshaw - they were the like the leading communists. Then there was the anarchist element also, too, then there was the hardcore feminists and then there was the punks, and they all intermingled. (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022)

The university became a heterotopic space, safe for students leaning into the left in a right-wing city/state; safe for young punks; safe for women and queer folk. An added layer of safety was provided by the status of the campuses. Universities operated under the jurisdiction of federal authorities, and Queensland state police needed permission to enter. The inherent politics of the punks – reflected in the music - also led to their involvement in ongoing radical resistance to state and federal policies. This resistance was expressed by large rallies in the centre of the city and the university at St Lucia, and street marches, both legal and illegal. In this sense, Brisbane's early punk years are typified by Kaddar, Kircher, et al.'s 'political artivist' (2022), where direct local political action took place alongside the scene's artistic outputs. Part of this activism involved rebelling against the fashion norms of the time - although it seems counter-intuitive in a town where the police are on the lookout for you, the scene and its emerging variations very quickly became defined by 'looks'. The Leftovers' Ed Wreckage describes it as: "…the look. To look pretty greasy and grim … being wild enough to look after yourself but never aggressive" (Personal interview, 8 February 2012) while Mark Birskys noted the similarities in fashion between the punks and nascent goths:

> "… a lot of the punk look was eyeshadow, black hair. So naturally, a lot of people would look goth, even though they were punks, and there was a lot of intermingling between the two" (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022).

Andrew Bartlett, who was on the fringe of both subcultures in Brisbane, and was the drummer in post-punk band I Am Vertical, recalls the Brisbane punk scene being driven as much by a DIY attitude and a revolutionary spirit than by a particular genre of music, with an explicitly alternative mode of politics at its core:

> Particularly with punk, you know some people define it very specifically about a type of music. Others talk about it more as an attitude. I've often heard Lindy Morrison, the Go-Betweens drummer involved in alternative theatre and alternative politics since the seventies. She talks about punk more as a state of mind, a do-it-yourself attitude, and added an anti-establishment attitude and even an anti-

industry attitude to some extent … (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022).

As the scene began to grow and attract larger audiences, the conservative state government began to take a greater interest in activities they saw as a threat to the sociocultural norm. This quote from Andrew Bartlett's interview suggests systematic harassment by the police force in the 1980s and beyond:

> [Punk gigs] attracted a lot more police attention and more controversy. Some notorious concerts in the 1980s like the Dead Kennedy's concert, at the Festival Hall in the city … It would have been a good thousand or more people there, [and] probably as many cops waiting outside as there were people inside. There are heaps of stories … small gigs in little halls here and there where the cops have basically come in and bust up the gigs or wait outside and beat people up. (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022)

As association with the scene began to attract more attention from the authorities, members of Brisbane's punk community, and associated emergent subcultures, began to carve out safer places in the city. Birskys's earlier quote demonstrated the key role that university campuses played, but Brisbane's local radio station, 4ZZZ (itself originally situated on the grounds of the University of Queensland at St Lucia campus) was also pivotal. Bartlett explains the role of 4ZZZ in the promotion of subcultures after its launch in 1975, with the following quote revealing that the local community radio was a place for all subcultures, and that these local subcultures dictated the music programs over time:

> I think it's fair to say that 4ZZZ has been a key outlet for a whole lot of different subcultures in Brisbane. In the very early days of 4ZZZ, when I started in 1975, a lot of what they played was pretty mainstream. It was just more album tracks, and after a couple of years some people wanted to play punk. By 1980, it was full of The Cure, Sex Pistols and Joy division. It was a pretty rapid change in the focus of that station, and I think that was driven a lot by the local musical subcultures. (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022)

4.2. *Brisbane's goth clubs as heterotopia*

While the goth subculture started in the UK, it quickly spread across the globe, including to Australia. Bands like The Birthday Party were influential in the evolution of the Gothic Rock movement at the time, with the aesthetic also represented by Dead Can Dance from Melbourne. In Australia, goth subculture started with the 'Swampie' look and Swampie bands like the Scientists. 'Swampie' is an Australian Proto-Goth subculture, a peculiarly Australian variant that started in 1980–1981 just before the UK goth subculture became a template for Australian goths. Rachael Blakemore, founder, with her husband Lyle Blakemore, of the oldest Death Rock club in Australia, Club 1334, explains:

> In the 1980s, it was the Swampie look, then it became darker. It was very DIY … we liked to go to second hand shops to find clothing and to invent our own style … I was initiated by a punkie hairdresser in Adelaide then I saw Siouxsie on TV. For me it is first about the music and then second about being individualistic [and different] …" (Personal interview, 9 August 2019).

While Brisbane's burgeoning punk scene had traditionally relied primarily on live events to bring people together, Andrew Bartlett acknowledged that the goth subculture was more of a club culture than part of the live music scene:

> A lot of it was sort of Swampie, pre-grunge almost. I mean there was always a visible little goth subculture … a bunch of goth kids hanging out in Queen Street Mall near Hungry Jacks … [and] King George Square, it was a meeting spot for the Goth and Emo kids, going back a fair while. I wasn't one of them. I'd just seen them … they had their nightclubs and I think I am probably more of a live music person than going to nightclubs. (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022)

Healy and Fraser (2017), p. 3) state that "Gothic aesthetics aims to create a sense of sacredness and transcendence – a departure from the earthy realm…to create a ritualized space beyond everyday experience." We argue that goth clubs are an expression of this sacredness, ritual, and transcendence. They are heterotopia in that they embody a different way of being, of seeing, and of being seen, though unlike other typical 20th/21st century sacred urban spaces, as we demonstrate, the sites used by the movement are and were typically ephemeral. Goth clubs were the main sites for this subculture to gather and grow, though these clubs were rarely bespoke 'goth' clubs, but instead existing bars and venues repurposed periodically to host events. Clubs as places are not static in the city: they change owners, settings and decorations and they even change locations. For instance, the goth night 'Faith' (mostly Gothic music but including different alternative genres like Industrial and even 1990s Grunge), created by Richard Warman in 2000, has used 37 different venues between 2000 and 2023. While these have mostly been in Brisbane's Fortitude Valley district, they have also been held in West End and even at private venues. Warman was DJing early goth records at the Outpost in 1984, well before he started the 'Faith' club night:

> It was a mix of punk and gothic. Ed Kuepper would play live sometimes. It was a dodgy place [prostitution/drugs]. The owner did not treat the crowd very well. It is now a strip bar. [This] was at the time of the first Sisters of Mercy LP "First and Last and Always" but we would also play The Doors, The Pistols, The Clash, a weird mix." (Personal interview, 30 July, 2019).

Another notable goth night in Brisbane was Morticia's, where Johnny Griffin was the main DJ. Morticia's attracted 400 attendees on the opening night in 1987 and moved across the city through the next decade or two, using many venues, including The Belfast Hotel, The Treasury Hotel, The Hacienda Hotel and The Orient Hotel. Flyers were

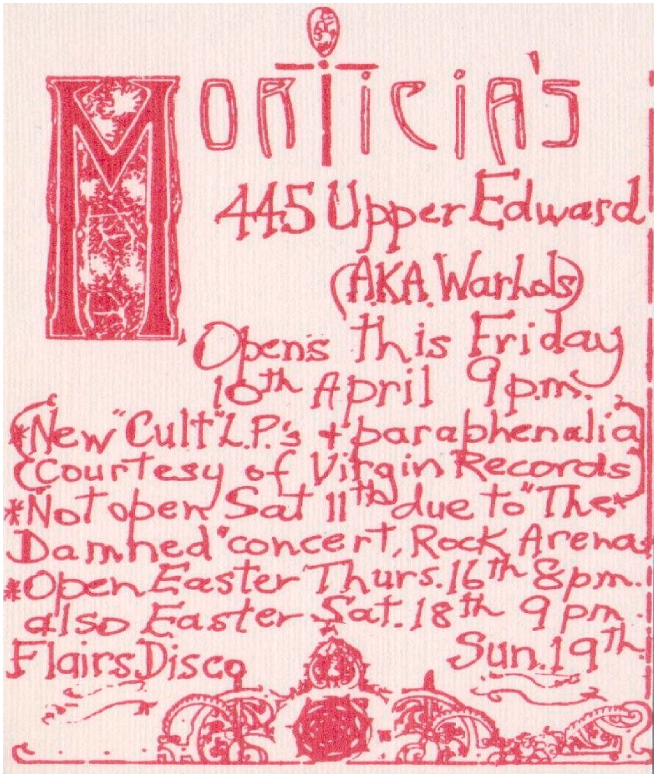

Fig. 1. Flyer for Morticia's Goth Club night (handmade).
Source: Designed by Stephen Crowther. Courtesy of Phillipa Berry.

typically hand-made (Fig. 1).

The lack of fixedness in Brisbane's goth subculture is evident from our research. Based on archival research, interviews, and the flyers/handbills we examined, we have identified seven main goth club nights. Although they were held across multiple venues, and while the date was not always available, this brief summary demonstrates the breadth in venues used by the scene: Hades at Land's Office Hotel (DJ Johnny Griffin); Club Vortex D'Junk (DJs Jane Grigg and Peter Mogg) at 409 George Street in 1985; Morticia's (DJ Johnny Griffin) in 1987 at The Belfast Hotel, The Treasury, The Hacienda Hotel and The Orient Hotel; Club Voltaire at the Majestic Hotel; The Vault at The Waterloo Hotel; Faith from 2000 at various locations and, more recently, Helter Skelter organised by Club 1334 from 2019 at The Haunt on Caxton Street, Petrie Terrace and then at Jolly Roger Bar on Wickham Street in Fortitude Valley.

Even though Brisbane goth subculture now coalesces increasingly through social media, clubs have been a feature in Brisbane since the 1980s and they remain the main 'home'. Across the forty years we have examined the scene, there has been little change in how these goth nights are run. Today, the Blakemores' Club 1334 transforms the Jolly Roger Bar in Fortitude Valley into a goth club every month, bringing goths to drink and enjoy a night of guitar-driven goth rock (Killing Joke, Sisters of Mercy, Siouxsie and the Banshees and The Gun Club are among the crowd's favourite). The venue doesn't charge the event's organisers, with the owner instead relying on the bar take, while skulls and posters of goth icons are the main ornaments for these ephemeral events. Flyers are DIY. There are sometimes newcomers, but the crowd is mainly represented by old-school Brisbane goths (30–40 people max.).

The goth subculture was not just about the clubs. There were also bands such as Ostea, Tycho Brahe, and dark electronic duo Dizzigotheca (with Heidi Edmonds) and, more recently Pleasure Symbols, who started in Brisbane in 2015. Bands associated with the goth genre, however, rarely make it big in Australia, as DJ Doom, the host and organizer of the Batcave program on long-running community radio station 4ZZZ, explains:

> I know The Bitumen and Pleasure Symbols [who are] based in Melbourne - those bands are struggling a little bit. If you are not doing psychedelic stuff like Tame Impala, it is hard to get big. Goth artists like Vowws [from Sydney] have left for L.A to work with Gary Numan; Zoe Zanias from Queensland who also lived in Melbourne has left for Berlin and is now into EBM [Electronic Body Music] - she runs the Fleish parties and has created the Fleish collective in Berlin. (Personal interview, August 14, 2019).

While Brisbane's goth subculture has been remarkable resilient over the past 40-odd years, punk bands and the punk scene get more audience support and are usually more popular in Brisbane. According to DJ Doom, punk's appeal might be in part attributable to the explicit political nature and activism associated with the scene:

> The goth scene is not as cohesive as before. It's fragmented, and young goth bands don't get a lot of support. The punk scene has more support and [festivals] like Total Attack would sell out. The punk scene gathers more people because of the activism part – activism is not part of the goth scene, the goths are more about the music, the sound, fashion, the look, and the culture. (Personal interview, 14 August, 2019).

It is interesting to note the acknowledged lack of explicit political activism in the goth subculture. One hypothesis here could be that the goth scene, as emergent from the post-punk scene was able to develop without the same sociopolitical opposition that the punks initially faced. Instead, those in the goth scene emerged after the first battles had already been won, with new musical styles, fashions, and modes of expression becoming more broadly accepted. Regardless of political persuasion, both scenes face new challenges today. While initial challenges to the punk subculture were political rather than pragmatic, with the late 1970s in Brisbane featuring no shortage of accessible inner-city spaces, the past twenty years have seen the battle shift from contesting political power to contesting the shifting economic terrain of the inner-city gentrification that has emerged from the move to a service-based economy. Similar to other subcultures around the world that traditionally relied on inner-city venues to operate, Brisbane's punk and goth subcultures have had to evolve over time to adapt to the residential development of urban space. This evolution has seen a contraction in in-person events, with the decrease in availability of affordable spaces coupled with a rise in the use of social media technologies creating a situation where subcultural activity no longer needs to rely primarily on physical events. How have the two subcultures adapted to the new urban reality of rising real estate values and an increasing diversity of music genres? Has there been a change in subcultural practices and, if so, how can these changes be situated in Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s typology of artistic city-zenship (2022)?

4.3. *Brisbane punk: second phase – into the new millennium*

Mark Birskys from Brisbane punk band The Hardons watched the change take place:

> It was a small group of people who had fairly like ideals. But then it became bigger and bigger … and then people just latched on to the subculture as a means of identity. I don't think they had the underlying philosophy or ideology of the original scene. So people just dressed up as if they were skinheads. It was about the look. They'd seen it in the fashion pages. As it became bigger, it became more mainstream. (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022)

The "like ideals" Birskys speaks of were certainly, in some part, political. Having a common enemy in the government of the day originally bound the punk scene like glue, but things began to change:

> As it got bigger … by the mid to late 80s, it was split into all these different scenes, and they weren't really talking, they weren't intermingling. Bands like the Go-Betweens and The Riptides became mainstream bands effectively. It just became rock and roll. It lost its punk. In the early days the scene was all about people getting together, having fun and listening to music, $2 to get into a dance … It wasn't about making money. But sometime in the early 80s … venues were hiring bands and getting the punters in, and they would make money out of it. So there was a time of transition … [it] stopped being about that little scene, run by itself … It became more professional, and it was run as an industry, probably a very cottage industry, but it stopped being people running it themselves, whereas promoters were running it. (Personal interview, 23 August, 2022).

Fortitude Valley, stretching south from the Central Business District, is one of Brisbane's main urban areas with a history of supporting alternative culture, but over the early 2000's the area has become increasingly gentrified (Darchen & Ladouceur, 2013). At this time, the punks did not have a 'home' in Brisbane and the political fight was shifting as the primary opposition to the scene changed from a conservative power that opposed punk's values as a perceived socio-cultural threat, to a new laissez-faire neoliberal power that threatened access to the inner-city venues that had typically played host to the local punk subculture. In terms of the physical venues now used by this subculture, our research shows that there are now fewer places available for punk subcultural events to happen. In a political context where the QLD government is now more tolerant, the 'city-zenship' of the punks has changed from 'political artist' to 'social artivist', with social inclusion and equity now privileged over direct political action. Punkfest started in 2004 under the leadership of Cathy Kerlin, with Chris Converse becoming involved in 2007. This period coincided with the implementation of Brisbane's 'Valley City Harmony Plan', which was developed by the local council to manage conflict between property developers, new inner-city residents, and the cluster of music venues in

the Fortitude Valley area:

> I wasn't in Brisbane back in the first wave, but I find the punks today … a big part of what they stand for is inclusivity. They're all very anti-racist, anti-sexist and very gender fluid supportive, things that are very 'left wing' today. It's how they see society; it's all quite socially aware. (Cathy Kerlin, personal interview, 13 January 2023).

Now nearing its 5th decade, there is a still a core of Brisbane punk devotees who were also there during the first wave, as Chris Converse notes:

> There's people who have, due to various reasons - families and stuff - dropped out of the scene for a bit or leave a band. But I suppose there was always and there still is to this day, a group of people I'd know, say, 30 of us that probably just can go out on a Saturday night, see a band. Well, we were all together at this band, we've been mates for well over 30 years. (Personal interview, 13 January 2023).

It is also a community with international connections, with the development of these global connections in no small part due to the proliferation of digital media technologies. The collaborations with the international punk community also exemplify the DIY, autonomous nature of the scene:

> So, we're all connected. Even when we travel overseas, we can stay with people we've helped here, obviously, throughout the community, whether it be Germany, France, anywhere in the world, basically. It's good to have that kind of friendship that you've made. And you might have only met them once on tour, but they've become lifelong friends and you meet up with them again…Udo from Coretex records in Germany, who always stays with us whenever he comes to Australia. (Chris Converse, personal interview, 13 January 2023).

Overall, in a contemporary context where access to venues has becoming increasingly contested, the values underpinning the punk scene have remained relatively unchanged, indicating that this is a quite settled and consistent local heterotopia. The political challenges may have shifted to focus on social inclusivity over direct political contestation, but this is much a testament to the success of a counter-culture that began in a very different socio-cultural context. Thus, while the punk scene may now more resemble that of collective of 'social artivists' over 'political activists' in Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s typology of critical urban artists (2022), this shift may have been, at least in part, a result of the efficacy of Punk's role as a counter-city movement.

4.4. The goths today: social media, Twitch, and the on-line international goth club scene

As with the punks, access to space has also been an issue for Brisbane's goths, with the alternative club scene affected by the rise of real estate values and the tide of revenue-raising poker machines into pubs and clubs. Thus, while Brisbane's goth subculture may not have been a direct victim of commodification, the growing commercialisation of the venues that had supported the community had a deleterious effect on the sustainability of Brisbane's scene. Andrew Bartlett states that before the 1990s, more pubs were available for alternative club nights or live concerts:

> We didn't have pokies until the early 1990s. All these pubs filled their rooms with poker machines … including pubs in the Valley. Places disappeared: venues like Easts Leagues Club … quite a big venue in the 1980s. I think the online culture has its positives. There are [many] more different things people can do now compared to what the options [were] in the 1990s. (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022).

Social media has also had both positive and negative effects on Brisbane's goth subculture. Social media may help the subculture nurture trans-local and international connections, but it also leads to a reconfiguration of face-to-face interactions locally. As one member of Brisbane's goth community states, goth clubs are no longer the only place where you can be 'in the know' about the latest fashion or the latest 'hot' goth band:

> There was no YouTube then and if you wanted to know about the latest Virgin Prunes LP you had to go to the [goth] club. There was also a shop in Brisbane where you could buy bootleg videos. The fact that the internet was not there gave more meaning to clubs, there were exciting [places]. Today the excitement is not there anymore. (Personal interview, 15 March, 2020).

With the advent of social media, the scene is reinventing itself. This reinvention, however, is not welcomed by all, with some lamenting the decline in face-to-face interaction:

> "It is a bit too much about Instagram [about the fashion] - people don't go out as much. We need to bring back people to parties...the number of parties has been shrinking." (Personal interview, August 9, 2019).

Despite these challenges, and while the subculture is not as prevalent as it may have been in the 1980s, interviewees confirm that the goth scene has always been an enduring fixture in Brisbane. The city continues to have goth club nights, with Club 1334 and Faith being the main ones, while there is a long-running weekly radio program (Brizzzbane Batcave on 4ZZZ) run by DJ Doom, focusing not only on traditional goth music but also on new goth bands from Australia and overseas. However, Adele, a prominent member of the subculture acknowledged that the scene is not the same today, highlighting the difficulties associated with appropriating venues for club nights:

> I started DJing for the goth club night The Abyss from 1995. These parties attracted a diverse crowd (alternative people) but a lot of goths. We played classic goth but also Alternative music from the time. The city was rundown at the time; places were much cheaper back then; there were more events. These parties would probably not be acceptable or viable today. There were a lot of shops for [goth] fashion [such as Voodoo Lulu on Wickham Street which closed down in 2018]. It was necessary to get dressed [up with] stuff from overseas (as the punks did). (Personal interview, July 31, 2019).

4.5. Parallel subcultures with differences

In summary, as the goth subculture in Brisbane emerged only a few years after the punk subculture, and while there are similarities and points of connection between the two, over time they have become more distinct in nature: the punk scene remains resolutely a live music scene, while the goths have settled into more of a club culture. Although the differences in the two scenes has resulted in increasing schismogenesis, in no small part due to the different political persuasions typically exemplified by each scene's members, the goth and the punk subcultures used to feature more interaction, as punk mainstay Converse remembers:

> With the goths, there was quite a good hardcore section of them in the 80s as well. And we all used to mix with them, you know they were good friends of ours as well. But being in Brisbane we couldn't understand how they could wear all that black and makeup in a Brisbane summer! …Being Brisbane, it was quite incestuous." (Personal interview, 13 January 2023).

In the 1980s, there were more goth bands and the distinction between live scene/club scene was not as clear as it is today. While the goth subculture in the 1980s was already beginning its trajectory towards building a club culture., musicians from both subcultures would still collaborate in music-making, as Chris Converse recalls:

> "If you were in one band and you're a drummer then you were in three bands and a guitarist was in four bands and it's still actually going like that to this day." (Personal interview, 13 January 2023).

Based on our interviews, it is fair to say the two scenes became more distinct as the goth scene became more strictly and exclusively a club scene.[2] In terms of similarities between the two subcultures, they both had their 'ups' and 'downs'. With the increase of inner-city gentrification in the early 2000s and the reliance of live venues, punk bands no longer had a 'home'. Punkfest was launched in 2004 to offer a solution to the newfound difficulties associated with putting on live events, for as well as a reduction in the number of venues available, those that did still offer live music often stigmatized punk bands:

> "Mostly [from] the venue owners. A lot of the venues were owned by ALH,[3] so they're part of a chain that has a particular image they want to portray. And, at that time, punks didn't fit into that image. But in recent years that has changed a bit. In fact, the then state manager spoke to us about putting Punkfest into their menus, but then they made a couple of bad decisions so we decided not to go ahead." (Cathy Kerlin, Personal interview, 13 January 2023).

For the goth subculture, a primary issue became how to attract newcomers (young alternative kids), particularly with further splintering of the scene into new variants like the EMO scene of the early 2000s. While the musical tastes were quite different, the generally similar values and fashions meant that some in the EMO scene transitioned quite easily into the goth scene. One of our informants DJ Doom recalls her path from EMO to Goth:

> "Around 2005, I was part of the EMO movement. Bands like My Chemical Romance were big at the time. EMO Kids would gather in Brisbane CBD (60/80 kids, 16/17 years old) but had nowhere to go, too young to enter bars. The aim was to dress up and be seen in the street, they would meet on 'Vampire Freaks' a meeting site for alternative kids. There were no underage shows for the EMO scene. Then I left this scene and started to go to Faith, Lovecats and Flares parties, I liked the music there and it was a safe place for a girl. I decided to start my own show at 4zzz Brizzzbane Batcave and organize a monthly batcave night and DJ there (either at the Bearded Lady or at Fitzenburger)" (Personal interview, August 14, 2019).

To better understand the distinction between the two scenes, it is important to define what we mean by 'clubs'. The term 'club' is used to denote a venue that plays recorded music, usually by a DJ, not live, amplified music, usually performed by a band or solo artists. There are no dedicated clubs in Brisbane to Goth music.[4] The Clubs are in fact 'Club nights' dedicated to goth music and happening in small venues like a bar with a small dance floor (1334 Club) or at slightly bigger venues[5] like the Wickham Hotel for the Faith club night.

While the two scenes punk and goth have grown more distinct, there are still some interactions: community radio station 4zzz has regular carpark gigs where mostly local punk and hardcore punk bands play on Saturday afternoons. The attendance is a mix of alternative people including metalheads, punks, and goths.

In the same manner as the punks, the goths today use specific spaces in the city, mostly in the Valley, and through the use of social media they have also developed and nurtured an international community to compensate for the small local size of the subculture. Although online goth club nights are popular on the Twitch platform, as with the traditional venue-based events, these still appear less about economic returns and more about community-building. Many goths organizing events insisted that they do it for the passion, not for the money. This passion element can also be found in the interview we did with Chris Converse and Cathy Kerlin about the punk subculture.

Andrew Bartlett confirms that while new technologies influence the dynamics of small subcultures such as the goths, the primary motivation behind the scene is still to create a sense of collective meaning over financial gain:

> "The online thing has its really positive aspect… and you can connect with more people from a lot of different countries. It's more interesting and less incestuous [than a small local subculture]. Technology changes things [and] commodification can be part of it, but it doesn't have to [be]. The vast majority of the artists or the organizers, they're not trying to make a fortune, they like to cover their costs [but] they're doing it because they love it, and they like celebrating it and keeping it alive and connecting with people and having fun…that's the main driver." (Personal interview, 30 August, 2022).

5. Discussion and conclusion

Bartlett's final comments neatly encapsulate the way in which musical subcultures manifest different ways of being and doing. The creation of inclusive environments developed out of a shared series of values that play host to people expressing themselves collectively however they see fit with little concern of the economic logic that underpin neoliberal night-time economy perspectives shows us one more way that engaged 'city-zens' are fighting to reclaim their 'right to the city'. In making and remaking localised versions of global cultural movements defined primarily by engagement with particular musical genres, these subcultures develop what can be understood as types of heterotopia. The creative work of these subcultures can be situated in terms of the counter-city in this way: dominant sociocultural perspectives underpinned by a capitalistic understanding of people as economic actors motivated by maximizing accumulation are subsumed by collective, local action driven by notions such as love, celebration, fun, and a search for shared meaning. Those involved in these 'counter-city' tendencies may have differing notions regarding the extent to which power must be contested to achieve these aims, which are neatly encapsulated in Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s typology of critical urban interventions. In this typology, Brisbane's punks have shifted from a direct political activist approach to a more politically subversive socially inclusive approach, while the goths have always maintained a somewhat politically distant stance with fewer direct interventions and a set of values more aligned with "shaping human relationships without being openly political" (Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al., 2022b, p.478.).

These two subcultures thus embody two different types of counter-cities, even though it is clear that both subcultures are part of a broader alternative scene which was initially fueled, at least in part, by a reaction to the ultra-conservative Queensland government. Both reject the mainstream. 4ZZZ as a local radio station has been key and still is in the promotion of local subcultures. In terms of the counter-city, the way in which the punks reclaimed the city was mostly through live gigs, including the re/activation of urban spaces (halls/moribund clubs and hotels/empty warehouses and retail spaces) and participation in overt political action (street marches/demonstrations/fund-raising benefit gigs). All of these were constantly monitored and disrupted by the Queensland Police leading to violence, arrests, convictions and lingering

[2] We can mention 'Chiffon Magnifique' as a recent goth band coming the Gold Coast but there are less goth bands than in the 1980s.

[3] ALH Hotels is a corporate group offering a diverse hospitality experience including electronic gaming, sports bars, bistros, restaurants, cafes, accommodation, nightclubs, live sports.

[4] There are very few cities in the world where there are permanent clubs dedicated to goth music, we can mention Dunckerclub in Berlin and Das Bunker in Los Angeles.

[5] The venue can charge a small fee to the event organizer and no fee and just rely on the benefits made from the drinks.

trauma. We can frame this initial reclamation of the late 1970s as more of a political fight (physical violence initiated by the police force was common in the 1980s through to the 1990s[6]), while over the past two decades the fight has been focused on access to affordable spaces.[7] Our research shows that the punks' 'reclamation' of the city in the 1980s was motivated less by a challenge to the capitalistic logic of accumulation (related to the use of spaces in the city) but rather that the motivation was explicitly political. Brisbane's proto-punks were firmly within Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s 'political artivist' type, and their work describes and criticized current socio-political conditions, sometimes offering an "alternative vision of the socio-political order" (2022, p.478). The counter-city promoted by the goths, however, has maintained a more politically distant stance; this heterotopia is defined more by fashion and aesthetics rather than a direct-action political ideology, even though goth subculture is based on specific values and attitudes not always aligned with those found in mainstream modern society. The counter-city promoted by Brisbane's goth subculture thus falls more under the 'social artivist' type, with social relationships privileged over the open contestation of political power, though where the cultural proclivities favoured by the scene still run counter to the norm. Thus, by viewing Brisbane's punk and goth scene though the lens of the counter-city, we see how the concept of heterotopia captures the more ephemeral, small-scale initiatives that have reflected subcultural practices at various times. Through the use of Kaddar, Kirchberg, et al.'s typology of critical urban interventions (2022), we contextualise these subcultural practices on a spectrum of political engagement to reveal music's key role in developing subcultures that have contested and shaped Brisbane's urban spaces over the past 40 years by using placemaking as a way in which to explicitly or subversively contest shifting local political powers. Beyond Brisbane, this work presents a conceptual framework that can be applied to the study of subcultures in other city contexts, that is, by applying the concept of heterotopia via a lens of artistic city-zenship urban researchers may be able to better capture the role(s) of subcultures at the city level. While subcultures may not typically inform urban 'music city' policy work, we believe they represent an important part of the cultural history of cities, especially in relation to their connectedness to places in the city. The role of music in creating alternative ways of relating to spaces can be highlighted though cultural exhibitions often curated by formers members of these subcultures (See: State Library of Queensland, 2023), and while such preservation projects are commendable and a vital part of cultural life in the city, policy-makers and urban planners must also ensure that the next generation of transgressive, rebellious noise-makers are given the right to make the sorts of noises that may themselves become part of cultural exhibitions decades from now.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Sébastien Darchen: Conceptualization, Investigation, Methodology, Writing – review & editing. **Yanto Browning:** Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. **John Willsteed:** Investigation, Methodology, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

[6] Andrew Bartlett mentioned the 'infamous' 4zzz event: On October 30th 1996, the Queensland Police on horseback assaulted people at a 4ZZZ concert and fundraising event.

[7] The punks have more established live gigs today organised by Punkfest Brisbane.

Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

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Interviews

Interview with Richard Warman, (DJ and organizer of Faith nightclub since 2000), Toowong, Brisbane. July 30, 2019. 120 minutes.

Interview with Adele (Alternative music reviewer and interviewer for Onyx Music Reviews) and Josh (DJ for the Dark Essence an electro-industrial show on 4ZZZ radio), 4ZZZ, Fortitude Valley, Brisbane. July 31, 2019. 60 minutes.

Interview with DJ Johnny Griffin (Influential Brisbane DJ. Creator of the first real goth rock club in Brisbane: Morticia's). QUT, Brisbane. August 13, 2019. 110 minutes.

Interview with DJ Doom (DJ at Helter Skelter Night Club and presenter of Brizzzbane Batcave radioshow on 4ZZZ),West End, Brisbane. August 14, 2019. 75 minutes.

Interview with Heidi (member of Dizzigotheca darkwave electronica duo and part of the Brisbane goth subculture in the late 1990s, DJ on 4ZZZ community radio's "Black is the New Black"), Skype. August 30, 2019. 30 minutes.
Interview with Rachael Blakemore (Organizer of the 1314 Death Rock club night in Melbourne and organizer of the Helter Skelter club night in Brisbane, moderator for the Facebook group Brisbane Gothic community), Fortitude Valley, Brisbane. August 9, 2019. 70 minutes.
Interview with DJ Poisondwarf (DJ Deathrock, Post Punk, Goth at Goth club nights in Brisbane and Melbourne and Wave Gothic Treffen festival). Fortitude Valley, Brisbane. March 15, 2020. 70 minutes.
Interview with Mark Birskys (guitarist from Brisbane Punk band The Hard-ons). QUT, Brisbane. August 22, 2022. 45 minutes.
Interview with Ed Wreckage (member of The Leftovers, seminal Brisbane Punk band). Stafford, Brisbane. February 8, 2012. 50 minutes.
Interview with Ed Kuepper (member of The Saints, Laughing Clowns etc). QUT, Brisbane. May 15, 2021.
Interview with Andrew Bartlett (member of I Am Vertical, former Australian Senator and 4ZZZ board member). On Zoom. August 30, 2022. 54 minutes.
Interview with Chris Converse and Cathy Kerlin (Organizers of Punkfest), Platform5 Bar, Brisbane, July 13, 2023. 81 minutes.