

RACISM AND VIOLENCE IN BLACK METAL AND SKA LYRICS

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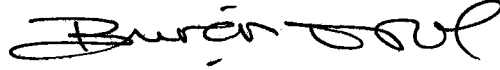
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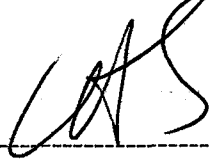
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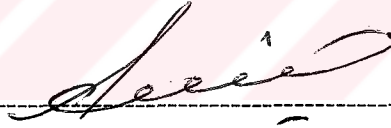
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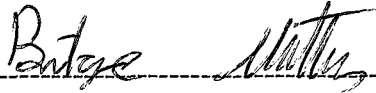
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Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geen ğretim üyelerine ait olduđunu onaylarım.



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To my mother...



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ÖZET

AĞIN, Başak. *Racism and Violence in Black Metal and Ska Lyrics*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Ankara, 2006.

Gençlik altkültürleri bir yaşam biçiminin sınırlarını genel olarak çizen bir ana kültür içerisinde ortaya çıkarlar. Ana kültür ile bu ana kültüre ve toplum içerisindeki genel yaşam biçimine birer tepki olarak doğan gençlik altkültürlerinin paylaşılmayan ve ortak olmayan özellikleri, toplum içerisinde parçalanmış ve dağınık bir görüntüye yol açmaktadır. Bu sebeple, gençlik altkültürleri ve bunların üyeleri genellikle, bütünlük içerisindeki bir yaşam biçimine karşılık ikicilik yaratmış olmaları inancına dayalı olarak eleştirilirler. Bu eleştiride, iki gençlik altkültürü olan dazlaklar (skinheads) ve Heavy Metal kültürü örneklerinde de görüldüğü üzere, sıklıkla, altkültürün dışa kapalı yapısı nedeniyle, giyim tarzlarının, davranış kalıplarının ve dinledikleri müziklerin yanlış yorumlanması ile karşı karşıya kalırlar. Her ikisi de İngiliz toplumu içerisinde çıkmış olan bu iki gençlik altkültürü, aslında her ikisinin de kökenlerinde ırksal ayrıma dayalı bir söylem bulunmamasına karşın, bugün, ırkçılığı ve ırkçı ayrıma dayalı şiddeti savunan alt grupların içlerinde giderek artıyor olması nedeniyle suçlanmaktadır ve her iki altkültürün de bütün üyeleri bu söylemleri savunuyormuş gibi gösterilmektedir. 1960'lardan itibaren bu iki gençlik altkültürü ortaya çıkmış ve takipçilerinin dinlediği popüler müziğin tarihsel evrimi içerisinde biçimlenmişlerdir: 1960'lar Ted'lerin, Mod'ların, Rocker'ların ve Hippie'lerin ortaya çıkışına tanık olurken, 1970'ler Heavy Metal ve punk türlerinin ortaya çıkışına olanak tanımıştır. Bunlardan ilki Death Metal, Black Metal ve pek çok Metal müzik alt türüne ayrılırken, ikincisi ska ritimleri ile birleşmiştir. Bu türlerin hepsi de kökenlerini Afrika'ya ait bir müzik olan Blues'dan alır, ki bu da beyazların ve siyahların bir zamanlar müzikal ve alt kültürel seçimlerinde birleştiklerini göstermektedir. Ancak, 1980'lerin sonları ve 1990'lar dönemi, politikanın etkisiyle ve medyanın ortaya çıkmakta olan alt türleri takip eden gençler arasında meydana gelen suç olaylarına gösterdiği aşırı ilgi nedeniyle, bu iki altkültürün, bugün neredeyse bu altkültürlerin günümüzdeki takipçileri için kullanılan isimlerle aynı anlamı taşımaya başlayan, "ırkçı," "neo-faşist," "neo-Nazi," ve "Satanist" gibi sıfatlarla bilinmelerine ve yaftalanmalarına sebep olmuştur. Bu gençlik altkültürlerinin içerisinde bulunan bazı alt türlerde bazı gençlerin ırksal ayrımcılığa veya aşırı şiddete eğilimi olduğu doğrudur, ancak bunlar ya bir zamanlar gençliğin hiçbir alakasının bulunmadığı politik müdahalelerin, ya da toplumun diğer alanlarında da gözlenmesi muhtemel olduğu gibi, bir gençlik altkültüründe de görülmesi kaçınılmaz olan bireysel suç olaylarına medyanın gösterdiği aşırı ilginin sonucudur.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Gençlik, gençlik altkültürü, rock, ska, punk, ted'ler, mod'lar, rocker'lar, dazlak, Heavy Metal, Nazizm, ırkçılık, faşizm, ırkçılık karşıtı düşünceler.

ABSTRACT

AĞIN, Başak. *Racism and Violence in Black Metal and Ska Lyrics*, M. A. Thesis. Ankara, 2006.

Youth subcultures emerge within a mainstream culture that clarifies the boundaries of a way of living. The unshared and uncommon characteristics of mainstream culture and the youth subcultures, which usually emerge as a reaction to the mainstream culture and to the general way of life of the society, cause a shattered image within the society. Therefore, youth subcultures and their followers are generally criticised, with the belief that they cause duality in the society, in contrast with a unified way of life. In this criticism, they are often face to face with the misinterpretation of their dress codes, behavioural patterns and their music, due to the introvert structure of their subcultures, as exemplified by the two youth subcultures, namely, skinhead movement, and the cult of Heavy Metal. Both emerging within the British society, these youth subcultures are today associated with racism and racial violence, though originally none had the aim of reflecting a view in relevance to the discourse of racial discrimination. From 1960s onwards, these two youth subcultures have come into being, undergoing historical evolutions with regard to the popular music their followers listen to: 1960s saw the emergence of the teds, the mods, the rockers, and the hippies, while the late 1970s gave way to the Heavy Metal and punk genres; the former evolving into various schisms like Death Metal, Black Metal, and other forms of Metal music, as the latter gave way to a union with ska rhythms. All of these genres have their roots in the Blues genre of the African origin, showing that the black and the white were once united in their musical and subcultural styles and preferences. However, the late 1980s and 1990s period, with the influences of politics and the exaggerated interest of media in the criminal acts of the youth within the evolving schisms, brought the two subcultures infamous labels, such as racist, neo-fascist, neo-Nazi, and Satanist, that act as the synonyms for the contemporary followers of those youth subcultures. It is true that some schisms within the youth subcultures have a tendency towards racial discrimination or extreme violence, yet, these are either the results of political interferences; or they are caused by the extreme attention paid by the media to the individual cases of crime, which, in fact, could be observed elsewhere in a society, as well as in a youth subculture.

Keywords

Youth, youth subculture, rock, ska, punk, teds, mods, rockers, skinhead, Heavy Metal, Nazism, racism, fascism, anti-racism.

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INTRODUCTION

What the term “subculture” refers to denotes a certain degree of deviation from the mainstream culture of a society. Since youth, also referred to as adolescence, is a period when a human being begins to interrogate his/her place in the world, it could also be pointed out as the time when people try to challenge the already reinforced notions in their environment, within the process of that interrogation. By trying to deconstruct and reconstruct the values that already exist in the environment surrounding them, the youth attempt to give a meaning to life and the world. In this sense, subcultures are the means of deconstruction and reconstruction of the values for the young people. When the two terms, “youth” and “subculture” are used together to point out a term of cultural studies, it is natural that they suggest a kind of revolt, or at least a heavy degree of reaction, both having the same connotations of rebellion.

This is the probable reason that lies beneath the fact that rock music has always been so popular among the young people since the 1960s, as rock music has always been a part of reaction against the shortcomings of the society, mostly dealing with the criticism of the institutions that are thought as part of the corrupt ideologies. It has always been the case with youth that the novelties they are after are condemned by the previous generations – because it is difficult to embrace a challenging value instead of the already accepted ones. This condemnation usually takes place in the form of pressure over the youth. In this sense, rock music appeared as a means of insurgency against this pressure, and yet, on being the target of harsh criticism by the dominant class of the society, the youth subcultures with connections to rock music, have changed their shapes, and their members have revived these subcultures in many different forms of clothing style and musical preferences.

Though they seem totally different at present, both the skinhead movement and the cult of Heavy Metal are the derivatives of rock and roll culture, which has developed through time and has been accompanied by various dress codes and hairstyles within youth subcultures.

In shaping one's own personality through creating a sense of belonging to a social group, which is a subculture in the youth's case, as already pointed out, "the importance of music to youth culture cannot be underestimated" (*Satanism and Its Allies* 59), and rock music stands at the point where the overwhelming pressures are fought against. Moreover, rock music associates itself with certain behavioural patterns and dress codes, where a new and "alternative" world, so to speak, is created as an area where the adults' rules are no longer valid (Brake 5). In this alternative world, the youth try to find their own styles by using the rock world as a step into the construction of their individual discourses. Rock music gradually becomes the living style of the youth and this is how the youth subcultures emerge with regard to rock music, the examples of which are the skinhead movement and the Heavy Metal subculture, in this study.

Keith Kahn-Harris argues in his article titled "The 'Failure' of Youth Culture: Reflexivity, Music and Politics in the Black Metal Scene," that "in a capitalist world in which the possibility of revolution seemed improbable, there was nothing left but to look for the possibility of anti-hegemonic resistance in the margins of societies" (96). This suggests that, not having much power to revolt against the corrupt institutions of the society in which the discriminative behaviours towards any possible *other* (emphasis added) are often encountered, the youth try to react against the corruption in the governmental, social, religious and cultural bodies of the society by establishing the youth subcultures. In other words, in the societies, where bringing a new system that works fairly¹ is impossible, youth subcultures emerge.

In this study, two youth subcultures, the skinhead movement and the cult of Heavy Metal, are analysed as the means of resistance against the unfair dominancy of the ruling classes, since both the subcultures emerged as part of the working class British society. Nevertheless, youth subcultures, while coming into existence with the aim of bringing a social change, are subject to change as well, as they are parts of a progressive movement that can be modified throughout time: Petter Holme and Andreas Grönlund observe that "youths do not want to be old-fashioned, so a subculture on its decline certainly seems less appealing to potential followers than a subculture on its rise" ("Modelling the Dynamics"), explaining partly the reason why the youth subcultures are subject to change and why the new youth subcultures replace their predecessors. This

indicates that the means used by the youth subcultures to provide an alternative world to that of the adults² are parts of the popular culture, such as the clothing styles, hairstyles and the musical preferences, and “popular culture is always in process” (Fiske “Understanding Popular Culture” 3).

Although the youth subcultures exist in an antagonistic approach to the commercialised consumerism offered by the media and the social means of communication, it is inevitable for them to have interaction with the stimulus provided by these channels. Thus, on having interaction with these social channels, subcultures may become the popular elements of commercialisation and they may fade out. This is further supported by Kahn-Harris’ observation that “the ‘tragedy’ of subcultures was that they were too unstable and too marginal to ever provide more than fleeting challenges to capitalist power” (96), making it clear that no matter how much support the youth subcultures gain from their followers, the followers are due to change their lifestyles and appearances in order to gain acceptability within the mainstream culture, that is, to survive. That is to say that, as Antonio Gramsci argues, the subordinate groups within a society, such as the youth subcultures in this case, cannot exist without the consent of the dominant class. They may offer resistance to the ideas of the dominant class which may appear as common-sense explanations, but the alternatives they offer “are always negotiated within a cultural context which emerges from ruling class (or a fraction of its) ideas” (qtd. in Brake 5). Hence, it is possible to say that youth subcultures can exist only when the mainstream culture of the dominant class consents. Therefore, dominant class’s accusing the skinhead and the Heavy Metal subcultures on the basis of racism is in vain for two reasons: first, both subcultures emerged with the consent of the mainstream culture, and otherwise they would have vanished until the present; and the second reason is that the youth subcultures’s need for the dominant class’s consent to exist can be considered as a form of racism, as racism foresees the application of repression over the subordinate. Moreover, the consent of the dominant class is provided by the means of materialistic support given by the institutions of the society. In other words, if one youth subculture is to survive, it would definitely need a means of gaining financial support. Michael Brake states that “contemporary theories of youth

culture, especially in Britain, have been influenced by Marxist thought" (3), and Karl Marx, in his *Capital*, explains that

The ideas of the ruling class in every epoch are the ruling ideas . . . the class which is the ruling force in society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has the control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (39)

The link between Marxism and the development of youth subcultures can further refute the idea that the youth subcultures of skinheads and the Heavy Metal are based on racist ideas. Racism clashes with the idea of Marxism, and emerging from the working class of Britain, these youth subcultures cannot have their roots in racism. Additionally, as Marx also states, in the capitalist societies where one has to have economic strength to continue living, it is almost impossible to survive without yielding to the system, even if one does not believe that it works (39). Holme and Grönlund emphasize that "the youth subcultures . . . often require some economic strength from the follower" ("Modelling the Dynamics"), and this is the main motive behind the emergences of "sub-subcultures" ("Modelling the Dynamics"), such as the racist sect of the skinhead movement and the National Socialist Black Metal (NSBM) subculture, as they are supported financially by the right-wing political parties, causing both the subcultures to be seen as totally racist.

Nevertheless, one cannot deny the existence of the youth subcultures, trying to survive within the system, though reacting against it. Even though, they might be subject to change and they can fade out due to different reasons, such as the progressive nature of popular culture and the undeniable requirement for finance, there might still be some members who try to keep the youth subculture they belong to alive. "For many subcultures, a member is expected to be devoted to it," (Holme and Grönlund, "Modelling the Dynamics") and this point is obvious in the cases of the skinhead movement and the cult of Heavy Metal, when especially one thinks of the fact that non-racist skinheads and Metalheads still try to keep the original spirit of their subcultures alive.

Taking all these points into account, John Clarke and Stuart Hall assert that the analysis of youth subcultures is quite difficult (9), especially when the fact that they define themselves “versus the mainstream culture,” as Sarah Thornton also points out (3-4), or versus the commercialised culture promoted by the media is considered. Clarke and Hall, in this sense, place the youth subcultures in many fields of life, considering the role the youth subcultures play in accordance with their resistance to the mainstream culture. They explain the means used by the mainstream culture to give a meaning to the youth subcultures and how the youth subcultures gradually constructed social change by means of resistance:

The social and political meaning of Youth Cultures is not easy to assess: though their visibility is consistently high. “Youth” appeared as an emergent category in post-war Britain, one of the most striking and visible manifestations of social change in the period. “Youth” provided the focus for official reports, pieces of legislation, official interventions. It was signified as a social problem by the moral guardians of the society – something we “ought to do something about”. (9)

This is how the media assumed the role of *enlightenment* (emphasis added) for the society about the youth subcultures³, as a commercial means of reflection for the mainstream culture. From the 1950s onwards, many subcultural styles have appeared in the historical scene of Europe, and especially of Britain, and they have not been welcomed by the mainstream culture, due to their marginalised appearances and modified rules of acceptability, as they have always been created to become an alternative for the repressive rules of the dominant classes in the society. Having originated from these subcultural styles, namely, the teds, the mods, the rude boys, the rockers, and partly the hippies⁴, the skinhead and the Heavy Metal subcultures have been face to face with the prejudiced point of view of the mainstream culture, like their predecessors.

Skinheads and the followers of the Heavy Metal subculture, notorious for their violent and/or criminal acts in contemporary Europe, and especially Britain as their deriving point, had originally been two youth subcultures, associated with the relevant music genres of ska and Heavy Metal, both having their origins in rock music. However, in contemporary Britain, and as they currently have spread across many other countries, in contemporary Europe, they are no longer associated with merely innocent subcultures.

Today's skinheads and Metalheads vary, some of whose branches have been engaged in criminal acts based on racist, fascist and/or Satanic claims all over the world. They are considered as the core of violent xenophobia, being engaged in brutal actions against the black and Asian immigrants, leftists and homosexuals; i.e., any group of people whom they consider as *the other* (emphasis added) in Britain, as well as many other countries.

The main reason for these youth subcultures being associated with racism, fascism, and Satanism, all of which have no relevance to the original spirit of rock music and its insurgent nature against repression, is the individual cases of violent/criminal acts and the eventual outcome of some groups' being involved in the racist parties, as already mentioned. The second reason is the exaggerated interest of the media⁵ to the racist crimes committed by the individuals or groups within these subcultures, paving the way to label all the followers of these youth subcultures as racist, fascist or Satanically oriented criminals.

The individual crimes committed by some members of these subcultures took so much part in the newspapers or on television channels that an inevitable consequence came into sight: the introduction of the two subcultures as totally racist. That is to say that they are seen as the potentially dangerous or the unwanted *other* (emphasis added) by the rest of the society, due to the media's reflection. Douglas Kellner agrees in his article that the media has the role of giving one the sense of recognising "us" and "them". He states that

Radio, television, film, and the other products of media culture provide materials out of which we forge our very identities; our sense of selfhood; our notion of what it means to be male or female; our sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality; and of "us" and "them." ("Cultural Studies")

Kellner further argues that the means of the media to help one construct a world view on the environment, also assumes a didactic role of scheduling how to react against different social groups, as, in this case, the subcultures:

The media are a profound and often misperceived source of cultural pedagogy: They contribute to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire –and what not to. The media are forms of pedagogy which teach us how to be men and women. They show us how to dress, look and consume; how to react to

members of different social groups; how to be popular and successful and how to avoid failure; and how to conform to the dominant system of norms, values, practices, and institutions. ("Cultural Studies")

With this imposing structure of the media, which shapes the viewpoint of the average audience, most of the skinheads and Metal fans are introduced to the world as potential criminals; yet it is true that there are criminals within both the communities. Nevertheless, the violence emerging from the acts of racist skinheads and Metal audience does not mean that non/anti-racist skinheads and Metalheads who try to keep the original spirit of ska and Heavy Metal alive do not exist.

This study aims to analyse the historical evolution of the skinhead movement and the cult of Heavy Metal, both of which came into being within the British society, by referring to the ideas given about these subcultures, as well as analysing the lyrics of globally known bands of both racist and non-racist attitudes. It also aims to identify the degree to which these subcultures are related with violence and the racist attitudes their followers are accused of.

Although the aim of this study is not to examine the concept of race and its definitions, a brief introduction to the term race will be useful in order to further demonstrate the aim of the study in analysing the issue of racial discrimination and opposite ideas, in line with the fundamentals and the contemporary reflections of the skinhead and the Heavy Metal subcultures.

The term "race," being the subject matter of many scientific fields varying from biology to anthropology, and from sociology to the eventual field of cultural studies, has many different definitions according to the field of study. In contemporary usage, it is possible to talk about the concept of race denoting "a certain group of people with more clearly defined characteristics" ("race" O'Sullivan and Hartley 255). In terms of cultural studies, however, race is usually defined as "a social category of people who are supposedly distinguished by inherited and invariable characteristics" ("race" O'Sullivan and Hartley 255). As far as the dictionary explanation of the term "race" is concerned, it is possible to refer to race as "the descendants of a common ancestor" ("race", Def. 1, *Webster's English Dictionary*). Therefore, it can be argued that race is not something

permanent or static in nature, and it is changeable as the generation proceeds. As the human kind breeds, “the common ancestor” referred above refutes itself, by becoming a far less relevant individual to an individual of the latest generation in his/her line – unless the members of a race practise internal marriages (endogamy) constantly. In this respect, regardless of how closed a society is to the outsiders in terms of marriage, in the twenty-first century, it is impossible to classify races or even to talk about a pure race with a static condition. Thus, the racial discrimination based on the belief that certain races are superior to the other is a fallacy.

Nonetheless, in terms of biology and ethnology, the term “race” shows a variety of definitions: biologically, race is “a group of assemblage of organisms exhibiting general similarities but not sufficiently distinct from other forms to constitute a species. The distinguishing characters are practically constant and are transmissible to the progeny,” (“race”, Def. 2, *Webster’s English Dictionary*). Ethnologically, race is defined as “a division of mankind possessing constant traits, transmissible by descent, sufficient to characterise it as a distinct human type” (“race”, Def. 3, *Webster’s English Dictionary*). If the idea given in the definition is to be discussed, it can be refuted scientifically, which will automatically lead to the collapse of the common understanding of “race” all around the world. Iggy Kim, in “A Marxist Perspective,” also touches on the scientific error or pseudo-scientific “realities” on the idea of race that had eventually led to the massacre of the masses in world history:

There are no clear and fixed demarcations of people fitting coherent sets of physical traits. Within any racial group there are varying shades of pigmentation, body shape, hair texture, facial structure etc., as well as shared characteristics across racial divides. For instance, there are many Australian Aborigines categorised as “black” who have skin colour no darker than many southern Europeans who are categorised as “white”. (Kim, “A Marxist Perspective”)

This suggests that the matter of race is more politically originated than biologically essential, that is, policies of prejudice determine the existence of a concept called “race,” as it is seen in the example of xenophobic British society that defines the borders of discrimination on the basis of a prejudiced point of view. Besides, it is also obvious that the issue of race is relative, which is further examined to determine whether the notion of race really exists, by Michael J. Bamshad and Steve E. Olson:

The problem is hard in part because the implicit definition of what makes a person a member of a particular race differs from region to region across the globe. Someone classified as “black” in the U.S., for instance, might be considered “white” in Brazil and “colored” [sic] (a category distinguished from both “black” and “white”) in South Africa. . . .

Some groups do differ genetically from others, but how groups are divided depends on which genes are examined; simplistically put, you might fit into one group based on your skin-color [sic] genes but another based on a different characteristic. Many studies have demonstrated that roughly 90 percent of human genetic variation occurs within a population living on a given continent, whereas about 10 percent of the variation distinguishes continental populations. In other words, individuals from different populations are, on average, just slightly more different from one another than are individuals from the same population. (“Does Race”)

Yet, the racially discriminative policies, and the authors of the previous century, such as psychologists, Hans J. Eysenck and Arthur Jensen⁶, brought forward the issue of race in relevance to the hierarchy between sub-human to super-human. These constructed the basis for fascism and National Socialism, both of which are ideologically based and authoritarian systems, dominating the period between 1922 and 1945. Hitler in Germany and Benito Mussolini in Italy, became the two figures of those extreme nationalist and racist ideas, both believing that a “master race,” the control of which would dominate the whole humankind, should be created. Hitler’s idea of the “master race” was based on the biological characteristics and physical traits of the humankind, which were supposedly found in the white Aryan race. To support this ideology, scientific racism and social Darwinism were used. With a special regard to Charles Darwin’s “Natural Selection; or the Survival of the Fittest,” and “Struggle for Existence” in his *Origin of Species* (1859) and Joseph Goebbels’ researches on race⁷, it was believed that the so-called inferior races had not completed their evolutionary process, and this led to the idea of super-human, also known as “*übermensch*,” which was, assumingly, in the phase of full development. David McDowall notes about these theories that

[Darwin’s] theory of evolution, based upon scientific observation, was welcomed by many as proof of mankind’s ability to find a scientific explanation for everything.

...

There was one dangerous result of Darwin’s book. Some of those who accepted his ideas began to talk of ‘advanced’ and ‘inferior’ races. These ideas soon influenced

Britain's imperial policy. Several European countries also shared the view that - reasons of religion and 'higher' civilisation, they could justify their colonial policy. But the idea of racial or genetic superiority was a new one, from which the colonised peoples could not hope to escape. . . . At the time there was little doubt among most of the British that Britain was the most advanced of the 'advanced' races, with a duty to govern the 'inferior' races. (155)

McDowall's observation on the British people's view that they belonged to the *master race* (emphasis added) allows one to deduce how the racist policies in Britain developed. Notwithstanding, Britain was not the only country that believed in the necessity of ruling the sub-humans. Racism developed rapidly, elsewhere. Joseph Arthur Gobineau's *Inequality of Human Races* (1853-1855, trans. 1915) constructed the main basis for the ideology brought by Hitler, who massacred millions of people in the previous century, to develop his National Socialist ideology, by which Hitler planned to allow only the super-humans to live. These ideas were applied in Germany by Houston Stewart Chamberlain⁸ and Ernst Haeckel⁹. They believed that the creation of a pure race in the world, by allowing only the super-humans to live, would lead to a great development in every field of life: science, technology, sports, literature, and art. Nevertheless, this idea brought nothing but bloodshed to the world, and today the whole world accepts that Hitler's ideology was psychopathically originated, as McDowall also states: "today it is difficult to understand how these ideas could have been accepted" (155). Yet, for a few groups who believe in the ultimate power of Nazism, these ideas are still valid.

With Hitler's failure in the World War II, the ideology of Nazism seemed to fade away until when some youths tried to revive his ideas under the title of neo-Nazism in the early 1980s. Neo-Nazism usually defines itself as a revival of National Socialism with a special regard to the praising of Hitler's ideology and the use of swastikas. In Britain, The National Front¹⁰ can be described as a neo-Nazi organisation, which claims to be "a political movement based on Racial Nationalism" ("National Front"). Virtanen, though he makes a distinction between nationalism and racism, draws parallels between the two, by quoting from Montserrat Guibernau:

Racism and nationalism offer radically different messages. While racists want to dominate the territory they occupy, nationalism wants to regenerate the nation, and make its culture flourish (Guibernau 1996). However, certain formulations of

nationalism have been in the past and still are associated with racism. Thus, the strength of nationalism discourse lies in its dual nature to seek to strengthen and weaken rights to exist as a nation or as a minority. Nationalists see in the 'Other' a potential enemy, but above all someone inferior. ("The Dynamics")

In 1982, with similar thoughts, the co-founder of the National Front, John Tyndall, founded the British National Party ("Profile: British National Party"). The current leader of the party, Nick Griffin and the party activist Nick Collett were tried due to racial discrimination and insulting the religion of Islam, according to the BBC report dated 2nd February 2006, which explains the policies held by the extreme nationalist party and its links with racial discrimination:

[Nick Griffin's] trial, along with party activist Nick Collett, was prompted by speeches filmed by a BBC team, which showed Griffin describing Islam as a "wicked, vicious faith." Both men were acquitted of charges of inciting racial hatred and the BNP has previously rejected accusations that it is racist. It argued it has severed links with the National Front, although it was criticised in 2004 for hosting the French far-right National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen at a dinner.

Under its current policy, the party backs an immediate halt to "all further non-white immigration" and the "voluntary resettlement" of non-whites to "their lands of ethnic origin." The BNP's website states all members must be of "British or kindred European ethnic descent". ("Profile: British National Party")

Racial discrimination has been a serious problem for the British society since the 1980s with the foundation of the British National Party, which has its roots in the National Front that attempts to legalize the displacement of the non-white immigrants; yet, the existence of the issues related with racial crimes in the world are best known in their rapport with Adolf Hitler's act of Holocaust¹¹, which caused the death of millions of people during World War II. Nevertheless, for Britain, racial discrimination has a longer history, during most of which it was considered as "normal" to have a racial hierarchy – as stated by Satnam Virdee, in the article "Racial Harassment," which quotes from Peter Fryer's *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain*:

Although racial violence and harassment is a phenomenon that has existed within Britain since at least the end of the First World War [sic] (Fryer 1984), the problem arrived on the public policy agenda only in the early 1980s. . . .

Racial harassment has . . . to be seen in the context of the experience of crime more generally. (132)

It is clear by Virdee's observation that Britain had experienced the issue of racial discrimination much earlier than the eventual identification of the problem on the political agenda. However, it is also obvious that the British society was not aware of the fact that racial discrimination is unfair, and even more, it is actually a criminal act, until the 1980s. Similarly, Nicholas Abercrombie and Alan Warde argue that most of the average British citizen does not see racial discrimination as a crime and that they believe in the necessity of a racial hierarchy which brings the obligatory existence of the differences between the so-called races. According to their argument, Britain is one of those countries which shows xenophobic reactions to minorities, and surveys of attitudes tend to confirm this general racism, and they explain the reasons for this xenophobia as follows:

For the past 300 years, first as travellers to places deemed exotic, and later as imperial masters, the British have learnt to identify blackness of skin with inferiority, strangeness, and allegedly repellent religious and cultural practices. The decline of the empire has only made these deep-seated attitudes more pronounced. The loss of the colonies and the consequent lessening of Britain's position in the world goes hand in hand with the independence of black nations. Immigrants from the New Commonwealth arrived at just the time that Britain lost an empire and with it her position in the world. (261)

It is obvious that the historical background in Britain has prepared the notion of xenophobia and it has placed the idea of racial hierarchy in the society, yet this does not justify the crimes based on racial discrimination. Varying from verbal harassment to physical violence and suppression, all sorts of racist behaviour are crimes, in accordance with the related clauses of the international law; Timo Virtanen also agrees by giving the definition of racial violence, quoting from the text of the Commission for Racial Equality, 1987:

Racist violence represents violence in which the victim is chosen according to ethnic, religious or national origin considerations, when the victim believes that the perpetrator was acting on racial grounds and/or there was evidence of racism (Commission for Racial Equality 1987). . . . Examples of racist violence and harassment may include acts such as physical assault, damage to property, racist or other offensive graffiti, arson, and verbal abuse. ("The Dynamics")

On the other hand, while even the simplest verbal attack is considered as criminal act, people are face to face with more extreme forms of racism everyday. Even those who

suffer from the discriminative behaviours due to extreme nationalism might use offensive language against the people who come from the same ethnic origin, as it is seen in the movie *Trainspotting* (Boyle 1996), as the character named Renton angrily speaks about how Scots gave up their freedom, though the issue is more relevant to ethnicity than race.

Moreover, it is possible to argue that xenophobia in Britain includes mainly the racial discrimination but it is not limited with it, and it also suggests an open tendency for discriminating any *other* in the society, including the marginalised youth subcultures. Therefore, as they are excluded from the society because they do not obey the social norms, and they are against this discrimination, it is not possible to associate the youth subcultures with the idea of racism.

However, as already explained, youth subcultures may also require economic support of their followers, and this economic support has been supplied by the political parties which aimed to recruit soldiers from the underclass adolescents who want to become accepted by the working class youth subcultures of skinheads and Metalheads. This desire of the adolescents to be accepted by a certain youth subculture can be explained by “the dynamics of the underlying social network,” defined by Holme and Grönlund: “If the fraction of friends that have adopted a certain subculture is big enough then an adolescent will [try to] adopt that subculture, too” (“Modelling the Dynamics”). Supplying the financial needs of the underclass adolescents, the National Front in Britain maintained a way of establishing racist sub-subcultures within the skinhead movement and the Heavy Metal subculture.

While the National Front and the British National Party recruited “soldiers” from the skinhead movement, either by shaving the heads of some of its members, or by giving money to or supplying the basic needs, such as shelter and food, of the poor underclass or working class adolescents of the skinhead acclamation, the violence and racial harassment directed at the ethnic minorities continued elsewhere in Europe. With ska bands, such as Ian Stuart’s Skrewdriver and the Angry Aryans, obviously supported by the political movements of far-right, the music of the skinhead movement began to be claimed by the neo-Nazi organizations. Similar to the ideologies of a *master race*, the

Heavy Metal bands began to seek their roots in their pagan cults, blaming Christianity of stealing their original culture from them and replacing their pagan culture with other values instead. With the media's extreme attention to the church-arson incidents in the Nordic countries, the whole genre was under accusation of racial crimes.

The lyrics of the racist skinhead and National Socialist Black Metal bands included verbal harassment of the black and Asian immigrants, as well as the left-wing ideologies and homosexuality, in line with the appraisal and elaboration of the white, male, heterosexual. However, these were disclaimed by the original skinheads, who also had female, black and/or homosexual members. The original skinhead movement, in which the black and the white youths of both sexes gained their identities, had its roots in the reggae music of the Jamaican immigrants, which obviously denied any relationship with the racist discourses. Moreover, deriving from the blues music of the Africans, rock music, which paved the way for the development of Heavy Metal, also denies any relationship with the racist ideologies.

Furthermore, both the skinhead and the Heavy Metal movements appeared as part of the counter-hegemonic struggle against the mainstream cultures. Skinheads represented the working class style of having fun, and developed their own way of weekend leisure activities, in line with the ska bands of original spirit, without any racist concerns (Knight 10). The lyrics implored whatever is associated with fun – love, beer-drinking, and dancing. The political sight was not in the music but in the minds of the skinheads, as a reaction to the middle and upper-middle classes' being the only ones to be able to afford a weekend activity. Skinhead movement embodied a working class attitude (Knight 10) while both working and having fun – and thus, it is not possible to associate the movement with fascism or racism politically, since the working class is against the inequality between the classes, and they would not be linked to any right-wing ideology that prescribes a capitalist system based on an inferiority-superiority relationship.

Likewise, Heavy Metal also emerged in a reactionary attitude to the pressures of the society. In this, Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds resembles the manifestation of Heavy Metal to the rise of the Gothic novel in English Literature, together with an unwanted interest in what is Satanic:

The appearance of Gothic fiction in the late eighteenth century and that of Heavy Metal in the late twentieth follows the same historical path as their two parent-forms, namely the novel and Rock music, both of which served subversive purposes at the time of their birth. While both parent-genres followed the same trajectory from radicalism to mainstream culture as do many new genres, their offspring share more than just the historical movement of subversion-to-hegemonic form. The histories of both subgenres are peculiar in their purposeful deformity and evocation of the Satanic: both can be described as a monstrous Gothic Other whose family resemblance to their respective parent was inescapable, but which was, like an unwashed and slightly retarded younger brother, an Other whose distortions of the parent-form became repulsive to the very audience who had supported its entry into the world. (151)

The Satanic influences of the Heavy Metal genre, as already pointed out by Wall Hinds, is obvious, however, these ideas originally never meant to be Satanic rituals and murders as the Heavy Metal cult is today associated with, together with the racial crimes. The bands are often accused of inviting young people to Satanic rites due to the misinterpretation of the lyrics by later generation of the Heavy Metal audience and some individual cases of murder, especially within the Black Metal subgenre. The Black Metal circle witnessed some criminal acts in line with the so-called relevance with Satanic beliefs, having caused all the members of the subculture to be labelled as psychopathically oriented racist and Satanist criminals. On the other hand, the relevance of Heavy Metal with Satanism does not go far beyond the interest in what is unknown and mystical. The first bands of Heavy Metal never meant to impress the audience in terms of a call for recruitment for a Satanic and ritualistic union, as explained by their lyrics¹². These lyrics of the early Metal bands had no idea of invitation for such issues, although they embodied an existing tone.

Paul E. Willis also argues that, in interpreting the sounds of the musical pieces, one cannot take the lyrics as mere texts to be read in the literal sense, because they are accompanied by music:

Much of the existing research on popular music suggests that songs have their primary impact and appeal as vocal and instrumental sounds, rather than as explicitly verbal or lyrical statements.

This is not to suggest simply that the music is more important than the lyrics in young people's listening, or to place form over content. Rather, it is to suggest that songs bear meaning and allow symbolic work not just as speech acts, but also as structures of sound with unique rhythms, textures and forms. Thus, it is not always what is sung, but the way it is sung, within particular conventions or musical genres

which gives a piece of music its communicative power and meaning. The sound of voice and all the extra-linguistic devices used by singers, such as vocal inflections, nuances, hesitations, emphases or sighs, are just as important in conveying meaning as explicit statements, messages and stories. (64)

This means that no matter how hard the racist bands try to impose their racially discriminative thoughts on youth as part of their audience, the perception of the lyrics as asserted ideologies or taking the messages they give seriously depends on the personal factors that are inherited from the political and social environment by the individual. Therefore, trying to ban the *Hate Music* (emphasis added) on the basis that they set bad examples for the youth cannot be scientifically correct. They can only be banned through the discourse that the lyrics are read as verbal abuse and racial harassment, when they are only taken as mere texts, in relation to the anger in the voice of the musicians. However, it would be also helpful to those who fight against racism in the sense that they would be aware of what *the opposite side* (emphasis added) thinks.

It is evident that there are some circles within both the skinhead movement and the cult of Heavy Metal that are involved in criminal acts, either with claims of racist ideologies or Satanism, or both. However, it cannot be tolerated within the original spirit of both subcultures, since they did not initially aim to have such connections. Despite the fact that skinheads are introduced to the whole world through some criminal involvements, as given in the media reports, and they are marked as neo-Nazis, the evidence reveals that all skinheads are not automatically racist or fascist. There are skinheads with certain dedication to Nazi ideology, yet, the initial roots of the movement are of working class origin and skinheads evolved within the understanding of working class leisure activities in Britain. The connections between the neo-Nazi bands and their supportive political wings indicate that the original ska spirit is under the attack of the powerful political intrigues together with the irrefutable power of the media.

Similarly, the personal connections to the crime scene within the cult of Heavy Metal cannot be taken as proof to label the whole genre as potential criminals. Heavy Metal circles include those who try to gain popularity by claiming racist or Satanist discourses, yet the original Metal spirit does not involve any connections with these issues. The Metal genre shows a tendency towards the fondness of freedom, and it

cannot be analysed within the boundaries of the nationalistic and/or racist discourses. The Metal genre takes militarism, war, and anti-humanistic values that are brought by the capitalist discourses, as its opponent and thus it sees the politically corrupt ideologies as its enemy. Therefore, the roots of this music and its subculture never claim links to the neo-Nazi or neo-fascist beliefs, while the misinterpretation of the lyrics by the later generations with certain individual cases within the cult caused the whole genre to be known as racist or Satanist.



CHAPTER ONE

SKINHEADS: RACISM AND ANTI-RACISM IN THE YOUTH SUBCULTURE

The infamous skinheads of today are acknowledged with their neo-Nazi links and with the criminal acts they involve themselves in, all over Europe as well as the northern and the southern parts of America, and even in some countries which have no relevance to Nazi ideology such as Russia, Brazil, and Iran. Today's world, Europe as the leading continent, witnesses the bloody events based on racial discrimination either caused by or somehow including skinheads.

Oxford Dictionary of Current English defines racism as the "belief in the superiority of a particular race" ("racism", Def.1). *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* also defines racism as "the theory or idea that there is a causal link between inherited physical traits of personality, intellect, or culture, and, combined with it, the notion that some races are inherently superior to the others" ("racism"). However, starting from these definitions, the skinhead movement which is today claimed by the racist and/or fascist groups, seems not to have its roots in the racist understanding; it has no significant relevance with the Nazi or racist discourse – at least before the 1980s. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the origins of this youth subculture with the historical evolution through which it has survived until today, and to reflect how it evolved into a "way of life," as Raymond Williams, in his "Analysis of Culture," refers to culture (41), which is today associated with the neo-Nazi movement. In this analysis, further proof through cultural studies, as well as the dress codes, the theory of subculture and ska lyrics of skinheads will be used to support or to refute the general ideas about this youth subculture.

In the same article, Williams brings forward the term "selective tradition," which denotes a certain pattern of culture, selected through a living process, and is eventually transferred into the following generations (49). The elements to be transmitted, for Williams, are selected both during the period when they are still enlivened by the parent culture and during the time when the receiver or the younger generation begins to

emerge, on being influenced by the former (50-51). Although Williams uses this theory to explain the “selective tradition” of the literary canons, it is possible to argue that youth subcultures, similarly, as the examples of the minority cultures versus the massive culture of the society, affected less by and being more influential on the popular culture of their period, receive certain elements of their precedents. This theory supports the idea that the skinhead movement had also been influenced by some of the precedent youth subcultures, namely, teds, the mods, rude boys, rockers, and punks¹³. Since subcultures are part of a parent culture, in addition to having a relationship with the dominant part of the society, there is an inevitable correspondence between the dominant culture of the society as a whole and the subcultures that exist within that society. Hence, “subcultures must be analysed in comparison with the parent and/or the dominant cultures” (Clarke and Hall 13).

Thus, in order to better understand the roots of the skinhead movement, it will be useful to trace the origins of the movement and to give a brief history of the precedent youth subcultures that influenced the emergence of the skinheads in Britain.

One of the most significant influences on the emergence of the skinhead movement came out in the 1950s, as the first distinctive youth subculture of Britain, emerging from the working class youth. These were called the teds, or the teddy boys, named after the short version of “Edward,” since they used long Edwardian jackets, which were fashionable during the reign of Edward VII (1901-1910) as their attire together with “stovepipe’ (later drainpipe) trousers” (De La Haye and Dingwall 6). These jackets were usually made of velvet, having the impact of royalty and nobility, and thus adding to the untouchable image of the teddy boys. This can be viewed as what is referred above as the “selective tradition” (Williams 49), which points out the transfer of a certain element in the dominant culture into the youth subcultures. Teddy boys borrowed the fabric, that is velvet, to use in their clothing from the dominant ruling classes in order to distinguish themselves from their working class counterparts, as well as distinguishing themselves from the other youth groups. This is what Dick Hebdige refers to “as attempts to mediate between experience and tradition, the familiar and the novel” (“The Function of Subculture” 444). In other words, teddy boys found a way

between the mainstream culture of their parents and their experimental youth subculture.

On the other hand, it is also possible to interpret the use of the Edwardian jackets by the teds as an irony: wearing those long jackets with velvet collar and cuffs, drain-pipe trousers, bright ankle socks, slim Jim ties, and having a “quiff and DA”¹⁴ as the hairstyle (Knight 8), teddy boys formed a unity among themselves to react against the norms of the previous generation. In other words, by uniting themselves in their *uniforms* (emphasis added), teddy boys, as the children of the post-war era Britain, represented an antagonistic approach to the previous generation that shattered the image of unity in the society with the war they fought. This unified look of the teds was duplicated with the impact of the gangs they formed, having common uniforms¹⁵. Tony Jefferson refers to this “dressing-up project” as “the elements which teds borrowed from the dominant culture [of the ruling classes] and reworked [as a way of identification or insurgence against the authority] into a distinctive style of their own” (81). In the online review of *The Teds*, by Chris Steele-Perkins and Richard Smith, the development of this style is given as the story of youth:

Now widely called “Ted” or “Teddy Boy”, it owed less allegiance to Edward VII: more to the western gunfighter. The jacket, the drape, showed clear similarities to the frock-coat of the saloon shoot-out. At first Teds adopted the narrow tie but soon the gambler’s bootstring became the convention. Urban cowboys came to prominence in the Ted culture. The bootstring was held together with a medallion: death’s heads, cross-bones skulls, eagles, dollars. . . (“The Teds”)

Teddy girls, however, adopted a more conservative style than the teddy boys (see Figure 7). The online article “The Velvet Collar” notes that “the females of this youth subculture adopted more American fashions such as tóreador pants and circle skirts, although they tended to wear low cut tops to make themselves look less prissy”. This might suggest another irony, where the insurgency of the youth groups against the authority of the dominant class changes its shape, by using the traditional clothing instead of the unusual. Teddy girls might be criticizing their elderly, who are supposed to be their role models, by cohabitating the similar fields in the world of fashion. Nevertheless, it seems more logical to explain this sort of clothing used by the girls with the fact that the 1950s were the period when Britain was still dominated by

conservatism. As the female are always dictated to have the secondary role in comparison with the male, the teddy girls might have been in such a mood that they had to be mild, fragile and what is considered to be *girlish* (emphasis added). This might also be explained by their hairstyle, which is the ponytail, suggesting a certain kind of femininity mixed with the innocence of a schoolgirl. It is the probable reason that underlies the fact that the female members of the teddy boy movement were not involved in the gangs as opposed to the punk subculture, which has survived from the 1970s to the present, as exemplified by Ayça Seren Ural's novel, *Pogo*¹⁶, dated 2003, portraying two punk girls getting involved in gangs, side by side with their male counterparts (see Figure 10).

However, the society's opinion about the formation of the teddy gangs was not a positive one. The British society of the 1950s, which was a conservative society, as already stated, was ready to label the newly emerging youth subcultures, especially because they were of working class background. It can be argued that the conservative societies tend to see what is different as a potential danger, and the teds were seen as a threat to the social order by the dominant class. These youths were about to equalise their status to that of the dominant class, though not in terms of the amount of money earned, but in terms of lifestyle, and this was the disturbing side of the fact for the dominant classes of the society: the working class youths were able to earn their lives working on weekdays, and they used to have entertainment at the weekends – like the dominant classes – such as alcohol and dancing. They were not as rich as the ruling classes but they gained a chance to survive and socialize. This caused anxiety among the dominant classes, as the idea of losing their status to the working class was hard to digest for them. This can also be explained by the “embourgeoisement thesis” stated as “the affluence among workers [that] has moved them into effectively middle-class positions” (Sarre 113). The ruling class was anxious that the working class would take their privileged status from them.

Moreover, the stylised look that these working class youths had, differentiating them from the rest of the society, constructed the most suitable means for the media to attack the youth in order to attract the audience. Thus, the media raised the question of youth, the answer to which was eagerly expected by the average British parents – they were so

curious about what was happening to their children that they were ready to swallow whatever they were given as the answer. The media took the role of *enlightening* (emphasis added) of the parents: Sue Widdicombe and Robin Wooffitt note that “the *Daily Mirror* initiated a trend in the mid-1950s for the press to report on and interpret the dress, customs and habit of teenagers and this quickly spread throughout the popular press” (9). This was the so-called “informative” duty of the media (Fiske “Popular News” 185); newspapers were trying to make the audience aware of the fact that there is an *alien* (emphasis added) in the society, and they believed that it was their duty to describe and identify this *alien* (emphasis added) which the society should be protected from. However, the main aim of the popular press was to gain popularity as already stated by Widdicombe and Wooffitt (9). And as John Fiske also stated, it would have been better for the press “if it [had] confidently asserted that its position in the repertoire of news media is one that [made] its popularity its defining characteristic” (185). Jefferson also explains this labelling process as “the obvious scape-goating [sic], [which] is the protective cloak of the ruling classes being drawn closer to its real interests [that] become visible” (83).

Adding to the unwanted image of the teds, the gangs that they formed sometimes got involved in street fights among themselves. As already stated, teds used the Edwardian jackets as “a badge of recognition” (“Teddy Boy”), to differentiate between the gangs. These jackets served practical reasons such as to keep their owners warm and to conceal alcohol and weapons, in order to be protected against any attack in case a gang fight happened (“Teddy Boy”). However, these were not *real* (emphasis added) weapons in comparison to the modern criteria. “Razors, steel combs, and knives,” which were a part of the arsenal, “were not too serious by the modern standards,” (“The Velvet Collar”). They also tried to use simple weapons such as bricks and sand-filled socks:

In April [1954], two gangs, dressed Edwardian-style, met after a dance, at St. Mary Cray, Kent, Railway Station. They were ready for action: bricks and sand-filled socks were used. Fifty-five youths were taken in for questioning. (“The Teds”)

As already pointed out, the institutions of the society, such as the police, the judicial system and the media, were also prejudiced against these youths, as exemplified in the cases of Barking (1954) and Nottingham and Notting Hill (1958). The *troublemaking*

(emphasis added) deeds of the teddy gangs were looked down on by the ruling classes that represented the mouthpieces of the system, as the example given by Steele-Perkins and Smith in the online review proves:

East of Barking, in the Summer of Fifty-four, on a late-night train from Southend to London, someone pulled the communication cord. The train ground to a halt. Light bulbs were smashed. When the train eventually reached Barking, police arrested a gang dressed in Edwardian suits. In March of that year, a sixteen-year-old youth had been convicted at Dartford Magistrate's Court of robbing a woman "by putting her in fear". Said the Chairman of the Magistrates: "There are a lot of things and so-called pleasures of the world which demand a lot of money. You tried to get hold of money to pay for ridiculous things like Edwardian suits. They are ridiculous in the eyes of ordinary people. They are flashy, cheap and nasty, and stamp the wearer as a particularly undesirable type". ("The Teds")

While the humiliating and biased attitude of the Chairman of the Magistrates is obvious, the example leads one to question the serious facts concerning the psychological reasons behind the idea of stealing money from people in order to get an attire: first, the boy does not have enough money to afford an Edwardian suit, but the people he tries to rob do. Thus, the psychological inferiority felt by the robber, who seems to be a teddy boy in this case, directs him to commit the crime when mixed with his objective, which is to gain acceptability within the gang. At this point, it is possible to suggest that the youth subcultures cannot be taken as "ridiculous in the eyes of ordinary people" as the Chairman of the Magistrates states, since the youth subcultures build their own *societies* (emphasis added) within the society in general, by using the same rules of acceptability. Teds use Edwardian jackets as a symbol of being a teddy boy, while societies in general dictate having diplomas from elite colleges, having money, having a proper accent, etc. to be acceptable. No matter how much distinctive the youth subcultures are, they actually derive from the living patterns of their parent culture and therefore they cannot be judged just because they try to differentiate themselves. In creating a world of their own, the youth subcultures resist the parent culture by following the similar patterns of living, but changing the rules of acceptability.

The second reason might be also a derivative of the discrepancy; the lack of money and status leading to the idea of giving harm to those who have them. By giving harm to those people, humiliating them (it can be said that teds tried to humiliate the ruling classes by separating themselves in uniforms from the rest of the society and putting

forward a distinctive identity), and trying to scare them, the young generation tries to regain a status of superiority, which they cannot get hold of, due to their working class background. However, the result does not change, and the crimes they commit add to the society's negative point of view towards them.

Likewise, the prejudiced point of view imposed on the society by the media, added to this negative opinion. Though "the events of 1958 in Nottingham and Notting Hill" are usually noted as "the examples of Teddy violence¹⁷" (Jefferson 83), the role of the media was undeniable in reflecting these events as serious combats. The incidents of racial crime were reported as the "the race riots caused by the teds," although they were not. The media generated a provocative role in the disturbances that took place in Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958, as already stated by Gary McFarlane: "the press whipped up anti-black hysteria" ("After the Windrush"). The teds were only the scape-goats in the events, due to their unwanted presence as a reactionary youth subculture. McFarlane also notes that "a poll in 1958 showed that 71% of the population were opposed to mixed relationships," ("After the Windrush") proving the fact that the society had a serious tendency to xenophobia. Additionally, what teds encountered in the social arena was also the result of xenophobic tendencies: as they were different from the expectancies of the society, they were labelled as *the other* (emphasis added), and they were unwanted. The attitude of the police during the incidents of Notting Hill and Nottingham made it clear that the racist attitude was more in the institutions of the British society than the youth subcultures which were seen as the core of racist violence. McFarlane states that

The police far from being there to help them, represented the worst of British racism. They saw the black population of the inner cities as a useful target from which to deflect working class anger away from the police. This became very clear in the Notting Hill riots of 1958 when the police stood by and let events unfold until the third day of the violence. ("After the Windrush")

The interference of politics into the riots was another reason why the teds were chosen as the scape-goats. Providing the media with the chance to label all the teds as racist gangs, some youths who were politically supported by the fascist groups were seen attacking the black people: Alan Travis notes in his article in the online version of the British newspaper *The Guardian*, "police eyewitness reports in the secret papers

confirm that they were overwhelmingly the work of a white working class mob out-to get the 'niggers'" ("After 44 Years"). However, McFarlane asserts that not all the teds were racist, and explains the reason why all the teds were labelled as fascists in these incidents:

The organised racists in the shape of fascists like [Oswald] Mosley and Colin Jordan intervened consistently in the area, whipping up hate among local whites. African Caribbeans had become a convenient focus for disgruntled and increasingly alienated white working class youth - who were very often lumped under the catch-all label "Teddy Boy". Of course there were anti-racist Teds (and indeed black Teds as well) who hated Mosley and his fascists. But at the time of the race riots they were not in the ascendant precisely because a consensus against "coloured immigration from the New Commonwealth" had emerged at the top of society, which gave legitimacy to the racist thugs at the bottom. ("After the Windrush")

In fact, what mainly distinguished the teds from other groups that practised racist violence was the music they listened to. Their musical idols were rock and roll singers, such as Bill Haley, Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, Eddie Cochran, Gene Vincent, Jerry Lee Lewis, Little Richard, Chuck Berry, and British artists like Tommy Steele, Cliff Richard and the Drifters (then the Shadows), Billy Fury, Marty Wilde, and many others, who never sang anything on "how to bash a Paki" or "burn down the house of a black family," but love. Just opposite of what is expected, the music teds were into, called for a type of love that is "tender," as Elvis Presley sang: "Love me tender, / Love me sweet, / Never let me go" (1 -3).

As can also be seen in one of the very first examples of the genre, "Rock Around the Clock," by Bill Haley, who is another idol for the teds, the idea behind the teddy movement had nothing to do with violence or racism. These lyrics symbolically built a bridge between the teds and the mods in terms of energy to "rock" from dusk till dawn:

One, two, three o'clock, four o'clock, rock,
Five, six, seven o'clock, eight o'clock, rock,
Nine, ten, eleven o'clock, twelve o'clock, rock,
We're gonna [sic] rock around the clock tonight (1 - 4).

Though these idols inhabited the field of popular music for a long time, by the end of the 1950s, the idols of the previous decade began to fade away, and new songs were

needed to supply the need of entertainment in the energetic youth. Soon, the mods, rude boys and rockers began to emerge with the songs of rockabilly¹⁸. With the impact of rockabilly, many teds began to appear wearing leather jackets instead of velvet. Rock and roll was still fashionable among the teddy boys, yet, sharper sounds were added into it and teds began to turn into the rockers or they got mixed with this new youth subculture. Though teddy gangs were often reflected as fascist groups who commit race-based crimes, the representatives of rockabilly trend refuted this prejudiced opinion. The energetic songs of rockabilly were performed by many black artists as well, the examples of which included Chuck Berry, Big Al Downing and Roy Brown. The fun-making role of the music was a working-class leisure for the weekends, as exemplified by Berry's song, "Johnny B. Goode," which tells the story of a boy who was not well-educated but had a talent for playing the guitar, which symbolizes having fun:

Deep down in Louisiana close to New Orleans
Way back up in the woods among the evergreens,
There stood a log cabin made of earth and wood
Where lived a country boy named Johnny B. Goode,
Who never ever learned to read or write so well
But he could play a guitar just like a ringin' a bell (1 – 6).

The mods also emerged during those times, as "a very exclusive, almost secret, underground working class movement," (Knight 8) probably due to the fact that they felt they had better take measures against being labelled like the teds; and the rude boys were also on the scene, as "the young Jamaican men" (De La Haye and Dingwall 5) who came to Britain with the striking waves of migration. It is possible to say that they were the black counterparts of the mods, in the sense that they also dominated the 1960s with their subcultural style. The rockers, on the other hand, were the British bikers of the same period. They wore black leather jackets, replacing the Edwardian velvet jackets of the teds, as already mentioned, and they used motorbikes which are quite different from and more masculine than the scooters used by the mods. Rockers were also of a great influence on the head-bangers or the Metalhead movement.

At the first glance, there was nothing *wrong* (emphasis added) with the appearance of the mods, since they did not much sharpen their distinctiveness from the parent culture.

Rude boys, however, preferred wearing suits and a hat, but the colours they chose for their shirts reflected warmth, for they originally belonged to a warm country, Jamaica. They used “shiny brim hats and warm coloured suits” (De La Haye and Dingwall 5). The mod boys were also dressed in suits, but of darker colours, and they wore neat tight trousers and pointed shoes, which were quite conservative. Mod girls displayed a boyish image; they used dark mascara for a better look on their eyes and wore their hair short to show that there was no difference between the sexes, whereas rockers showed off with their harsh male attitude. It was practical for a rocker to wear a leather jacket with steel trimmings on it, to scare those who may give, as Hebdige puts it, “real or imagined insults” (“The Meaning of Mod” 86) at them around the nightclubs. In this sense, it is possible to argue that the mods were against the rockers; the mods were not sexist, while rockers emphasized their masculinity and they did not involve themselves in any unisex attitude.

The mods were also known as the scooter boys, as they drew heavily from the Italian youth in terms of style, and made use of the motor-scooters. They used Vespa scooters, which were launched by the Italian firm Piaggio in 1946 and which later became so popular throughout the years that the official website for Piaggio announced in 2005 that Vespas “sold over 16 million up to date” (“Profile: Vespa”). However, in those years, Vespa was a symbol that distinguished the mods, while they individualized their scooters by decorating them with artificial fur fabric and as many accessories as possible (Knight 8). When the mods emerged, it was a time that the working-class youth was able to afford a scooter, or a motorbike, or pills to have fun, and the scooters were also of symbolical meaning to reflect the energy of their youth versus the pacified mood of the adults. This was due to the fact that the mods, as part of the working class youth, spent most of their time working, and after being able to finance weekend fun, they wanted to act like the kings or the warriors of the clubs. Rockers used motorbikes as well, but theirs were not small scooters but larger motorbikes, which symbolized harshness and masculinity instead. The size of the motorbike, which is bigger than the scooter, signified the dominance of the male attitude that rockers emphasized, reflecting the size of the place that the powerful dominated on the world. The motorbikes implied the strength invulnerability as if they were certain kinds of weapons or armours; the

strong engine sound went hand-in-hand with the loud and sharp music they listened to. The colour they chose in their clothing was black that implied the fear of the mysterious and unknown to the rest of the society: the rockers made themselves untouchable, as implied by Nick Knight's simile, "American Hell's Angels," (8) who could be taken as the American counterparts of rockers in Britain, forming gangs, and untouchably roaming around the streets.

The mods, as opposed to rockers, portrayed an image emulating the middle classes, with a snobbish and phoney attitude. Knight refers to the "élite" attitude of the mods, using the words "they behaved like gods" in order to reflect their habit of looking down on the rest of the society (8), while Widdicombe and Wooffitt note that "rockers focused on the effeminacy of the mod style in contrast to their ostentatious masculinity," (10) referring to the mostly emphasized struggle between the mods and the rockers. On the other hand, "the mods were said to ridicule the crude, traditionally masculine self-image of the rockers, counterposing their own coolness and sophistication to the rockers' oafish crudity" (Widdicombe and Wooffitt 10). Yet, the mods and the rockers were not enemies, but they were different from one another. Hebdige states that "the totally disparate goals and life styles of the two groups left very little room for interaction of any kind," ("The Meaning of Mod" 88) but this does not mean that there was an enmity between the two groups. Again, the role of the media was considerable in labelling these youth subcultures as a "collection of uncivilised youths with no respect for persons, property, or the comfort of other people," as the *London Times* referred to the clashes of 1964 in Clacton, Essex during the Easter holiday and in Margate and Brighton during the May Day holiday, both of which were planned to be holidays at seaside resorts, but turned into disturbances due to the fact that "the present government regarded working-class adolescents as fair game for blatant exploitation by commercial interests," as Fred Willey, the Labour Party's spokesman explained (Szatmary 102). This was a working class reaction to the government, the reasons of which were further explained by Willey, as: "general complaint of those who took part was that there was nothing for them to do. They came from housing estates with far too few social amenities and were expected to spend their time in amusement arcades" (Szatmary 102). However, these events, caused by the working class youths, were generalized and

the mysterious youth subcultures of the mods and the rockers were chosen as the scape goats for the reason that the society believed they were potentially dangerous. *BBC News* informed the audience on 18th May 1964, by using the title “Whitsun Weekend of Violent Clashes Between Gangs of the Mods and Rockers,” to describe the events, referring to the events as if they were simple clashes between the mods and the rockers, who “terrified the residents around” (“1964: The Mods”). On the other hand, Hebdige refers to these events as the “disturbances of Whitsun 1964, at Clacton, in which hostilities between the mods and rockers played no important part” (“The Meaning of Mod” 88). Similarly, Stan Cohen interprets “the reports of seaside Bank Holiday clashes,” given by the media, pointing out the fact that “the mods and rockers were widely cast in the role of folk devils, and became the focus for the expression of many anxieties in the parent society and culture” (qtd. in Widdicombe and Wooffitt 10). Knight notes that the attention of the media was on the mods if there had been a riot that could potentially involve them, even though they were not the main causes of the events (9). The attention paid to the mods and the rockers was only seen in such cases and after a while “the attention of the public in general turned to the Beatles and mini-skirts” (Knight 9). On the other hand, the mods were happy with their Ben Sherman shirts and Levis jeans, having “short, cropped hair,” constructing the basis for the skinheads (Knight 10), and their aim was not to gain popularity. They constructed an opposite form of culture to the popular culture of their time, and this was the main reason why they were the most probable targets of the media.

Another reason for the mods’ being the scape goat was their snobbish attitude which was quite annoying for the society. This *against-attitude* (emphasis added) was towards almost anything. They were energetic and they were against anything passive, including the Hippies. They used drugs, too, but not the marijuana of the Hippies: they felt they needed action, and the power to activate this was given by “speed” (a kind of pill that includes amphetamine). However, as Hebdige also refers, the song by Rolling Stones, both a mod and a rocker idol, “Mother’s Little Helper” dealing with “middle-aged amphetamine-addiction,” points out “*the nightmare* (emphasis added) of the young mods” (“The Meaning of Mod” 92): “What a drag it is getting old” (1). The drug addiction of the mods, however, can be explained under the fact that they were also a

part of the consumer culture. This leads to the idea that takes the mods as the product of the mid-sixties' working class British youth. Yet, Hebdige argues that the mods had a "unique and subversive attitude toward the commodities [they] habitually consumed" ("The Meaning of Mod" 90). In other words, the mods were not the mere products of the British working class youth, but they re-shaped it; at least, they re-worked on what they were presented by the parent culture, and they gave it back to society in a re-established way. That is to say, like the teds, using the Edwardian jacket as a rule of acceptability, the mods played with the consumer habits of the society and they used commodities as a tool for their resistance. This was obvious when they gave new meanings to the use of "speed," which Hebdige explains as follows: "the mods eagerly swallowed the latest brand of pills in order to borrow enough energy to enable them to spend the maximum amount of time consuming the maximum amount of commodities, which . . . could only be enjoyed whilst under the influence of speed" ("The Meaning of Mod" 92). Thus, it is possible to say that these youths used the commodities in their own "way of life" (Williams 41) and turned these commodities into a means of reaction to the consumer culture.

For the musical preferences of the mods, it could be said that their first musical idols were the black soul musicians, whose music took its origins from gospel music and rhythm and blues¹⁹. Soul, on the other hand, can be defined as

A genre of black American music evolved from gospel singing and influenced by country and urban blues. The word "soul" was originally used in the gospel milieu in a religious sense, but subsequently it took on connotations of black pride, solidarity and depth of feeling, which were reflected in the emotional histrionics of the music. (Thorne 257)

Though Soul originated from religious genres, it also involved secular themes, such as love, as exemplified by the pioneers of the genre: Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, James Brown and Stevie Wonder. Franklin's "I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You," is an example of this secular kind of Soul:

You're a no good heartbreaker
 You're a liar and you're a cheat
 I don't know why I let you do these thing to me
 My friends keep telling me that you ain't no good

They don't know that I would leave you if I could
 I guess I'm on tight
 And I'm stuck like glue
 Cause I ain't never
 I ain't never
 I ain't never, no, no,
 Loved a man the way that I
 I love you (1 – 12),

Alicia Keys, as a contemporary representative of the neo-soul movement, which started in the late 1970s, with her “Fallin’,” also voices the confused feelings of a lover – with no relevance to violence:

I keep on fallin' in and out of love with you
 Sometimes I love ya, sometimes you make me blue
 Sometimes I feel good, at times I feel used
 Lovin' you darlin', makes me so confused (1 – 4).

Later, those who called themselves “the hard mods” were influenced by The Kinks, The Rolling Stones, The Small Faces and some other bands like The Pretty Things, The Downliners and The Who, the influential history of which on the mods is summarized by Brian Cady in the online article “thewho.net’s History” as follows:

In May 1964, The Who were taken over by Pete Meaden. Meaden was big in a new British youth movement called the mods, young men who dressed in stylish clothes and wore their hair short. Meaden renamed The Who The High Numbers. Numbers were what the mods called each other and the High implied both rank and use of “leapers,” the speed tablets that the mods took to allow them to party all weekend. Meaden wrote The High Numbers’ only single “I’m the Face” backed with “Zoot Suit”. Both songs were old R&B [rhythm and blues] songs with new lyrics about the mods. Despite his best efforts, the single failed, but the band became the mods’ favorite group. (“thewho.net’s History”)

The lyrics of the song, “I’m the Face” advertises the mod spirit, proposing that the mods are the *kings* (emphasis added) of the weekend leisure activities, and stressing the fact that they are untouchable – without taking any other group as their rivals:

I'm the face baby, is that clear,
 I'm the face baby, is that clear,
 I'm the face if you want it,
 I'm the face if you want it, dear,
 All the others are third class tickets by me, baby,
 Is that clear? (1 – 6).

Knight states that the hard mods were one of the two groups that the mods eventually were split into (10). The hard mods distinguished themselves with a sharper taste of music and dress codes while the other group, noted by Knight as “the art college or trendy the mods,” built up a dress code of their own that turned out to be “increasingly resplendent” (10). Though seemingly irrelevant, the bands the hard mods (which later developed into skinheads) listened to, and the lyrics of their songs, gave many clues about mod life style, and surprisingly the rocker life style as well. The Rolling Stones, which emerged as the mod idol in terms of the dress codes, and a rocker idol in terms of pioneering the musical understanding, takes its place in the history of rock music, as at present they are referred to as one of the forefathers of this kind of music. Their song of the year 1964, “Bye Bye Johnny,” the lyrics of which tell the story of a boy named Johnny, leaving home to become a film-star in Hollywood, and writing back to his mother on arriving at the place, perhaps gives some idea about what the mods, rockers, and to some extent, rude boys refused to do and why the parent culture was worried about their existence:

Well she finally got the letter she was dreaming of
 Johnny wrote and told her he had fell in love
 As soon as he was married he would bring her back
 And build a mansion for her by the railroad tracks
 And everytime they heard the locomotive roar
 They'd be a standing, waving in the kitchen door (19 – 24).

The hard mods, like their precedents, sustained a resistance for the traditional system and they rejected the middle class values and expectations, but more strictly than the earlier mods: the earlier mods had an aim of finding office jobs and shifting classes, and this maintained another sharp difference between the mods and rockers. By the schism within the mods, the hard mods came to a closer point with the rockers – having no interest in shifting classes. While the parents would like to see their children becoming just like them, as referred to in the song, the children rejected to do what was expected from them. In fact, no youngster would like to accept what is given to them, as Knight points out; those youths wanted to distinguish themselves from their elderly: “you share your identity with your mates at work or with your own age group at school, not with your elder brother” (9). Thus, no young person in the 1960s wanted to have such a boring life spent “waving at locomotives,” as it has always been the case with the youth.

The hard mods did not want to spend such a boring life, either; but their rejection was not based on the idea that they wanted a change in their class; they were happy with the working class background they had, so they had no aim of changing the social structure they belonged to. Instead, they emphasized their working class habits and lifestyles, giving way to the appearance of the skinheads in the subcultural arena. In this sense, the hard mods could be identified as the transitional process of the mods to skinheads, as Gavin Watson, “photographer and one-time skinhead,” and the author of the book *Skins*, in his interview with Anamik Saha explains:

It was a natural transition from the 1960s Mod movement. The mods were hijacked by the middle classes, and the Beatniks - before they turned into hippies. The mods hardened their image, wore stuff the middle classes wouldn't - donkey jackets and boots. They cut their hair shorter than anyone else, and after a football riot they were dubbed 'Skinheads' by the tabloid the *Sun* newspaper. Originally they'd just called themselves 'the hard mods'. (Watson “Interview with Anamik Saha” “Skinning Up”)

Rockers, on the other hand, had never been interested in finding permanent jobs, shifting classes – or even the system itself. They just had the idea of *carpe diem*, as their lifestyle demonstrated with the later examples of rock, like Metallica's song, “Carpe Diem Baby”:

Strip smile
Lose cool
Bleed the day
And break the rule
Live to win
Dare to fail
Eat the dirt
And bite the nail (5 – 12).

A similar attitude of living the day was also seen in the lyrics of rocker girl bands of the 1970s, such as Girlschool, reflecting their power as their male counterparts did, with a special regard to the period when the feminist ideas were on the rise²⁰. In their song “Say Goodbye to the Bad Times,” Girlschool gave the message that a girl could survive without the existence of men, unlike the girlish attitude of teddy girls, having pony tails and not getting involved in the gangs of teddy boys. The song recalls the story of a girl who is disappointed but strong enough to stand on her own feet after she separates from her lover:

All you gave me were promises
 Nothing better than the lies
 Hit and run
 But I know better now
 I've found another way
 One thing I know for sure
 I'm gonna live for today
 Say goodbye to the bad times
 Now I'm free on my own
 Hit and run (16 – 24).

The same band also reflected the feelings of women in the cases of unreturned love or separation in their song “Don’t Call It Love,” in the album *Race with the Devil*. Themes of disappointment and strength gained by suffering are included in the lyrics as well as exploring the issue of differences between men and women in the understanding of love. Yet, the voice of strong women did not involve any racist ideas:

You know I've seen this before
 And I know what you're waiting for
 But I won't be fooled again
 By someone like you.

I knew right from the start,
 You would break my heart.

Don't call it love, don't call it love (1 – 7).

Along with the rockers and the hard mods, rude boys had their distinctive style and attitudes in the 1960s in Britain. Their Jamaican origins were reflected in their clothes, as mentioned above, yet they could also prefer “long black coats” to create a mystified air in the dance halls, and “short trousers revealing white socks and flat, black shoes,” (Knight 10) later adopted by Michael Jackson in the 1980s, to show off the ankle movements in difficult dancing figures. Though they were of black origin, rude boys received respect where they hung out in the inner city areas, having fun and dancing together with their white counterparts of the period (Knight 10), which supplies the evidence that the skinhead movement's roots were not racist. Knight puts forward the fact that the “long black coats” of the rude boys was taken over by the skinheads as crombies (10), and no racially discriminative acts were directed at those black youth groups, either in the dance halls or in the streets of Lambeth and Brixton where their subculture used to survive.

In association with the hard mods, rude boys also listened to black music – which points out the evidence for the non-racist roots of skinheads as those were the most influential subcultures on the emergence of the skinhead movement – but rude boys preferred reggae. Reggae’s origins can be shown as the Afro-Caribbean music, epitomizing the deeds of the holy beings in the Rastafarian religion. Bob Marley, whose music is still popular, was one of the best examples of this kind of music along with Bunny Wailer and Peter Tosh, all of whom are famous for their Rastafarian lyrics. Especially Marley’s lyrics, such as “Soul Almighty,” are written under the effect of marijuana, which the Rastafarian religion prescribes as a method of worship:

Hey happy people, this here is something new
 I know you’re gonna like it
 So let me tell you what we’re gonna do
 Souls almighty [uh]
 Don’t you know we got the rhythm
 Souls almighty [oh]
 We are willing
 Funky, Funky Chicken [ooh]
 And the Mashed Potato
 Do the Alligator
 Let’s do it together
 Souls almighty
 Do you dig me ya’ll
 Souls almighty, my soul is raw
 [ooh-ee yeah]
 Get yourself together
 In any kind of weather
 Things will be mighty better
 If you get it together [witness]
 Souls almighty [ooh]
 Don’t you know we got the rhythm
 Souls almighty [exactly when baby]
 [You’re not with him] (1 – 23).

Jamaican rude boys, who were the immigrants that came to Britain with the first two waves of migration, brought their music to the island, and this warm music soon reflected its impact on the white counterparts of rude boys. Following the spread of reggae, rocksteady²¹ period came between the years 1966-1968, as interconnected with the Jamaican spirit and reggae. Alton Ellis, who was an influential musician on the development of this genre, titled his LP (Long Play) “Rocksteady” and he became the coiner of the term. Later this term turned into a referential element in the world of

music, giving a Tina Turner and Rod Stewart (once being another mod idol with The Small Faces) song its title. With rocksteady giving way to ska, came the musical wave that mostly influenced skinheads. Ska, among the early examples of which stood Laurel Aitken and Desmond Dekker, can be defined as reggae involving more secular themes and with an energetic infrastructure. Dekker, as a black musician who influenced skinheads a great deal, contributed to the development of ska by making the first steps into the two-tone, which is a schism within the ska genre – fusing the elements of punk rock. The leading British examples of ska in the late 1970s to 1980s were The Madness, also known as a punk rock band, and The Specials, who later became one of the foremost examples of two-tone as well, also demonstrating an anti-racist attitude, struggling against fascists' recruiting *soldiers* (emphasis added) from their concerts, though this is not obvious in their songs. Yet, in "Saturday Night Sunday Morning," the title of the song recalls Alan Sillitoe's novel, which had a close link with the teddy boy movement as the forefathers of the skinhead subculture. The song relates the story of a youth who wants a long-term relationship with a girl rather than weekend fun, and this reflects the emotional needs of the adolescents though they were often reflected as violent youths:

They must have told you everything has changed everything
 Oh everything must change everything
 It's not Saturday night Sunday morning
 There was so much more I could've said to you
 It's not Saturday night Sunday morning
 There was so much more I meant to say to you (13 – 18).

To sum up the large variety of musical transitions, it is possible to state that ska, which is the main influential music on skinheads and the lyrics of which, therefore, build the main discourse of this chapter, stands at a point between reggae, which can be thought as the follower of black music; that is, soul, and the reactionary music of punk rock subculture. This is both related to the rhythms and the chronological order of these kinds of music. On part of the rude boys, who maintained the third source of influence on the skinheads, as Knight refers to them (10), and who dominantly gave direction to the change in the musical structures, there was also the similar experience of change – from reggae to ska, later demonstrating the schism of anti-racist skinheads (soul also gave way to rhythm and blues, which can be taken as a schism evolved within the blues

music, giving way to psychedelic rock and other types of popular music). Therefore, it is possible to list these genres as soul, reggae, ska, and punk rock, in terms of sharpness of sound from the smoothest to the sharpest, and the speed of rhythms from slowest to the fastest, which is punk rock, or shortly punk, that came along with the second wave of the skinhead movement. Tony Thorne notes that “punk was not a ground-swell expression of the angst of the working class unemployed, but rather the emancipation of the nervous adolescent; the sensitive misfit taking on the adult world by adopting an extremist parody of nihilism” (209). The examples of this genre were The Clash, The Ramones and The Sex Pistols). These bands, with their explicit lyrics directly insulting the middle class values of conservative Britain and even the queen, stood at a different point than their predecessors; the lyrics involved violence and antagonism, but these were never racist, even anti-fascist, considering the regime of United Kingdom “fascist,” as it could also be seen in the lyrics of The Sex Pistols single, “God Save the Queen,” from their album *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Sex Pistols*, protesting Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee, dated 1977:

God save the queen, her fascist regime
it made you a moron a potential H-bomb!
God save the queen she ain't no human being
there is no future in England's dreaming (1 – 4).

Although punks and skinheads shared many a common point in terms of clothing especially in the newly emerging second wave of the punk in 1970s (see Figure 9), the skinhead movement emerged a decade earlier than the eventual punk-rock currency. The skinheads emerged as a working class youth subculture at the end of the 1960s in Britain. They were seriously affected by their predecessors, as previously mentioned, and this soon evolved into what is called the “Spirit of ‘69” – on the year 1969's being associated with the first wave of skinheads. Skinheads were also mainly influenced by Jamaican reggae, like the mods, and ska music which can be explained as a derivative of reggae with more secular lyrics, more catching rhythms, and a faster infrastructure.

The first name given to skinheads was “the suedeheads”. The reason why they are called this way is that they were not bald at all, as many people falsely think, and their hair was not as short as today's skinheads. A thin layer of hair was visible on the skull,

of a skinhead – which they called Number 2 – a name given due to the level of the switch button on the machine that gave the skinheads their haircut, which is usually an electric razor, and using that level of the machine while having the haircut, thus having the slight layer of hair on the head was the fashion. Still, there was *enough* (emphasis added) space to freely move in terms of hair – provided that it is short – for skinheads; this level could vary up to Number 4. On the other hand, the female skinheads, or chelseas, who are also known as skinbyrds or skingirls, had a special hairstyle which they later shared with the punkgirls. The hairstyle was called chelsea (see Figure 13) as well, with pieces of hair falling slightly above the ears while little fringes on the forehead existed, with longer parts of hair covering the back of the head. The hairstyle's name was also derived from the Chelsea region in England, where most of the soccer fans showed skinhead style tendencies in terms of clothing and behavioural codes. Some other skingirls preferred the same hairstyle as their male counterparts. The British band of the 1980s and 1990s, Ride, sings the song “Chelseagirl,” which gives clues about the lifestyles of the skinheads as well as an average relationship between a chelseagirl (see Figure 14) and a skinhead boy, seemingly apart but wanting to have another chance together, having no difference from the feelings of the other adolescents:

Take me for a ride away from places I have known,
 If I stay around I'll just remember I'm alone
 There's someone in my memory making me move on,
 What was grey and hazy is black and white
 Now I have gone

Drive me up to London now, it's got too dark to see,
 My waiting is over, there's no visitor for me.
 Never let me talk to you, destroy the frozen past,
 It's a different time now, things are moving much too fast.

Float by today, not it's turning to grey,
 Raining my doubts let my thoughts slip away.
 You must have something and what it is I don't know,
 You must have something 'cause I can't let you go (1 – 13).

Though distinguished with their hairstyles and dress codes, the songs the skinheads listened to imply that they are *normal* (emphasis added) adolescents, having feelings for one another even though they are labelled as racist criminals with an abnormal attraction to violence. On the other hand, both the Chelsea and the Number 2 hairstyles

constructed the main uniformity among skinheads; yet, there were the smoothies with shoulder-length hair, which are considered as the ancestors of today's skinheads, while in today's terms of subculture, it seems better to categorize them as the forefathers of the Heavy Metal subculture. The reason why the smoothies are taken as the pioneers of skinheads is that they were also of working class background, though not sharing a common hairstyle with the suedeheads. Even so, the preferences of the suedeheads would not go along with the practical needs and therefore the discourse of the working class youth, symbolized by the skinheads from 1969 onwards. Notwithstanding, due to their emergence within the evaluation process of the hard mods, and their working class background, the smoothies are generally considered as one of the ancestor subcultures leading to the skinhead movement.

The suedeheads – or skinheads as they are recognized today – had short hair for practical and cultural reasons. Because of the hard working conditions of their class, skinheads had to be tough, or to look tough at least, and they did not have the time to care about their hair. It would not be practical to have long hair under the hard working conditions and due to the lack of time, so skinheads preferred to get rid of any problems caused by long hair. Long hair, which needs to be shampooed at least twice or three times a week, requires great attention and care, beside the long time to care since shampooing, combing, and drying the hair are all time-consuming activities. Skinheads, however, as already uttered, were of working class and they did not have the qualified living conditions of the middle and upper middle classes, nor did they have the time. The only spare time they had was the time they saved for the soccer matches and drinking, also known as the usual working class leisure activities. Watson in Saha's interview explains the symbolism behind this hairstyle:

It was a personal commitment. You couldn't just be a weekend punk. You had to be a Skinhead. You had to go to work as a Skinhead. You had to start your life as a skinhead. When you went to a job interview, you had to fight against what people thought of you. It was a matter of pride. A statement: 'I've chosen this, it means a hell of a lot to me.' In a way, just by shaving your head then, you became a Skinhead. You committed yourself at a time when you were vilified. Now, after David Beckham, everyone's done it. But back in the late 1970s and 1980s, there was a lot of violence. Being a Skinhead was your way of saying, 'This is my tribe. This is where I come from.' (Watson "Interview with Anamik Saha" "Skinning Up")

The cultural reason behind the short hair used as a symbol by skinheads, which later came to have its different connotations in various contexts is their reaction towards hippies, as already admitted by Watson in Saha's interview:

It was in total contrast to the hippy movement. It was a working class rebellion. Of course a shaved head has come to mean something different over the years, and changes according to context – from Buddhist monks, the gay scene to David Beckham. (Watson "Interview with Anamik Saha" "Skinning Up")

The general viewpoint of these middle class youths of 1960s, believing in the necessity of love for the resolution of every problem on the world, made an annoying effect on the working-class skinheads. Skinheads were workers, and they had to wear tough clothes. Mike Storry and Peter Childs make a distinction between the hippies and the skinhead movement by referring to their diverse nature in terms of confronting the mainstream culture:

Subcultures such as . . . hippies . . . have tended – in one way or another – to challenge the traditional values of smart and respectable dress. On the other hand, mods, soul boys (and girls), teds, skinheads and home-boys have usually emphasised a 'sharper' style of dress, though of course in diverse ways. This opposition between 'smart' and 'scruffy' clothes bears some relation to class allegiances insofar as dress codes which place greater value on clothes 'looking new' are more often adopted by working-class young people, while scruffier 'bohemian' styles are more likely to have middle-class wearers. (172)

Adding much to the antagonism of the skinheads, hippies believed in peace and karma, on being affected by oriental mysticism and almost esoteric issues (see Figure 8). On the other hand, skinheads reflected a more down-to-earth lifestyle, working on the weekdays, drinking at the weekends, and living in the real, physical world. Under such circumstances, it would be absurd to expect the skinheads to share common characteristics with hippies. Skinheads hated the hippie subculture in general, so the short hair was also a rejection of hippies, and everything brought by hippies.

The other cultural reason why skinheads became "skinheads" was that they rejected anything about the ruling classes. Storry and Childs point out the fact that "subcultural styles of dress [and hairstyle, or anything related with the appearance as a way of resistance against the dominant class] confront and confound the mainstream expectations about people's positions in the social structure" (172). In other words, as

Chris Barker puts, “the skinheads constructed the counter-hegemony of the ruling classes” (326), and the shortness of their hair, together with other identifying symbols like Doc Martens boots, Levis jeans with rolled up bottoms, braces, and tattoos explain their revolt against the expectations of the dominant class.

Dislike of the ruling classes was a common attitude among skinheads and they also had an extreme dislike for the government and many larger businesses as both appeared to misrepresent the working class and their wishes. This aspect of skinheads carried the idea of social injustice. On the other hand, racism and racial discrimination prescribe social injustice as a necessity, because without social injustice there is no logical induction into the idea of superiority and inferiority between races. Thus, the skinhead movement does not go hand in hand with racism. Moreover, it is inevitably laid down that skinhead movement had no original contacts with racism by the fact that they were influenced by Jamaican music, which comes from a dominantly black country. Therefore, it is possible to claim that skinheads developed their identity under the influence of a black culture, which definitely refers to a non-racist origin. Skinheads were rather marked by a tendency towards hooliganism and brawling, especially during soccer games. This was due to their male dominant attitude. Knight notes that “the supporters of London [soccer] clubs . . . included many skinheads” (11) and Ian Walker also speaks about seeing 4,000 skinheads in a football match in 1968, observing “they all wore bleached Levis, Dr. Martens, a short scarf tied cravat style, cropped hair. They looked like an army and, after the game, went into action like one” (2). What lacks in Walker’s definition of the dress codes, is the suspenders that were used on Ben Sherman shirts, and called “braces” within the skinhead community, as another part of the skinhead style. They, however, were not as thick as those that are usually seen on an average British person, to identify a certain unity within the group, working as a distinguishing element for the skinheads, separating them from the rest of the society. Later, the colour of the braces began to refer to a certain understanding or a schism that its owner belonged to, like the colour of the bootlaces used on Doc Martens boots.

Doc Martens boots, which are officially branded as “Dr. Martens” boots, were also a symbol for the resistance of skinheads. They took their name from a German skier, Dr. Maertens, who, after hurting his foot while skiing in the Alps, decided to make new

comfortable boots for himself in 1945, as given by the online article about “Doc Martens Shoes”. The article gives how the boots were linked to any subculture that kept its resistance against the social norms, while its target buyers varied:

Dr Martens, Docs, DMs - whatever you call them, have been closely linked to more musical movements and revolutions than any other item of fashion.

The mods worshipped their cherry reds, Goths just wanted black ones, Grebos drew all over theirs (guilty) and the pope just wanted something in the white.

Punks, psychobillys, skins, indie kids, grungers - the list is endless, they even made it on to the feet of Will Smith in the Fresh Prince of Bel Air for a couple of episodes. The success of Dr Martens is a fashion phenomenon, but refreshingly, not one that was planned. (“Dr Martens Boots”)

Why skinheads preferred to wear Doc Martens, however, is another issue to be dealt within the discourse of this working class youth subculture, besides its comfortable nature as explained above. These boots are originally the symbols of a unified team that work for the system itself; that is, the members of “the Repressive State Apparatuses” (Althusser 145), like the police and the army, wear these kinds of boots. By wearing these boots, skinheads constructed a “counter-hegemonic” (Barker 326) unity against the apparatuses of the state, which their punk counterparts considered as fascist. It is possible to define this unity within the skinheads as a “little army,” which the rest of the society would not prefer to see, or would rather define as a group of “ridiculous youths”, as it is the case with the teddy gangs (“The Teds”). On the other hand, skinheads titled this unity as “the brotherhood,” as exemplified by the online article “Brotherhood is Hard Work” by Pedro Angel Serrano, describing this unity as “whatever you want to call it, hanging out and knowing the same songs and having a uniform can generate a sense of solidarity”. Moreover, the steel toecaps of Doc Martens boots gave the skinheads an easier way to defend themselves in possible street fights, which is described as “savaging one’s opponent” by Knight (17): unlike the teds, without any need to carry other simple weapons, skinheads had the best and the simplest weapons on their boots; that is, the steel toed Doc Martens, which were more harmful than a single kick of any other shoe. An additional importance was also given to the colour of the Doc Martens’ laces in the skinhead communities, the interpretation of which differed from region to region, and from sect to sect within the whole subculture.

In the later periods, punks also wore Doc Martens as the bricoleurs of the skinhead style. However, punks and skinheads became interrelated subcultures when the skinhead subculture significantly weakened by the early 1970s, with reggae starting to diminish yet not completely fading out. The movement of skinheads was not revived until the end of the decade, in the midst of the punk explosion, as previously mentioned. The British economy had fallen into its worst crisis since the Second World War and the country was beset by social problems. Punk music, which claimed that the society's boundaries were held by a safety pin, which its listeners used as a symbol, was quite fast in rhythm, and it was a completing element of the revived skinhead movement, as it also derived from the same proletarian outlook, though punks took it a bit further and got closer to anarchist ideas. Nevertheless, during this period, in contrast to its original apolitical conception, some of the new skinheads started to move towards radical right. As the online article, "Skinhead History," the author of which claims his identity as "Ben from KC," suggests, the national pride was an important fact within the skinhead cult, however, this later generation of skinheads, which can also be called "the second wave," evolved into different groups, some of which replaced national pride with racial prejudice.

At this time, Ian Stuart Donaldson, who was born in Bristol in 1957 and died in 1993 in an automobile crash, played a key role in the transformation of some of the skinheads from a schism within a subculture into an international political movement, which claimed to be the identifying element for the whole skinhead community. In 1977, Donaldson established the ska band Skrewdriver, which is referred to as the symbol of "Reich and roll," by the Turkish daily newspaper *Hürriyet*, with a deliberate play on the term "rock and roll," together with many other European bands of neo-Nazi ideology, like Legion 84 from France; Dwarf Minority and Healthy Head Skin from Hungary; Storm Troop, Storekraft, and Radikahl from Germany; and Orlik from Czechoslovakia ("Reich and Roll"). Two years later, Donaldson, a talented musician, set up the political group White Noise, which soon caught the attention of the British National Front and the political party began to recruit *soldiers* (emphasis added) from the skinhead community. British National Front, which is known as National Front or NF in short, was founded in 1967, with the purpose of opposing immigration and multiculturalist

policies in Britain ("A Brief History"). Its claims of the destroyed cultural heritage led its members to unite in an idea that is called "repatriation," which prescribes sending the non-white immigrants that reside in Britain back to their homelands ("100 Questions"). The idea of repatriation was, again embraced by Skrewdriver, when singing "Boat":

Take no shit from anyone because Great Britain rules
We will fight the Communists, because Communists are fools
Try to take our nation, and give it to the blacks
We won't take it anymore, we're going to take our nation back

Nigger, nigger, get on that boat
Nigger, nigger, row
Nigger, nigger, get out of here
Nigger, nigger, go, go, go. . . (1 – 8).

While Ian Stuart Donaldson, described as "a raspy singer . . . who moonlights as an organizer for Britain's National Front," by Jeff Coplon (55), uttered his close relations to National Front, the official website for the political party announces their belief that the country was a nation of white race in historical terms and their aim to "stabilize [the] population by introducing a complete halt to all further immigration to [the] country" ("Introduction and Welcome"). On the other hand, the fame gained by Donaldson and his band, after just two albums, was not too quick to assume a leading role in the creation of white power music – a right-wing extremist and racist offshoot of the rock scene, among leading examples of which can be listed Angry Aryans, Extreme Hatred, Better Dead than Red, Brutal Attack, No Remorse, Johnny Rebel, Weisse Wölfe, Ethnic Cleansing, Nemesis and Youngland, as well as Race War and Vinland Warriors, originating from other countries than Britain, such as the United States and Germany as well. The American originated Johnny Rebel exemplifies *the hate lyrics* (emphasis added) perhaps best with the song "Ship Those Niggers Back" which almost repeats Skrewdriver's "Boat":

America for whites
Africa for blacks
Send those apes back to the trees
Ship those niggers back

Ring that bell, shout for joy
The Whiteman's day is here
Twenty million ugly coons

Are ready on the pier

Hey there man, I'm not getting in that boat
Looks like that boat's leaking to me
Smack-smack-oooh yes
White man here I come (5 – 16).

The idea of “sending the niggers back,” which is a common idea that exists in both Johnny Rebel’s and Skrewdriver’s lyrics, was also endorsed by the British National Front’s official website with the explanation that “blacks, as well as other races have a right to enjoy, maintain and protect their own races and cultures - in their own countries” (100 Questions”). The band Brutal Attack, dwelt more on the racial background than the nationalistic terms used by Skrewdriver and Johnny Rebel, and this band also contributed to the spread of neo-Nazi skinhead movement, calling for a union of the Aryan youth in the similar extreme nationalist expression of their feelings. The members of the band attributed a certain degree of Pagan imagery – like Valhalla and Odin – mixed with the pure Christian faith, in their song “Aryan Child” which was included in their album *White Pride – White Passion*:

Child awake now for your Mother she does call,
And you must suckle, at the breast for you to grow.
Untouched by blind faith, you so fair and white,
Your Mother she loves you, gave birth to your future light.

So wake from your bed, and raise your head
Aryan child, listen to what is said
So rise your hand and learn to love your land
For the white revolution needs your uncorrupted hand.

The miracle of life is in you and when you grow,
Your parents will guide you, keep you as the straight & narrow
White pride & truth is all that you will hear,
So when you grow you'll fight for your nations needs

Child awake now for your lands been robbed & sold,
By men of high finance, the truth you must be told.
What your ancestors fought for, sacrifice untold,
Has all been stolen by bankers of the Jewish fold.

Now Aryan Child the map is set out right,
The best it will be done for you, but its only a guiding light
Gather your wits and the youth within your fold,
So you'll achieve victory for Valhalla & the glory it holds

Innocent are your life has only just begun,

But you will live to see the new dawn the rising sun.
 Those spirits above Odin he watches you now
 For when the sun rises to Valhalla you will go (1 – 24)

As it is observed in the lyrics, the White Aryan race is called for a union in order to change the world map according to the interests of their own race. The lands are considered to be stolen from the real owners by the Jewish, obviously referring to an enmity against the people of Israel, in line with the idea of National Socialism brought forward by Hitler. The idea of white revolution is supported by the invocation of Nordic gods, who are the symbols of Scandinavian mythology with a reference to the origins of the white race. Correspondingly, the band Berserkr, which mixed electronic music, ska rhythms and heavy rock guitars, with a similar tone to Black Metal music, implied the unification of the White Aryan race, with dense references to Nordic origins in their song, “Iceman Has Risen”:

Hail death!
 To the front of the battle we ride
 With our weapons in hand
 Banners pressed to the sky
 Standing over the dead on the ground
 With a warm cup of blood
 and a victory shout.

Soaked from head to foot
 With the enemy's blood
 The Iceman Has Risen again
 Cold fire in his eyes
 Vengeful sword in his hand
 The Iceman Has Risen again.

Generations were lost as the ice giant slept
 It was in him where our courage was kept
 Generations it took us to shake him awake
 Now it's war that the ice giant makes
 In the depths of the Aryan soul
 Lies an unequalled hatred
 Where icy blood flows
 The Vikings, The Saxons, The Lombards,
 The Vandals, The Teutons, The Normans,
 The Franks, and the Angles (1 – 23).

With an open reference to the nations that belong to the white race, Berserkr obviously approves a bloody war against the “enemy,” who are the people of other races than the white race. It is implied that the war-like nature of their ancestors, whose stories are told

in the Nordic and the Celtic myths, are in a deep sleep since the Christianity was introduced to these lands. A union of the nations for a race war is referred to as a necessity, as it is the case with Brutal Attack's "Aryan Child". In this war, Berserkr suggests that the blood of "the enemy" is served as a drink, with the line "with a warm cup of blood," evidently demonstrating the violent nature of the racist skinheads. On the other hand, Watson defines what it meant to be a skinhead in Saha's interview in irrelevant terms to the concept of race. For Watson, and the skinheads of the initial period of the movement, being a skinhead meant to be "brothers" that supported one another in the streets, while attending the weekend entertainment:

Originally, it meant a great laugh. Discovering Madness. Having my hair cut - and the things all teenagers go through the world over: finding a sense of belonging and working towards autonomy. That's how it started for me. For others it might've been Led Zeppelin, whatever. But it got me into my teenage years. I felt protected. I grew up in a very, very violent place. For many of us, being a Skinhead was about protection. We had our mates. We'd watch each other's backs. (Watson "Interview with Anamik Saha" "Skinning Up")

Exemplifying Watson's ideas, non-racist ska bands of the period were against any kind of war and bloodshed. The Specials' song "War Crimes" criticised the violence and war crimes by portraying the disturbing and the bitter images of war and tried to establish a reaction against the racist ska bands, asking for a union for a race war: "I can still see people dying, now who takes the blame? / The numbers are different, the crime is still the same" (1 – 2).

However, the racist attitude increased by the late 1980s – as opposed to the white and black union of the 1960s. In the year 1987, Skrewdriver's front man, Donaldson, who shared the same idea with Johnny Rebel, and whose band was obviously supported by NF, established the main racist skinhead organization in Britain, the title of which was the translation of an SS slogan, "Blood and Honour," later giving its title to a No Remorse (a British neo-Nazi band) album, which the *Searchlight* magazine online reviews as "a sickening collection of obscene and violent racial hatred" under the title "Shut Down the Peddlers of Hate" and the lyrics of which advocated the murder of blacks, Jews, and Asians, along with the other people originating from the countries which they consider as non-white due to their not being White Aryans. The same band was accused of exacerbating extreme hatred in its lyrics of another album they released

in 1996, titled *Barbecue in Rostock*, and though this album was confirmed “illegal” according to the 1986 Public Order Act, it was still available in the following years, at some markets that distributed illegal propaganda. The lyrics of the song that gave this album its name was full of black humour together with racist discourse, referring to the events in Germany’s conservative and far-right city, Rostock, resulted in setting Turks’ houses on fire, though the band was of British origin and seemed to suggest an ethnic cleansing only for Britain:

Didn’t want their town filled with scum,
 So they got together and made petrol bombs,
 Then one cold, starry night,
 They set them filthy Turks alight.
 There’s a *Barbecue in Rostock*,
 You better come,
 How do you like your Turks?
 Do you like them well done? (1 – 8)

These lyrics explain the fact that the direction of the violence and racialism is not limited with the immigrants in Britain. It is obvious that the neo-Nazi skinheads are also in a unity against all the non-white communities elsewhere. Moreover, the violence and separatist thoughts deriving from the idea that a group of people are superior to the others is also directed at other minorities – gays and communists, as exemplified by the Skrewdriver song “Boat,” mentioned above. Proving that, neo-Nazi skinheads are known with their *fag-bashing*²² (emphasis added) activities along with those which are known as *Paki-bashing*²³ (emphasis added). This is related to the definition of discrimination; not only racial but also sexual and political discrimination exist within the ideology of the neo-Nazi skinheads. This is the reason why the non-racist skinheads were split into different factions as gay skins and red skins.

Red skinheads, or anarchist skinheads (they are usually mentioned together as a single group, but the red skinheads are rather communists than anarchists), developed an anti-racist and anti-fascist attitude against the xenophobic behaviours of the neo-Nazi skinheads, stressing the origins of the subculture with no discriminative attributions against any race or group (see Figures 16 and 17). Since the idea of youth subculture is defined in its insubordinate nature, as well as being the symbol of the otherness, as Hebdige emphasizes (qtd. in Lury 197), red and anarchist skinheads claim that neo-Nazi

skinheads do not meet the characteristics of the original skinhead subculture. Moreover, red and anarchist skinheads emphasize the working class background with the politicized side of the class relations, especially regarding the ideas of Karl Marx. On the other hand, the original skinhead spirit is neither communist nor national socialist – there is no political affluence in the main skinhead movement, except for the struggle to keep the working class habits alive.

Nevertheless, while neo-Nazi skinheads assumed an influential role on the development of the movement, red and anarchist skinheads claimed to be the original skinheads. Therefore, red and anarchist skinheads established a slogan that asserted their schism as the “real” skinheads, sometimes dwelling on the discourse of the anti-racist skinheads’ organization, also known as Skinheads Against Racism and Prejudice, or SHARP. SHARP was founded in New York, by a group of American skinheads, in the same year as Ian Stuart Donaldson’s *Blood and Honour*, when the tabloid media endorsed all the skinheads to be a part of the neo-Nazi ideology, in order to point out the fact that not all the skinheads are Nazis (“Big Apple”). In the same year, a similar organization was also founded in Canada, under the title of Anti-Racist Action (ARA). These organizations were acknowledged with their clashes with the neo-Nazi skinheads who claimed a skinhead identity which the rest of the skinhead community did not embrace. The websites of the supporting magazines like *Searchlight* and the journal of *Anti-Defamation League*, founded in 1913 to fight against anti-Semitism and bigotry, helped the anti-racist skinheads develop their activities to be heard, were filled with violent events caused by the neo-Nazi skinheads against the anti-racist skinheads, as well as the rest of the society: “since 1987, racist Skinheads have committed at least 43 murders in the United States as well as thousands of lesser crimes such as beatings, stabbings, shootings, thefts, and synagogue desecrations” as given in the online article “Neo-Nazi Skinheads and Racist Rock: Youth Subcultures of Hate”. *Searchlight* called the governments to prohibit the illegal propaganda of the neo-Nazi skinheads through their music, websites, and flyers, while the tabloid media continued its *fag-bashing* (emphasis added) news about the criminal acts of the neo-Nazi skinheads – though there were also gay skinheads, as well. Similarly, Nizkor Project, which fights against the Holocaust Deniers and the spread of racism, is generally blamed by the Neo-Nazi,

audience, who claim that the founders of Nizkor are Zionists and/or funded by Israeli state. Nizkor, however constantly provides a place for all the anti-racist skinheads including the gay skinheads to be heard, as an interview, which appeared on various skinhead sites, was also released on this website. This interview with John Byrne, a gay skinhead from Brighton, reveals the original skinhead spirit (see Figure 15): “If you are skin and are attracted to another guy you are still skin. There is nothing contradictory about that” (“Queer Skinhead”).

However, those positive changes for the anti-racist skinheads were being newly spread out, when the neo-Nazi skinheads were getting stronger. As already given, at around the same time when these anti-racist organizations were founded, Donaldson, establishing an organization with an SS slogan, and becoming influential on many neo-Nazi bands in Britain as elsewhere, dared enough to claim himself a Nazi, and he became especially notorious for his explanation for the London *Evening Standard*: “I admire everything Hitler did, apart from one thing – losing” (“Nizkor Project”). On the other hand, what Adolf Hitler did was dependent on the idea of creating a “pure” race, which proved to be “misleading in the extreme” (Richardson and Lambert 9) – obviously, a point which Donaldson missed. Moreover, John Richardson and John Lambert state that there are diversities within racial groups, since all the members of a certain racial group cannot share the same genes; and they note that “the basic human genotype (e.g. genes which determine that we have two legs, a prehensile thumb, etc.) suggests that the differences are less striking than the similarities” (9). Yet, unaware of this basic scientific knowledge, Donaldson called the “white men” to “awake” to fight for “what they are [assumably] deprived of,” based on a so-called and cheap nationalism in his “Voice of Britain” lyrics:

It's a time when our old people cannot walk the streets alone
Fought for this country, is this all they get back?
Risked their lives for Britain, and now Britain belongs to aliens
It's about time that the British went and took their Britain back (11 – 14).

While Donaldson's band and similar bands gained power in the musical scene within the skinheads, punks as the originators and the followers of this youth subculture, got famous along with *Sex Pistols*' “God Save the Queen,” which is referred above as an

assault to the “fascist” state. Paul Gilroy notes that the “punks’ assault on the central icons of patrician British nationalism . . . was an important symbolic manifestation of this element in their sub-culture [sic]” (123). During the Royal Jubilee week, the song became the number one record, as the punks, [and together with them, the non-racist skinheads] disassociated themselves from the racist scene (Gilroy 123). On the other hand, even after the death of Ian Stuart Donaldson, British neo-fascist groups were able to gain power in their meetings and strengthened their advertising through fanzines and flyers, like *Combat 18*, taking its name from the “a strong-arm squad for the nazi [sic] British National Party,” as explained by Graeme Atkinson (“Combat 18”), which was established in 1992. “18” is significant because it is a symbol used by many neo-Nazi groups, referring to the first and the eighth letters of the alphabet; i.e., “A” and “H,” which are the initials of Adolf Hitler. It was believed that Combat 18 was formed in order to gather the neo-fascists in Britain under a single formation so that they could be better monitored, and “the highly secretive organisation” claimed that “it organised fighting at the England-Ireland football match at Lansdowne Road in 1995” (“Combat 18’s Hardline Racism”). Similar to the lyrics of the racist bands, such as Skrewdriver, Brutal Attack and Berserkr, as well as many others, “the slogan of the racist organisation, [Combat 18], is ‘white revolution is the only solution’” (“Combat 18’s Hardline Racism”). It is also claimed in the BBC News’ online article of the year 1999 that Combat 18 has links with the British Army as well as having a control over the music industry and the merchandising of the albums of the far-right bands:

[It] is thought that [Combat 18] controls a highly profitable music business, selling CDs and merchandising of far-right bands.

...

Two British soldiers were arrested on suspicion of having links with the group. It prompted the Armed Forces minister, Doug Henderson, to warn that servicemen with ties to racist organisations risked the being thrown out of the Forces and prosecution. (“Combat 18’s Hardline Racism”)

If these claims are proven to be right, as stated by *Searchlight* webzine, and Red Action (British organization supporting the independence of working class, referring to Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as their origin) as well as journalist Larry O’Hara, then this might explain the control of the media over the events through political and

governmental channels: this might suggest an inclination to support xenophobic violence in the state, which makes the situation more complicated than a simple youth riot.

With those supporting agents, the violence of the neo-Nazi skinheads continued to strengthen all over the world. And the wave of nationalistic feelings was accompanied by an increase in the number of racially motivated crimes by so-called skinheads. It was almost impossible to distinguish between the racist and anti-racist skinheads from an outer look, and this gave the neo-Nazi skinheads the way to rise and spread their thoughts as if all the skinheads shared the same thoughts. Coplon gives what the American racist and anti-racist skinheads shared: “they like to drink, they like to dance,” yet what they did not share in common was that the racist skinheads “[would] like to deport or exterminate the non-Aryan half of this country” (56). When Tom Metzger, on sharing the similar thoughts with the British National Front that the “race-mixing is cultural suicide” (Coplon 58), established the White Aryan Resistance (firstly, as the White American Resistance), the whole world mistakenly knew all the skinheads as neo-Nazis, since the extreme right branch of the movement immediately became the focus of media attention and social condemnation. British newspapers were filled with the events caused by the neo-Nazi skinheads:

On the night of September 11, 1993, 30 neo-Nazi Skinheads marched through Brick Lane [a certain place in East London, where especially the Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Bengali, Indian and other sub-continental Asian immigrants overpopulate the local area] in the heart of a predominantly Asian neighbourhood, breaking shop windows and menacing residents. (“Nizkor Project”)

Yet, it was not only the British youth, who suffered from the events, which actually spread to the northern European countries such as Norway and Sweden, which were once dominated by the idea of pure race, and even to irrelevant countries; like Russia, which experienced communism, an anti-fascist ideology, as its regime for decades; and Poland, which suffered, perhaps, the most from the Holocaust. To exemplify, Heléne Löw’s article, “The Cult of Violence,” could be analysed, as it summarizes the events of racist subculture of Norway and Sweden with reference to the boundaries between the Nordiska Rikspartiet (Nordic Reich Party, NRP) and the Swedish national socialists of the 1990s, by defining the racist subculture as a “complex network of National

Socialist, anti-Semitic, and other racist groups and individuals,” while taking “racist underground” as a “hidden world, with its own language, life style and mythology” (62). The Russian skinheads also caused violence in their own vicinities. According to a report by Gleb Brianski from *Reuters* on 29th July 2002, “about 1,000 of [the member of neo-Nazi national People’s Party in Russia] are young skinheads, brought to the party by Semyon Tokmakov, one of the leaders of the Moscow skinhead community and now deputy leader of the party”. The same report also informs about an incident by referring to the statement given by a university student in Moscow:

Foreign students at the People’s Friendship University in Moscow say they feel safe only on the university campus, where they are protected, by a private security firm. “This campus is like a prison for us. I cannot even take my girlfriend to the movies,” said Christian Bock, a 30-year-old construction engineering student from Cameroon beaten by skinhead gangs three times during his seven years in Moscow. (Brianski, Reuter Report)

Similar events were experienced in the United States, long before the Russian example; as Gabriel refers in his online article “Skinhead,” that they draw swastikas on city walls and have been blamed for the defacing of a new Holocaust memorial in Chicago, yet the important point is that the gangs that are responsible for the incidents are given as “skinheads” only, not clarifying their real identities within the skinhead community. This is the reason why all the skinheads are thought to be racist, as it is generally the case with the media, to label a certain group of people relying on the deeds of individuals within that group. George Marshall, in the online article, “Skinhead Nation,” also points out how “media and its cohorts take great delight in focusing the sensational aspects of the cult”. It is further explained in the same article that, by focusing on such details, the cult of skinheads are misrepresented through a small racist community within, as if only the racist skinheads existed or as is all the skinheads are racist, as the objects of a process of representation which is referred as “totally false” by Marshall (“Skinhead Nation”). In fact, Coplon states the fact that the original skinheads were also the victims of neo-Nazi violence:

[The neo-Nazi skinheads] have stolen a style that originated among white who loved black music. They have forced nonracist [sic] skinheads underground or out. They have clubbed and knifed the punk-music scene into submission in Detroit and Los Angeles (56).

In the later periods of the subculture, the clash between the racist and the non-racist or anti-racist sides of the skinhead movement continued. Angry Aryans called for violence over the black residents in Britain in their song “Browntown Burning Down,” singing,

Browntown burning down
 Cities getting sacked, it's coming down
 Browntown burning down
 Negro in flames rolling on the ground
 No longer welcome in our cities 'cause you'll get beat
 Extreme White racial violence!
 Is what darkies can expect to meet (1 – 7).

On the other hand, non-racist ska bands from different countries, such as, The Creeping Dead Charlies of New Jersey, Athena of Istanbul, and the Jamaican Skatalites urged for the original ska spirit. The Creeping Dead Charlies called for a union of rude boys and skinheads, two youth subcultures one of which is black and the other is white, for the sake of defending the rights of the working class, in their song “Bootin’ Up Some Unity”:

Bad Boys on the Street tonight!
 Rudies, Skinheads Unite! (oi! oi! oi!)
 Don't give me no respect tonight!
 There's gonna be a fight!
 Don't piss me off cause I've worked all day and it's just not right,
 Tonight's the night to end this fight and stand up for my rights! (5 – 10)

The famous band of the mid 1980s, The Specials, continued to call for anti-racism, as exemplified by their song “Racist Friend,” as a means of standing against the racist bands’ provocation of race war:

If you have a racist friend
 Now is the time, now is the time for your friendship to end

Be it your sister
 Be it your brother
 Be it your cousin or your uncle or lover

...

Tell them to change their views
 Or change their friends
 Now is the time, now is the time for your friendship to end (1 -5, 11 – 13).

However, the racist side of the clashes within the skinhead community gained so much influence all over the world that most people began to associate skinhead subculture with fascism, racism and neo-Nazism. The examples of the racist ska bands with skinhead style almost outnumbered the non-racist ska bands which strived to survive the original skinhead spirit. The number of the racist bands, most of which are ska bands, giving way to the negative implications of the skinhead subculture reveals the enormous degree of distribution of those bands all over the world, including Racist Redneck Rebels, Ivan and the Necrolytes, Race War, Better Dead Than Red, Vinland Warriors, Public Enemy, Johnny Rebel, Attack, Skrewdriver, The Gits, Weisse Wölfe, The Skulls, Ethnic Cleansing, Skullhead, Stromschlag, Bootleg Bill, Sveaborg, Nemesis, Empire, Stahlgemitter, Odal, Squadron, Involved Patriot, The Betrayed, Corona Ferrea, Odin's Law, Broadsword, Zworn, Kill or Be Killed, Sedition, Unit Lost, Spearhead, Combat Ready, White Lightning, Intimidation One, Sleipnir, Celtic Warrior, Bulldog Breed, The Brawlers, Aggressive Force, Battlefront, Brutal Attack, Bully Boys, Comrades, Deaths Head, Extreme Hatred, Final War, Griffin, H8Machine, Hatemonger, Max Resist, Patriotic Front, People Haters, Plunder & Pillage, Stonehammer, White Noise, White Wash, and Youngland. Yet, the previous generation of the skinheads that originated the subculture, including Watson, agree that "skinheads were never a threat to world peace," acknowledging the fact that there is a prejudice against the skinhead community:

[Skinheads were] just another subculture. We weren't beamed in from Planet Nazi. But even intelligent people, who wouldn't believe a word of what's going on politically say with Bush, still they have incredible stereotypes about working class culture. 'All Skinheads are Nazis.' Actually, it comes out of Jamaican culture. (Watson "Interview with Anamik Saha" "Skinning Up")

As Watson also refers to, the Jamaican influence on the skinhead subculture is obvious when the sound and the lyrics of non-racist ska band, Less Than Jake, are analysed. The band, which has an understanding of music equalised with having fun, has its songs about amusing subjects, instead of racism and violence. The entertaining nature of the reggae, ska and punk melodies are united in the song "Pete Jackson is Getting Married," which makes fun of the marriage ceremony of the band's trombonist, Pete Jackson:

I can see it all right now
 His mom and dad so proud of his son and his new found wife
 And I wonder if after all these years
 Will his dad still give him a pep talk for his wedding night?
 I can smell his cousin's polo mixing with his grandpa's old spice and the
 Swedish meatballs look so tempting that his two fat aunts might even fight
 And his uncles have all gone drinkin'
 Highballs and hamms light in the parking lot
 While the rest of his relatives are busy just tearing up the Manville Elks Lodge
 I can smell his cousin's polo mixing with his grandpa's old spice and the mashed
 Potatoes look so tasty that his two fat aunts might even fight
 On that day what else could I say?
 I'd say here's to you staying drunk
 Here's to all your good luck
 You're gonna need it (1 – 11).

Throughout the years, many other subcultures have been on the scene, and skinheads seemed to have been forgotten. Yet, they were not unseen, though they lost their popularity in the eyes of the media, since media have found new *toys* (emphasis added) to misrepresent, i.e., other youth subcultures that could be set as relevant to different crimes of racial prejudice and violence. By 2000s, along with other subcultures and different exchanges of symbols and clothing styles, the cult of skinheads survived. The revival of the punks, under the title of neo-punks (see Figure 10), for example, was one of the leading ways to the revival of skinheads. Marshall points out that, though sociologist tends to identify certain elements of youth within a limited description, the subculture of skinheads consists of individuals, too, as it is the case in every aspect of life ("Skinhead Nation"). Further analysis shows that it is almost impossible to set this cult into sects with definite borders and to title these sects under certain identifications in line with the clothing styles. However, in general, men are dressed in Ben Sherman or Fred Perry shirts, cardigan sweaters and t-shirts (see Figure 11), while women prefer similar clothes (see Figure 12) adding dress suits comprising a matching short skirt and $\frac{3}{4}$ length jacket with button-up and hose ("Here Comes"). It can be exemplified by Coplon's observation of the four skinheads, speaking about a skingirl's clothing as "[she was] in a low-cut minidress one size too small," while describing the boys' clothing as "black or green bomber jackets, T-shirts or buttoned Fred Perrys, Levi's or black Swat slacks with suspenders (always referred to as "braces") and steel-toed Doc Marten boots, . . . their arms and legs are tattooed with swastikas and eagles" (56). For the bottoms, as already seen in Coplon's example, Levi's or Wrangler jeans are

preferred, and these are to be “perfectly fit” (56). Combat trousers are also a choice of clothing both for men and women; and “women may also be dressed in mini-skirts” and fishnet stockings (Thorne 157). Though “boots and braces,” giving a Skrewdriver album its title, seem to be the symbol of the skinheads, there is no rule that brings the classification that only skinheads wear Doc Marten boots and/or braces. These exclude the individualistic characteristics, and they suggest a union of identity within the skinhead community. Similarly, it is not possible to generalize all the skinhead community as racists, fascists or neo-Nazis. The article, “Skinhead Scene,” that took place in *Anti-Defamation League* asserts:

Not all youths with shaved heads or closely cropped hair are neo-nazis [sic]. There are many young people across the globe who call themselves Skinheads and eschew bigotry (some are actively anti-racist). They look the same as their racist counterparts – without the Nazi insignia – and follow many of the same fashions including a taste for “oi” music, beer and violence. Indeed, both types of Skinheads have been known to attack each other. (“Skinhead Scene”)

Though skinheads are identified with the violent acts represented in the media and all of them are labelled as neo-Nazis; the proofs have shown that all skinheads are not necessarily racist or fascist. There are skinheads who devote themselves to Nazi ideology, however, the original roots of the skinhead movement is of working class and it is a youth subculture within the working class community of Britain. The links between the state-sponsored terror and the neo-Nazi skinheads is obvious, while the role of the media to label all the skinheads as Nazis is undeniable – as well as inevitable in such a web of relations. Nevertheless, the fight of the anti-racist skinheads against this labelling still continues, as they try to be heard in order to keep their cult alive.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CULT OF BLACK METAL: VIOLENCE IN THE CIRCLE

The roots of Heavy Metal, which paved the way to the development of Black Metal as a infamous sub-genre of today, dwell on the very existence of rock music in terms of style, musical understanding, and dress codes. When the behavioural codes are adhered to these three characteristics, one may reach to certain defining points of the youth subcultures, which distinguish themselves from the mainstream culture with their choice of music, dress codes, style, and behavioural patterns. Since it can be argued that rock music has always signified a rebellious attitude, Heavy Metal, as a derivative of the musical notion of rock, is a reactionary music, which, on having these differentiating characteristics, can be considered as one of the youth subcultures that has mostly been misunderstood and judged, as it is often the case with most of the youth subcultures, due to the marginalised appearances of their followers.

Today Heavy Metal is mostly associated with such terms as racism, fascism, and neo-Nazism. Moreover, most of the fans of this kind of music are thought as part of the Satanic Metal underground, which, in fact, construct only a small part of the scene. Though, it is not possible to deny the existence of criminal acts within the Heavy Metal subculture, it is not possible to define the whole genre and the audience as potential criminals with Satanic beliefs and exercises, either. This chapter aims to analyse the chronological evolution of Heavy Metal by referring to the ideas given about the genre by the authorities as well as scanning the lyrics of globally known bands of Heavy Metal, and to identify the degree to which this genre is related with the violence and racist attitudes its fans are accused of.

As already pointed out by Michael Moynihan and Didrik Söderlind, “rock music has always held the seeds of the forbidden” (XVI). In other words, rock and Metal have always been associated with what is forbidden, unwanted and labelled as evil, as obviously detected in the names of the Heavy Metal bands:

The names chosen by heavy metal [sic] bands evoke power and intensity [which would not be welcomed by the mainstream culture if owned by a resistant subculture] in different ways. Bands align themselves with electrical and mechanical power (Tesla, AC/DC, Motörhead), dangerous or unpleasant animals (Ratt, Scorpions), dangerous or unpleasant people (Twisted Sister, Mötley Crüe, Quiet Riot), or dangerous and unpleasant objects (Iron Maiden). They can invoke the auratic power of blasphemy or mysticism (Judas Priest, Black Sabbath, Blue Öyster Cult) or the terror of death itself (Anthrax, Poison, Megadeth, Slayer). Heavy metal [sic] can even claim power by being self-referential (Metallica) or by transgressing convention with an antipower [sic] name (Cinderella, Kiss). Some bands add umlauts (Motörhead, Mötley Crüe, Queensrÿche) to mark their names as archaic or gothic²⁴. (Walser 2)

This reaction for the pleasant and the safe might reflect Heavy Metal's deep consideration of antagonism against the mainstream. It can be argued that, on being rejected as the subcultural patterns, Heavy Metal and rock cultures raised a duplicated voice as a resistance to what is imposed by the ruling class. This is the idea behind rock music's being the "music of the forbidden" (Moynihan and Søderlind XVI). In other words, though "heavy metal [sic] began to attain stylistic identity in the late 1960s . . . and a relatively small but fiercely loyal subculture formed around it during the 1970s, the rock and roll music of the previous decades was also the music of reaction, and rock music paved the way for the Heavy Metal genre. Deena Weinstein explains how rock and roll gave birth to the notion of Heavy Metal: "the heavy metal [sic] genre erupted in the early 1970s from the wider cultural complex of rock music, which, in turn, had grown out of the rock and roll²⁵ of the 1950s" (11).

That is to say, even the very first bands of rock and roll, leading the way to the emergence of sub-genres under Heavy Metal, had the idea of reaction. Rock genre and Heavy Metal evolved within the similar antagonistic approaches to life. While the early examples of rock and roll reacted against the conservatism in the society with some changes in the haircuts and dress codes, Heavy Metal, with the later generations, carried this trend to a step further, and became the voice of the *anti* (emphasis added) thoughts. Jimmy Page, the lead guitarist for Led Zeppelin, explains how they rejected the values of the mass culture by their reaction against appearing on television channels:

In the 1970s, there used to be phases you had to complete in order to appear on television. First you had to release a single, and it had to be listed among the Top 20, or whatever. And you had to do as if you were playing, but there had to be a playback, in order for you to be invited. . . . We never felt comfortable on

television and radio programmes on which the rocker boys sacrificed their identities and personalities. Ours was an experience that had to be lived directly and alive (Göktürk and İdemen 8, translated from the original Turkish version by me).

As already explained by Page, the rock subculture rejected the main culture and its defining characteristics, such as the rules of acceptability, with a similar attitude to that of the skinhead and the previous subcultures. However, this reaction was not simply to reject the mainstream culture, but it also meant a duplicated form of antagonism raised due to society's excluding attitude towards the followers of this subculture. Robert Walser notes that

Because heavy metal [sic] threatened to antagonize demographically targeted audiences, metal [sic] bands received virtually no radio airplay, and they had to support their album releases by constant touring, playing to an audience that was mostly young . . . and working class [as the followers of Heavy Metal subculture were the descendants of the youth subcultures of the previous decade, such as the teds, the mods, the rockers, and the skinheads, who co-existed with the Heavy Metal audience, all of which are working class youths]. (3)

As already explained, what this youth subculture reacted against was the mainstream culture due to its ruling nature and dominant characteristics defined by the class-consciousness, and yet, the mainstream culture also reacted against this youth subculture by trying to exclude them from the media and the popular culture it offered. In other words, the mainstream culture of the society applied an embargo to this youth subculture by depriving them of the means of finance, such as appearing on television and advertising, whereas the followers of the Heavy Metal subculture protested the means of survival offered by the mainstream culture, by finding other ways to survive, such as playing to a closed society of working class youths. On the other hand, the youth that followed the mainstream culture and consumed the popular culture exposed through the media also constructed a mass, the culture of which was opposed by the Heavy Metal subculture. At this point, Deena Weinstein makes a distinction between the youth as the young people, who are the consumers of the popular culture offered by the media and the television and the youth as the ways of insurgency against the mainstream culture, explaining the reasons why the rock subcultures rejected to appear on television:

Young people responded to the extortion of 'youth' in a variety of ways. Mainly they merged into the youthful leisure culture as its distinctive representatives. Others, reacting in the manner of tribal peoples who have become deracinated, dropped out of society into depression, becoming heavy users of alcohol and other authoritarian sects, which set themselves sharply off from the general culture. Still others formed subcultures raised the symbolic stakes too high for the general leisure culture easily to co-opt them [as in the case of the rock subculture and its followers]. (109)

Moreover, as Peter Wicke suggests about the punk scene, which is of utmost influence on the Metal genre in terms of idea and rhythms, "in every respect the whole thing fulfilled the attributes of an 'anti-music'" (135), as even the earliest examples like Elvis Presley and The Beatles represented an antagonistic power against the conservative Britain. For instance, Presley's dance style gave him the title "Elvis the Pelvis" because he used to shake his hips rhythmically for the music and this was a great change for the youth who were bored of the routine lives of their parents. On the other hand, for the parents, this was *immoral* (emphasis added) because rock and roll, as a term, first of all suggested sexual connotations and they were anxious about the idea that this music would probably invite their children to have extramarital relationships²⁶. Additionally, the dancing styles suggested more sexual connotations which would be definitely immoral for the understanding of morality in a conservative society. During those years, the United States was no different from Britain, and rock and roll was forbidden for a while. Moynihan and S  derlind, thus, agree with the idea of reaction even for the early examples of rock and roll that would constitute the basis for the later examples of the Metal genre, though they observe Elvis Presley and The Beatles as "only mildly threatening to the status quo" (2). The lyrics of Presley's song "A Little Less Conversation" connote an invitation for "action and satisfaction," reflecting the unfulfilled desires of the youth in that period. The song seems to reject any sort of communication offered by the norms of the society, shows that the adolescents have sexual needs as well as the adults. Instead of trying to satisfy their sexual needs with conversation, young people want to touch the other sex:

A little less conversation, a little more action please
 All this aggravation ain't satisfactioning me
 A little more bite and a little less bark
 A little less fight and a little more spark
 Close your mouth and open up your heart

and baby satisfy me
Satisfy me baby (1 – 7).

However, as already seen in the lyrics above, neither the very first examples of this period, nor their lyrics implored any racial discrimination, which the Heavy Metal bands are today accused of. What is more, as already explained in the first chapter, the subcultures of the 1960s, namely, mods and rockers, constituted a basis for the Heavy Metal genre, and especially in the mod subculture, the unity of the black and the white youth was unprecedented. Pete Townshend, the lead guitarist for The Who, is quoted saying that he experienced, “the feeling of what it’s like to be a Mod among two million Mods” and he continues: “it’s incredible. It’s like suddenly you’re the only white man in Apollo ([A] Theater in Harlem). Someone comes up and touches you and you become black” (Szatmary 101). Yet, “[the] whites expressed their fear of race mixing by complaining about the sexual overtones of rock” (Szatmary 21), as the white youth followed what the black subculture foresaw. David P. Szatmary further explains the “racist backlash” in the United States:

The integration of white and black youths elicited a racist response from many white adults. In 1956, as white Southerners lashed out against desegregation and attacked civil rights workers, a spokesman for the White Citizens Council of Birmingham, Alabama, charged that rock-and-roll – “the basic, heavy-beat music of the Negroes” – appealed to “the base in man, brings out animalism and vulgarity” and most important, represented a “plot to mongrelise America” (21).

As already observed, the early examples of the rock/Metal scene did not even have the idea concerning racism or extreme nationalism, but the prejudiced society was against the union of the black and the white. In this sense, it is possible to argue that racism was not in those “forbidden seeds” of the rock and roll genre and its sub-genres. Moreover, since it has held “the seeds of the forbidden,” there has always been a reactionary attitude, in the rock/Metal genres, to what is imposed: Heavy Metal dwells on a reaction against the hopelessness that a certain degree of “fall” caused by the Cold War and capitalism in every aspect of the society, so no individual in the Metal scene would agree to unite with the governments that led capitalist, nationalist, or fascist policies. Being obedient was against the spirit of rock and Metal. This has always been the case with the rock scene from the earliest examples to the contemporary ones; as exemplified

by the Hardcore band of the 2000s, Rage Against the Machine's lyrics of the song "Killing in the Name of": "Fuck you, I won't do what you tell me!" (49).

This fondness of freedom, together with the interest in rebellion, showed itself in many forms, ranging from the illegal acts such as the use of drugs to the Satanic views and acts. Today, most of the Metal audience are accused of being Satanist, either by the media, or the society and its governing institutions. Actually, some truth lies in the fact that some bands acclaim a certain degree of Satanic attributions beside imploring the issue in their lyrics explicitly, an example of which could be Acheron and their song "Prayer of Hell," from the album *Messe Noir*, which asserts that there will be a kingdom of Satan in the world:

Our father, who art in hell,
Hollowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come, thy will be done
On earth as it is in hell.
We take this night our rightful due
And trespass not on path of pain.
Lead us into temptation and
Deliver us from false piety.
For thine is the kingdom,
Of power and glory forever.
We shall praise your unholy name.
Satan shall emerge again! (1 – 12)

There are also some other bands that imply the beauty of Satan, whose survival, they denote, would regain its power and sustain a kingdom of glory, as Therion, though not openly, recalls the revival of Satan, by referring as "the Great Beast," in a similar discourse to that of Acheron, in the song "To Mega Therion":

Powers of Thagirion
Watch the Great Beast to be
For To Mega Therion
The Draconian Melody
The Dragon open the eye
And reveal both truth and lie
Spiritual supremacy (1 – 7).

However, it is possible to argue that the Swedish band, Therion, is quite different in terms of musical style from the rest of the Metal scene, together with a few examples

like Finnish Nightwish, Turkish Almora, and the single-man band, Luca Turilli of Italian origin, all of which established a genre titled Symphonic Metal, which is analysed as a sub-branch of the late 1990s' Power and Death Metal, exploring issues from the stories of cultural elements, like the local myths. This can be the reason why Therion handles issues connected to Satanic imagery, as the Scandinavian myths have much of this implication. On the other hand, others have nothing to do with Satanic references, as Almora simply tells the story of Shehrâzad in their latest album with references to Middle Eastern folklore:

She tells the tales from land of the fairies
 From land of the fairies, and from the land of the genies
 Tales of angels, tales of demons
 Darkness of hell lights of heaven

She enchanted the sultan with her magic stories
 And each night she told him the tales as the dreams
 She was the beautiful like the voice of the rain
 Hate of the sultan ends the cause Shehrâzad's tales

In the thousand sleepless nights
 Tell a tale for your life,
 Until sunrise, one more night
 Tell a tale Shehrâzad

Demons and angels, heaven and hell,
 Tell a tale for your life
 Until sunrise, one more night
 Tell a tale Shehrâzad (1 – 16).

Although these lyrics do not imply any acclamation for Satan or related imagery, they refer to demons and hell, as these are also a part of the mythical scene. However, due to the attention paid by the media to the Satanic bands and their deeds, the whole genre is suspected. Additionally, since much of the bands are of Scandinavian origin, much of the lyrics of which refer to their mythical themes and gods there is a tendency to associate the whole scene with racial discrimination or racial crimes. What lies beneath this misunderstanding is the fact that some fans within the Metal cult misunderstand and misinterpret what they listen to, and their deeds are generalized into the whole genre and the audience. However, it seems that Satanic thoughts are more relevant to the accusers than the accused: "Before falling from His Grace," as Gavin Baddeley, in his *Lucifer Rising*, puts, "Satan was known as Lucifer," which meant Light-Bringer in

Latin. In this sense, Baddeley resembles Lucifer to Prometheus, who pitied the squalor and the ignorance of the mankind and stole fire from the gods and gave it to mankind, though in return he was punished eternally (14). A similar idea to that of Prometheus could be found in the “welfare state” notion in Britain, as the British economist and social reformer William Beveridge (1879-1963) states:

During the post-war era, both the Labour Party and the Conservative Party agreed that the role of the welfare state was significant and “five giant evils”; namely, Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness were to be destroyed as a responsibility of the society (42).

Starting from this quotation, it could be said that Beveridge’s 1942 report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (known as the *Beveridge Report*), which served as the basis for the post-World War II Labour government’s Welfare State, does not change the fact that British society is a conservative one, and as a conservative society, British society is xenophobic, and in this case, it could be argued there is an attempt to label what is different and what is *the other* (emphasis added) as dangerous and Satanic, though what they label has no different thoughts from the simplistic human instinct of disobedience, curiosity and freedom. Perhaps, the conservative British society attempts here, to use the defence mechanisms of avoidance, denial, and passive aggression in order to suppress inner feelings of guiltiness.

Indeed, the illegal, the criminal, and the Satanic tendencies of some groups within the cult of Heavy Metal cannot be ignored or tolerated. Here, the simple idea is that these tendencies cannot and should not be generalized to the whole genre. Yet, the individuals who use drugs are unaware of the fact that the Hippie subculture, which made use of drugs such as LSD and other hallucinatory drugs, was not welcomed among the harsh rocker subcultural youth which maintained a basis for Heavy Metal, and especially the Black/Death Metal scene. At this point, the case of Charles Manson would be an appropriate example, due to his use of drugs and hallucinatory chemicals, his conflicting ideas and schizophrenic belief that he was a spiritually prominent figure.

Manson, born Charles Milles Manson in 1934, was a folk-rock singer who was not much recognized, and he later became a celebrity, almost “an urban legend,” as

Baddeley titles him (54), as the leader of a youth group that became involved in serial murders. Manson was once a *wanna-be* (emphasis added) rock star, who recorded albums such as *Lie: The Love and Terror Cult* and *Family Jams*, obviously released after having founded the group, The Family, under his leadership. Yet, this group, followed by many young people of both sexes, later turned out to be a group of mass murderers, with whom Manson broke into many people's houses and killed them, claiming that they were doing it for the sake of Satan and "Helter Skelter," the theory of ultimate global race war, as explained by Vincent Bugliosi, who was the prosecutor in Manson's murder cases (209). The website dedicated to Charles Manson and his Family asserts that the most of Manson's followers included those who had weak family connections and/or mental or emotional problems and most of them suffered from serious illnesses of mind such as paranoid and schizophrenia, as it is seen in the example of Dianne Elizabeth Kane, also known as Snake or Dianne Bluestein, or they were prison escapees such as Michael Monfront who had an "AB" tattoo, representing "Aryan Brotherhood" ("Who's Who"). *Rolling Stone* magazine also gave place to the interview with Manson in June 1970, where Manson was titled ironically as "Jesus Christ," ("Rolling Stone Interview with Manson") due to Manson's use of his personal charisma and use of sex, drugs, and pseudo-religious mantras, and the significant control he gained over the minds of The Family, and his followers believed that "he was Jesus Christ incarnate," as Susan Atkins, one of his followers explained in her grand jury testimony for the trial of murder (Linder "The Charles"). Analysing all these official records and the personal characteristics of Manson's followers leads one to conclude about Manson and The Family that they have a total confusion about racist, Satanist, religious and spiritual ideologies as well as having misunderstood and misinterpreted the behavioural codes of rock/Metal stars.

According to the online database for criminal stories, *Crime Library*, the best-known case of Manson and his "Family" was the murder of Sharon Tate, the actress and wife to the famous director Roman Polanski, together with the murder of middle aged couple Leno – Rosemary LaBianca. Tate was eight months pregnant at the time of the murder, and during this incident, Polanski was making the film *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), based

on 1967 dated novel by Ira Levin, dealing with urban Satanism, adding much to the mystical side of the story ("Serial Killers").

Manson and the most of his followers were sentenced to death in 1971, yet his explanations on Hitler would be helpful to analyse his psychological status: "he insisted Hitler was the Second Coming of Christ, mocking the world for failing to recognise him and crucifying their messiah all over again" (Baddeley 57). However, Manson's explanation is quite conflicting because, first of all, the rock scene is against any unity, and secondly, rock scene has always been on the dark side: if Hitler is Jesus Christ's incarnation, he were supposed to be "good," and here Manson seems to fail to recognise the forgiving power of God, as well as the attribution of ultimate goodness, since a being which is ultimate good would not punish its followers, but forgive them, on not being able to recognize its incarnation.

Manson's conflicting arguments continue while he suggests that his murders were based on Satanic and racist claims together. Satan is the disobedient symbol of Christian belief, and thus it could be argued that it can never accept to be inferior, nor would tolerate any sort of obedience, while racism requires the obedience of *the inferior to the superior* (emphasis added), explaining Manson's chaotic psychology. Adding to the proofs for Manson's suffering from personality disorder, he obviously cannot decide whether Hitler or he (himself) is the incarnation of Jesus Christ. On the other hand, his making the youths that follow him believe that he was the incarnation of Jesus Christ, proves his "mystical egomania" (Baddeley 57), besides clashing with the idea of Satanism.

Additionally, Manson believed in the biological essentialism and expressed his belief in the emergence of a Race War in the world, while he "unlike the Nazis, envisaged the blacks winning. In his warped philosophy of traditional redneck-jailbird values . . . , he believed the blacks to be too physically powerful for the Establishment to withstand, but cerebrally far inferior to a natural-born white leader – like himself" (Baddeley 57). Yet, his view that the black race would overcome the white suggests his extreme pessimism as a White Racist Supremacist. Doug Linder from University of Missouri-Kansas City

School of Law published his project on Tate-LaBianca Murder in 2002, and he asserted that

Psychiatrists saw Manson as “a very emotionally upset youth,” “slick” but “extremely sensitive” (1951), “dangerous” with “homosexual and assaultive tendencies” (1952), having “an unstable personality” but being potentially able “to straighten himself out” (1955), being “unable to control himself” with “a tendency to cut up” (1956), having “work habits that range from good to poor” (1957), being “erratic and moody” and “a classic text book case of a correctional institution inmate” (1958), as an “energetic person” who hides “his loneliness, resentment and hostility behind a facade of superficial ingratiation” (1961), being “emotionally insecure” and tending to “involve himself in various fanatical interests” (1963), and, finally, as “in need of a great deal of help in the transition from institution to the free world” (1966). (“The Charles”)

This also proves what Moynihan and Sørderlind observe on Manson that he had “serious paranoia,” (XIII) and they suggest that “the facts that lie behind the extreme behaviour might be out of certain psychological and pharmacological reasons rather than anything to do with music or Satanism” (XIII).

Proving the irrelevance of music with the criminal acts, not all the members of rock/Heavy Metal subculture are pretenders like Manson. Iron Maiden, which follows the original Heavy Metal spirit, far away from racist and/or Satanist tendencies, can be taken as perhaps the best example of the Heavy Metal genre. Bruce Dickinson, the front man for Iron Maiden, who is referred to as “truly a member of the international metal elite [sic]” by the BBC’s online music archive, explores the famous works in the English Literature in most of his lyrics, or these lyrics have artistic claims that would probably have a poetic value if they had been written during the Romantic tradition of English Literature²⁷ (“Bruce Dickinson”). Dickinson commemorates the poem, “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772 – 1834), in the album titled *Live After Death* (1985), with the lyrics;

Hear the rime of the ancient mariner
See his eye as he stops one of three
Mesmerises one of the wedding guests
Stay here and listen to the nightmares of the sea.

And the music plays on, as the bride passes by
Caught by his spell and the mariner tells his tale.

Driven south to the land of the snow and ice
 To a place where nobody's been
 Through the snow fog flies on the albatross
 Hailed in god's name, hoping good luck it brings.

And the ship sails on, back to the north
 Through the fog and ice and the albatross follows on (1 – 12).

In the next album, *Somewhere In Time* (1986), Iron Maiden gives place to ballad that tells the epic story of Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), by following the pattern of English Romantic tradition that mostly deals with the lives of historical characters and epic heroes:

Near to the East
 In a part of Ancient Greece
 In an ancient land called Macedonia
 Was born a son
 To Philip of Macedon
 The legend his name was Alexander

At the age of nineteen
 He became the Macedon king
 And he swore to free all of Asia Minor
 By the Aegian sea
 In 334 B.C.
 He utterly beat the armies of Persia

Alexander the Great
 His name struck fear into hearts of men
 Alexander the Great
 Became a legend 'mongst mortal men (5 – 20).

A similar tone exists in Led Zeppelin's "Battle of Evermore" that tells the story of the Scottish war, which Robert Plant, the bass guitarist for the band, tells about:

I was then reading a book on the Scotland wars. 'Battle of Evermore' is more a melody than a song. After writing down the lyrics, I realised that I needed quite a different vocal from mine for the integrated effect of the song and I invited Sandy Denny". (Göktürk and İdemen 60, translated from the original Turkish version by me)

The lyrics of the song remind one of the epic tradition, which the Romantic poets usually go back and refer to:

Queen of Light took her bow,

And then she turned to go,
The Prince of Peace embraced the gloom,

And walked the night alone.

...

The tyrant's face is red.

Oh war is the common cry,

Pick up your swords and fly.
The sky is filled with good and bad that mortals never know.

Oh, well, the night is long the beads of time pass slow,
Tired eyes on the sunrise, waiting for the eastern glow.
The pain of war cannot exceed the woe of aftermath,
The drums will shake the castle wall, the ring wraiths ride in black,

Ride on (1 – 4, 16 – 24).

Yet, the pretenders that cause the cult of Heavy Metal to be labelled as the group of criminals are not limited to serial killers. Another example of extreme behaviour in the rock/Metal scene is the famous band that carries the name of its lead vocalist, Marilyn Manson. Both Charles Manson and Marilyn Manson's having the same name is not a coincidence. Marilyn Manson band members have taken their pseudonyms by bringing the first names of Hollywood celebrities and the last names of serial killers together: Zsa Zsa Speck²⁸, Twiggy Ramirez²⁹, Olivia Newton Bundy³⁰, and Marilyn Manson formed the band in the year 1990, while the current members of the band are quite different, except for Manson himself. Marilyn Manson whose original name is Brian Warner, took his first name from Marilyn Monroe; the famous actress, and his last name from Charles Manson; the serial killer. Nevertheless, Manson adopted not only Charles Manson's name, but also his behavioural patterns, in terms of conflict. While his adoption of this name stands for his admiration for the serial killer, Marilyn Manson's being a bisexual collides with the racist discourse. Though original skinheads are tolerant for homosexuality and they even have a sect of gay skinheads, the racist section of both skinhead and Heavy Metal subcultures have no indulgence for homosexual tendencies or extreme suggestion of sex on the stage. Moreover, The Euro-Christian Defence League, which is an extreme nationalist organisation based in Canada, has already blacklisted Marilyn Manson, whom they also think as part of the Black/Death

Metal scene. The booklet, *Satanism and its Allies*, which tries to point out the “unhealthy ‘influences’ that have been appearing, and which are, in [their] opinion, incompatible with nationalist beliefs,” (59) quotes a detail, ironically written down, from the “observers from the Defence League review[ing] Manson’s ‘show’” and concludes that “any normal nationalist – whatever his view on religion – will agree that Black/Death Metal, as exemplified by Manson, is unwanted in [their] circles” (60):

During a vocal break in the song, My Monkey, Manson turned his back to the crowd, bent over, and attempted to sodomize himself with a bottle. His first attempt was unsuccessful, but shortly thereafter he made a second and succeeded. Two high school aged boys, who were standing in front of us, turned each other and gave some sort of sign of approval. They had a new idol. How cute! (60).

On the other hand, though Manson and his band is often associated with the rock/Metal scene by the mass media, in line with the shocking elements as part of the show, when deeply analysed it would be observed that this music does not involve pure rock or pure metal elements, and what is more important that it lacks the original sound of Metal, which would be better exemplified by Megadeth or Iron Maiden or any other 1970s bands of British or American origin. This difference between the show part of the business and the original spirit of rock is explained in Wicke’s chapter on the “punk rebellion”:

... live rock had always been significantly different, at least in the cities, from what the mass media called rock music. While the latter was composed of “supergroups” aiming for “higher things” with their bombastic artistic and technical pomposity, teenagers in the clubs and pubs of city working-class districts were once again enjoying more and more the simple patterns of rock’s original forms in the rhythm & blues tradition (135).

Since Heavy Metal’s original philosophy is also against anything that works within the understanding of the mass culture, it is also possible to argue that the church and militarism are the ideologies that the Heavy Metal is against. The target points for Heavy Metal could be *the numb* (emphasis added) ideologies that yield to a single authority like the Pope, as well as a military leader that would cause the death of thousands for the sake of political, economic and social claims. On the other hand, with the amelioration of the social and economic statuses, by the end of the Cold War, and with the changing balances of the world power, the philosophy behind the Heavy Metal

is forgotten, and the *anti* (emphasis added) attitude of Heavy Metal turned out to be a show. The degree which the musicians and performers shocked the audience became the criterion for the popularity. In this sense, Heavy Metal was commercialised. An example of the commercialised Heavy Metal is Dimmu Borgir, which is one of the late generation Metal bands, the lyrics of which try unsuccessfully to shock the audience. The failure of success is due to the lack of originality in the lyrics, most of which include previously commemorated imagery, as it is the case with the song “Master of Disharmony”:

Master of disharmony
 Welcome my tainted soul
 Take me from the hordes of the living
 Into the blessed darkness
 Master of disorder
 Take my impure flesh
 Lead me unto the path of temptation

Save me from cowardness

Master of sin
 Take my cursed heart
 Bring me where I can find salvation
 For I am the damned

Master of death
 Take my pitiful life
 I am enslaved
 I shall never forget the pain (1 – 16).

Yet, once a performer shocked its audience, at least a minority within the audience imitated this shocking element – make-up, printed t-shirts, a gesture, etc. – and used it on the rest of the society to shock them – to have fun. While this is the point where Marilyn Manson stands in the rock scene – he is always on the stage for fun and for show. This idea also explains the reason why the Heavy Metal circles are closed to other subcultures: interacting with the other parts of the society would eliminate the taste of shocking them; instead they would get used to this style of behaviours, and nothing would shock or scare them, and thus all the fun would go with this fact, as David Bowie, the famous glitter rock star points out: “The only thing that shocks now is an extreme” (Szatmary 209).

As an additional fact, Manson uses electronic inventions and changes the chords and the general course of the music, while, in vocals he tries to imitate some sort of brutal sound unsuccessfully. However, in the original understanding of rock/Metal genres, no place is given to the electronic inventions. “The punk rebellion was to become a unique example of the contradictory relationship of social, cultural, aesthetic and commercial factors to which rock music owes its existence” (Wicke 138) and punk music brought a new understanding to the rock/Metal scene, on which the very essence of the Heavy Metal is founded: punk music also established a new form in the general musical understanding in which “no more technical apparatus” was used; “the polished sound structures of a rock ‘art’ concerned with ‘content’ were now opposed by a challenging dilettantism which only had to sound loud, aggressive and chaotic to be accepted as rock music” (Wicke 137).

In short, what Manson does cannot be classified under Black/Death or any type of the Metal music; in fact, this kind of music can be titled as Industrial, which is defined as electronic music united with some scattered elements of rock. As if to exemplify, Marilyn Manson released the album *Rock is Dead* in the year 1999, also including a song with the same title, which, on becoming so popular was taken into the *Matrix* Original Soundtrack album in the same year. The lyrics of “Rock is Dead” contented whatever the Heavy Metal scene considers as degraded:

All simple monkeys with alien babies
Amphetamines for boys
Crucifixes for ladies
Sampled and soulless
Worldwide and real webbed
You sell all the living
For more safer dead

Anything to belong

Rock is deader than dead
Shock is all in your head
Your sex and your dope is all that we’re fed
So fuck all your protests and
Put them to bed (1 – 13).

However, it would not be proper to label the audience that is fond of attending almost all the concerts, including those of Marilyn Manson’s. Most of the concerts given by the

band were tried to be banned and cancelled by the authorities of the countries where the concerts were to be held, due to the claims on Manson's relevance to the Church of Satan, as also stated by Robert Eady from the Canadian journal, *The Orator*. Eady reports that Marilyn Manson "is said to have been directly influenced by Anton LaVey of the Church of Satan" (qtd. in *Satanism and Its Allies* 60) and he is also said to have been appointed as the Reverend to the Church by LaVey, very himself, as the founder. A recent example of the concert banning was experienced in Croatia in August 2005. According to the Turkish television channel NTV's report, the Croatian government unsuccessfully attempted to ban the concert; yet, the only result was that the band cancelled the press conference that was to be held after the concert with the reason of "receiving ill-treatment from the media". On the other hand, not all of the audience thought Manson was their idol; i.e., not everybody in the open-air concert hall wanted to repeat Manson's behaviours, unlike the two boys in the Defence League's example. A metal fan's interview with NTV, given on 24th August, 2005, explains the situation: "I have been a rock listener since 1970s, I used to listen to Black Sabbath, Janis Joplin, The Rolling Stones and The Beatles – they used to think it was terrible and it was dangerous for the society again, and they used to label us as 'Satanists'. I just like this kind of music, that's all". This obviously shows that there is no necessary bond between the criminal, illegal, and/or extreme tendencies and the Metal music audience.

For this *innocent side* (emphasis added) of the Metal music that has no links to the criminal acts, racial prejudice or Satanism, it would be useful to have a look at the original evolutionary pattern of the genre: with the development of rock and roll, a certain degree of change in the wave of musical genres has been observed in the music history. As already explained, rock and roll is the deriving point for almost all of the musical genres that are encountered today in the popular scene, and Heavy Metal is also one of those genres which later claimed rightly to be another cult of music separate from the rock and roll arena. Heavy Metal began as part of the rock and roll wave that has had its influence on many youth subcultures from the time it had begun until today. Being a parent genre on almost all of the musical genres, rock and roll gave way to the emergence of Heavy Metal during the 1970s through mid-1980s when the popular figures of the era experimentally changed their understanding of chords and riffs.

The roots of Heavy Metal originally date back to the end of 1960s, with the invention of a new genre, the characteristics of which include harsh rhythms, distortion guitars and heavy drums with aggressive and anti-social lyrics. Since Heavy Metal derives from blues, which is also known as a black music, as already stated, this reflects the idea that the origins of Heavy Metal cannot be racially discriminative. However, it cannot be denied that the sound of Heavy Metal is violent and aggressive. Thus, the roots of this genre include the basic violent themes, which can be taken as a basis for today's racist and criminal attitudes of the people of the metal arena.

The first steps to construct a basis for this genre were taken by the British bands like Cream, The Jeff Beck Group, and The Yardbirds, by the mid-sixties, while the American counterparts included Blue Cheer, Iron Butterfly, and Steppenwolf. However, if the very origins of the metal music are considered, then The Rolling Stones, which was quite popular among the British youth and some British bands of Birmingham, such as Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin, which can be defined as having blues-rock songs, could be taken as the forefathers of the genre. Though, generally used interchangeably, the term "hard-rock"³¹ would be more suitable for these two bands instead of Heavy Metal. Yet, the term used to define metal genre in the 1970s was quite different from that is used to define today's bands – most of which involve the sub-genres rather than the Heavy Metal itself, as the main wave.

Although Black Sabbath's lyrics pleaded both explicit and implicit relevance to Satan and the cult, the band's original aim had never meant to be an invitation for the violent acts in accordance with the so-called doctrine of Satan. Their album covers reflect an imminent accusation with the images like flames and upside-down crosses, yet, the band's lyrics sarcastically asserted a fear of the evil as it is observed in their very first album *Black Sabbath* (1969). The song which has given its name both to the band and to the album invokes God for help against the tempting power of Satan:

What is this that stands before me?
Figure in black which points at me
Turn around quick, and start to run
Find out I'm the chosen one
Oh nooo!
Big black shape with eyes of fire

Telling people their desire
 Satan's sitting there, he's smiling
 Watches those flames get higher and higher
 Oh no, no, please God help me!
 Is it the end, my friend?
 Satan's coming 'round the bend
 People running 'cause they're scared
 The people better go and beware!
 No, no, please, no! (1 – 15).

As for the other forefathers of the Metal music, early British rockers like The Who and The Kinks could also be considered as influential on the development of the Metal scene. They introduced the power chords and heavily played drums into the music culture of the period, and thus paved the way for a new emergence that would be commercially unsuccessful, yet would cover the whole world in terms of style and the audience.

Though many Metal fans of today argue that, the first album with a Heavy Metal influence was released by The Jeff Beck Group, in 1968, under the title *Truth*, The Kinks' song "You Really Got Me" was an earlier example of the year 1965 in terms of Heavy Metal sound. During those years, it was difficult to talk about violence in the Heavy Metal lyrics as much to the degree as it is observed in today's bands, while the song by The Kinks, just oppositely, involved "love" as its theme. Moreover, as a distinguishing fact about this individual song, the general attitude of rockers, which is dominated by a search for freedom, is not seen in those lyrics at all, as the poetic persona asks to be surrounded by his/her lover:

See, don't ever set me free
 I always wanna be by your side
 Girl, you really got me now
 You got me so I can't sleep at night (12 – 15).

Four years after the release of this song, Jimmy Page and his band Led Zeppelin took their first steps into music, and the same year saw the release of the album *Led Zeppelin*, which could be considered a milestone for the history of Heavy Metal music. Dave Grohl, the drummer for Nirvana, the famous rock/Grunge band of the 1990s, also the founder of other rock bands of contemporary music, such as Foo Fighters and The Queens of the Stone Age, defines Led Zeppelin as his idols and motive behind his

interest in the rock/Metal scene: “Without Led Zeppelin, there would be no Heavy Metal, even if it were, it would suck” (Göktürk and İdemen 58, translated from the original Turkish version by me). Despite having a more blues-like sound, Led Zeppelin was also a pioneer in the genre, and with this album they announced the emergence of this new genre. Page remembers how this band, which would have its influence on the many bands of the next generation, was formed, in his interview in 1974 with Nick Kent from *Creem*:

I had joined The Yardbirds, when the bassist Paul Samwell Smith left the band after Eric Clapton. And I played the bass in their concert in Marquee. I had never played the bass until then. We joined the Stones tour in 1966. . . . When Jeff Beck left, the Yardbirds dissolved.

[For Led Zeppelin] I had Terry Reid in my mind as the lead vocal. But he had signed with another band and suggested Robert Plant. I listened to Robert in Birmingham at a university concert, then, I went to meet him, told him about the idea of the band, and I invited him to London. And the thing began (qtd. in Göktürk and İdemen 59, translated from the original Turkish version by me).

The reason why Heavy Metal includes violence in its sounds, though in the early examples there is no evident violence in the lyrics, lies in the fact that the genre has a reactionary attitude. The common theme for the Heavy Metal songs is to be in an “anti” view against all the institutions and conservatism in the society. With the Cold War, capitalism caused a certain degree of “fall” in every aspect of the society, and Heavy Metal dwells on a reaction against the hopelessness that this fall has created. Unhappy and routine lives of the Western individuals led them to be mere masses and Heavy Metal reacts against this understanding of mass culture by defending individualistic thoughts against the suppressive attitudes institutions such as religion and family. The fun-making role of rock and roll was replaced by anger and revolt in the concerts of the bands of Heavy Metal. In this, the philosophy behind Heavy Metal goes hand in hand with nihilism and anarchism for most of the time, and also communism in the sense that it is a reaction against the capitalist claims given by the governments. The main reactionary attitude of Heavy Metal is, thus, against the ordinary lifestyles of the average Europeans, defined as “numb” by most of the reactors within the Heavy Metal subculture. Pete Townshend of The Who also asks the question why this music included violence and replies to his own question:

Our mothers and fathers belong to a generation that experienced the trauma of the war. Only 25 years after the war, I was writing "Tommy" [the song that brought Townshend and The Who to the top lists, telling the traumatic story of a sexually-abused and unhappy boy of post-war era] as a young man. Psychedelics, Vietnam, peace campaigns were in our agenda, but we lacked the feeling of belonging to somewhere. I kept asking myself: why do have violence in our music? What's the reason behind this anger? All these, for me, were related to the mental and spiritual geography after the war. The reason for the anger in the streets was the unsatisfactory feelings of the youth that were suppressed. And the main reason for that was the psychological status of our parents in the post-war era. Those people had experienced a horrible thing, but they were somehow behaving as if nothing had happened. They were doing this for the sake of their children and just because of this, the children were growing up with a lie. For a wound to be cured, it needs to be opened up. What I talk about in "Tommy" is rather that psychological geography, than a story. (qtd. in Göktürk 59, translated from the original Turkish version by me)

To determine what sort of music Heavy Metal can be classified into, it is possible to use a great deal of reference to blues and rock. Early Heavy Metal bands like Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin were influenced heavily by blues, which has its roots in the gospel music, chanted in the Afro-American areas of the United States. By 1970s, Heavy Metal almost reached its peak in terms of its large audience and commercial success. Though mostly criticized on having "very simple riffs," Heavy Metal has been the cradle for bringing up the most famous guitarists; harsh use of drums and violent guitar solos following the drums has always been the main characteristic of the Heavy Metal music, while heavy guitars and strong drums dominated the genre.

The old wave which was represented by Led Zeppelin had begun to change by the late 1970s and the early and mid-1980s into what was called "the New Wave of British Heavy Metal (NWOBM)," where most of the forefathers of Heavy Metal history were also included. Deep Purple and Black Sabbath were the first examples of this wave, while from the 1980s onwards, Iron Maiden, Judas Priest, and Def Leppard as well as many other hard rock bands like Motörhead and AC/DC, though not British, have been connected with this genre. With the evolution of decades, once fans of British Heavy Metal, bands like Van Halen, Metallica and Guns N' Roses were also born out of this wave of Heavy Metal; later on, finding their own independent style of music; while Venom, another British band of the same period, and thought as a part of the New Wave of British Heavy Metal, led the way to the birth of Black Metal, as put forward by many music authorities.

On being influenced by blues, it is natural for the Heavy Metal subculture to be interested in the black magic, esoteric studies and occultism with references to demonic imagery and lyrics. Blues, with its demonic references to Voodoo cults of the African originated American immigrants, may well provide the basis for the idea, which is often misused for the “Satanic rituals” that are at the extreme side of the fact. Astrology, as exemplified by the Cream song, “Born under a Bad Sign;” the study of evil, which is “inevitable in the study of the supernatural,” as Jimmy Page of Led Zeppelin is quoted saying (Moynihan and Söderlind 3); and the interest in occultism are the common points, which the sub-genres within the rock history share with their “parent” subculture, blues. However, it is also possible to claim that the generalized interest in such issues may well be a personal and individual activity for the musicians and/or the fans. Baddeley asserts that Page has a personal interest in the supernatural, and that he lives in a house that was once owned by Aleister Crowley, who is “often referred to as ‘the father of modern Satanism’” and “declared himself the ‘magical child’ . . . of Eliphas Lévi, the French magus who dominated nineteenth-century occultism” (23). When asked about this mystical connections, by Cameron Crowe from *Rolling Stone*, in 1975, Page replies by telling the story of the house, without touching on his personal beliefs, as if to exemplify that everyone is responsible for his/her own beliefs and deeds and a group of people cannot be held responsible due to an individual activity or idea:

The former owner of the house is Aleister Crowley, but before him two or three people had lived in there. At the same time, the house was once a church but it was burnt down together with the religious community in it. And the house is built on it. There had been many incidents in the house, but none of them has anything to do with Crowley. A man was beheaded in this house, but that happened long before Crowley moved into the house. And, there have been suicidal attempts after Crowley moved, people are sent to lunatic asylums. . . . [What attracts me to the house] is the unknown. What is obscure attracts me. I don’t want to talk about my personal beliefs or my interest in the magic. . . . If people want to learn something they can learn by themselves. I believe in it (qtd. in Göktürk and İdemen 61, translated from the original Turkish version by me).

Beside the attraction of what is unknown, being closed to other groups of the society made Heavy Metal a certain kind of cult; similar to the mods, being an underground subculture with a certain degree of mystified secrecy. Together with the themes like occultism, magic, and esoteric studies that are commemorated since the blues times, an interest in the dark side became visible within the Heavy Metal structure.

Adding even more mysticism to the interest in the supernatural, some of Led Zeppelin's songs were not thought to be that "innocent". Some have argued for decades that the lyrics of "The Stairway to Heaven" kept a secret implication of devil-worship between the lines; however, this could never be proved to be true, as the song needed to be reversed, which is called "backward masking" in musical terms, in order to have these implied lyrics.

According to Jeff Milner, David John Oates and many other fans and listeners, this song included many backward messages. Both authors in their websites analyse many songs in backward masking, including "Stairway to Heaven", and both agree that the number one song having the most controversial messages within its lyrics is this one. Milner, claiming an identity as only a mediator between the curious audience and the experts of backward masking, says "It is not my opinion that Led Zeppelin and the other artists here were given some kind of evil power to make these backwards sounds have a satanic message" ("Stairway to Heaven Backwards"), while Oates claims that "right at the very end of the song, it says: 'Play backwards. Hear words sung'" ("Reverse Speech"). While the straight lyrics sing:

If there's a bustle in your hedgerow
Don't be alarmed now
It's just a spring clean for the May Queen

Yes there are two paths you can go by
but in the long run
There's still time to change the road you're on (24 – 29),

the backward lyrics seem to be the opposite of what is said in the original lyrics: "Oh here's to my sweet Satan. / The one whose path would make me sad, whose power is Satan. / He'll give those with him 666, there was a little tool shed where he made us suffer, sad Satan" (1 – 3).

On the other hand, Page, when telling how they created the song, in his edited interviews with *Rolling Stone* (1975) and *Rock & Folk* (1990), does not even mention such a claim, which is most probably enforced to have sounded in the way they want to think, by some of the later generation of Satanic power claimers:

Rock'n'roll is something that explodes suddenly. While we were rehearsing for another song, Bonzo played the intro part of "Good Golly Miss Molly" from Little Richard, and I began to play with the riffs of that part. Robert began to vocal as soon as he heard that part. . . . "Stairway" was a milestone for us. It must be the same thing with "Tommy" for Townshend (qtd. in Göktürk and İdemen 60, translated from the original Turkish version by me).

When it comes to the dress codes and the hairstyle, which the Heavy Metal audience are mostly criticised about, it is true that most of the Metal fans wear black, and almost all of them have long, black hair, parted in the middle. Yet, it should be made clear that this appearance has nothing to do with Satanism or racism, or a fashion that would be a pattern, which the youth would follow in their transition period from childhood to the adulthood. Since the parents tend to think this is a transitory tendency that should be controlled and that would negatively affect their children otherwise, it should be made clear that rock music is a lifestyle and would not be of any negative impact as long as the youths would not be involved in criminal acts – which, obviously, have no relevance to the original roots of Heavy Metal. "Rock music is not the musical means of expression of youth in general, swinging from one 'craze' to another according to the latest fashion," and just as the example of Marilyn Manson demonstrates, "it is only in the commercial reflection offered by the music industry that rock appears like this" (Wicke 73). Moreover, it should not be ignored that wearing black coloured clothes and leather jackets was a distinguishing element for the rocker subculture of Britain, just as skinheads had shaven heads, colourful bootlaces, and braces, as well as Teddy boys having a DA [Duck's Arse] for the hairstyle. The metal fans and musicians followed the pattern of the ancestor subculture of rockers, by adding more on the style with other elements of the scene; like wearing make-up. However, not all of the Metalheads do wear make-up, either. Like the sects in the skinhead movement (e.g.: gay skinheads wearing pink shoelaces), some sects within the Heavy Metal subculture wear make-up to distinguish themselves from the other schisms, such as the Gothic Metal audience and some part of the Black Metal audience, for reasons of stage performance and show (see Figure 18). This is partly the reason why Marilyn Manson (see Figure 19) and his band are often confused with the Black/Death Metal scene, as they also use the make-up style of these subcultures. On the other hand, the extremist behaviours may show themselves in every area of life, including the Metal scene.

Before moving further into the issue of Black Metal and the National Socialist Black Metal scene, in relevance to Satanism and the tendency for violence, it would be useful to analyse and define the sub-genres under the cult of Heavy Metal in detail. In the early phases of Heavy Metal, the genre usually pursued a pattern of the rocker subculture – with an image of beer-drinking harsh male attitude cloaked under leather jackets and black coloured clothes. However, the sub-genres were branched into different forms of imagery, as well as the lyrics, distanced from the earlier premises, having deviated into different themes. The latest lyrics involved many issues varying from the local myths, medieval romances, religious stories, to the imagery of bloodshed, war, and folkloric elements. Examples of those can be observed in the lyrics in Warlord's albums that involve much of those issues, especially war scenes, religious myths, and the imagery of bloodshed. Claimed to be based on John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, "War in Heaven" song, released in 2002, describes mythical creatures having a destructive war:

The celestial armies of heaven,
Descend from the Sovereign's sky forth God's command.
And lo, Michael with sword in hand,
He leads the Lordian Guard to slay to damn.
In the name of the Almighty Father,
The angels hath come to cast out the Legions
Forever, to the infernal realm,
From heaven to hell . . .

On chariots of thunder and lightning,
On Lordian Steeds the angels smite their foe.
And the Seraph they fall to destruction,
As the hounds and the carrion of hell feast on their corpse.
Now lost is the Archangel Lucifer,
Who thought in his mind, he could rise to Empyrean dominion
'Til fate was his foe,
The will of God his woe . . . (9 – 24).

Long before those lyrics were created, there existed some basic sub-genres under Heavy Metal, the earliest of which are, though indefinitely, Death Metal, Thrash, and Hardcore. Black Metal, which later appeared in the scene as a titled and defined sub-genre, also existed simultaneously with those genres in the first place – yet, the nominal existence was determined after a few years of the rise of Thrash and the Death Metal, which often confronts the confusion with Black Metal. The reason why Black Metal could not be defined just after its emergence is the musical and imagery style of Venom

that became famous by the 1979-1980 period in the Heavy Metal scene. Venom was quite different from its precedent counterparts in terms of musical performance and style. In M. Elden's interview, dated 1997, Venom, by giving references to a previous interview relate how they encountered the first reactions in the musical arena, when they released their first album:

We were interviewed once and somebody said, "Venom's obviously not a Heavy Metal band. You don't sound like Heavy Metal and you don't look particularly Heavy Metal; you look like punks with long hair." We said Venom *is* Heavy Metal – it's Black Metal, it's Power Metal, it's Speed Metal, it's Death Metal. And all of these sub-genres had never been heard of before. All of the sudden one band is considered a Speed Metal band, one is considered a Death Metal band, and another is considered a Black Metal or a Power Metal band. What we meant is that Venom is *all* of these things, and all of these genres could emanate from Venom. We didn't mean for it to happen, but that's how it turned out (qtd. in Moynihan and Söderlind 23).

One of the earliest examples by Venom, "Witching Hour," later covered by the Nordic band Mayhem and taking its name from the very first hour of every night, demonstrates the elements, which were commonly used by many bands of Black Metal in its lyrics, which would imminently be misinterpreted by the later generations as a call for criminal involvements:

Come hear the moon is calling,
The witching hour draws near,
Come hear the bell is tolling,
Mortals run in fear,
Prepare the altar now and hear the virgin cry,
Hold fast the sacrifice,
For now it's the time to die,
All hell breaks loose,
Hell's breaking loose (1 – 9).

During those times, it was difficult to make a distinction between those newly emerging musical styles, which were mostly classified by the later generations. Though still inseparable in definite lines, today it is more possible to make a definition of these sub-genres in general. Perhaps the best visible lines can be drawn between Hardcore and the rest; with Hardcore exposing the angst of the punk music with a certain degree of sharp sound and with the lyrics of irritatingly critical discourse on the fall of the societal values. By the late 1980s, Thrash came out of the Heavy Metal scene, with indefinite

borders of lyrics, yet a quite violent and irregular sound of heavy drums and guitars. The examples of the genre were Metallica (in their first years), M.O.D., Sodom, Kreator, Anthrax, and Slayer in their extreme forms of music; however, it was impossible to set a strict definition of the genre depending on these bands:

Sodom [the German band] toyed with Satanic themes on their first few albums, and band members adopted pseudonyms of 'Angelripper,' 'Witchhunter,' and 'Grave Violator' the last of [which] bearing an ominous ring in light of the real-life activities Black Metalers would partake in a few years later, Hellhammer/Celtic Frost flirted with darker occult subjects for lyrical fodder, but eventually turned into something resembling a metalized Art Rock band. (Moynihan and Söderlind 26)

On the other hand, Death Metal made a compilation of Hardcore and Thrash in terms of speed and gave a dramatised image to the audience in signing along with down-tuned guitars and "high-pitched lead vocals dominating the mainstream Metal at the time" (Moynihan and Söderlind 27). Yet, Death Metal explored similar issues as Black Metal as its subject matter, though its fame around the globe did not last long: "murder, torture, rape, and dismemberment" (Moynihan and Söderlind 27). Whatever painful and related to destruction was the main issue in the Death Metal lyrics, as the title of the genre suggested the very first symbol of nothingness, "death," and the examples of the genre, such as Entombed, Hypocrisy, Dismember and Unleashed of Sweden, as well as Morbid Angel, Death, Obituary, and Deicide of the United States demonstrated the elegiac atmosphere of the Death Metal with the strengthening effect of gloomy posters and promo-photos. Entombed lyrics of the song "Shreds of Flesh" typify the imagery of the decay and the wording in the lyrics completes the mood of the Death Metal characteristics with additional elements of other senses than seeing:

Blood gush forth
 When your skin is sawed
 Reeking slices
 Of flesh so raw
 Now you're dying
 - Slow and terrifying
 Hacking your body
 Limb from limb
 I hope it felt nice
 When the pain was set in

Horried

Nauseating and disgusting
The art of murder has no
Emotion for it's victims

Now you are just
some shreds of flesh (1 – 16).

As already reflected in the lyrics, Death Metal's involvement in the issue of "non-existence" leads to the nihilist ideologies, where the morbid and the decaying are glorified in the lyrics. Yet, the popularity of this sub-genre did not last long, as if nominally predestined. The Satanic proclaims of the band Deicide were no longer respected, since it became an ordinary part of the scene to have an upside-down cross, as Glen Benton, the lead singer of the band did on his neck, and to mention about the glory of Satan, immortality, destruction, and whatever scattered around the world out of Pandora's box. For example, Deicide's lyrics of the song "In Hell I Burn," implying a suicidal attempt, did not celebrate any novelty for the audience, and it was not as easy to shock the 1990s generation which grew up with violence on television and in the real life, on the streets, as it was to the former generations that used to listen to Venom. In short, it was no longer shocking "to speak of the Devil".

Life has no meaning, unyielding obsession
Grasping at strings of a life I once knew
Death by my own hands, achieving objective
Blade to my throat, I calmly greet death (1- 4):

The reason behind being unable to shock the audience was also due to the fact that the very first bands of Heavy Metal, like Black Sabbath and Venom, had already had references to demonic imagery and even to Satan himself. The Rolling Stones, as the pioneer of both the mod and the rocker subcultures – though two were once shown as clashing – had made "ambivalent use of connotations of drugs addiction, rape, murder, and predation" (Moynihan and Sørderlind 3) in their albums *Their Satanic Majesties Request* and *Let It Bleed*. Moynihan and Sørderlind also find the evidence that Rolling Stones was a milestone in the history of Heavy Metal: "Simultaneously with the ascension of the Rolling Stones to world fame, other English rock groups entered the scene, bringing with them even more developed elements of the occult and black magic" (3), which later were observed more in the Black Metal scene than the Death Metal.

In order to revive the Death Metal arena, bands began to seek for different types of “evil” as part of the show element, which, otherwise, would lead the bands to be doomed to be forgotten, in David Bowie’s terms (Szatmary 2009). Nazism and fascism seemed the best way to “save” Death Metal from “decaying,” and moreover, these held the seeds of nihilism, which prescribed a final destruction of the world, as Hitler attempted to realise, with the Holocaust and almost succeeded.

Bands of American origin, like Slayer and Morbid Angel, to survive in the scene, sought for a novelty, and they asserted a certain amount of neo-fascism in their lyrics, accompanied with the violent sounds of their music. While “Morbid Angel began donning paramilitary clothes for their live appearances, courting a neo-fascist demeanour, and reinforcing it with inopportune and illiberal comments,” Slayer “shifted subject matter from juvenile Satanism to an open-ended fascination with violence in general. . . . Additionally, they often employed the long-standing Metal tradition of invoking spectres of Nazism and fascism in their lyrics and packaging” (Moynihan and Söderlind 28-29). Nevertheless, this was not something new, either, because Bathory of Swedish origin had already made use of the symbols right-wing organizations, such as a sun wheel cross, with references to Pagan cults and Nordic mythology, as well as ancient Viking heathenism, yet in no means with the aim of provoking fascism, as Quorthon, the driving force behind the band decrees:

In Sweden, that’s also the symbol for archaeology, but in Germany it means something completely different. And the original colours for the logo and titles were black, white, and red – the original German colours. I didn’t even think about it, but people went berserk, so we had to print them in gold. (Moynihan and Söderlind 21)

The early bands that made use of these symbols employed these with a sense of epic heroism and invocation of their Pagan gods, who, for the most of the Scandinavian bands, represented a search of identity, on feeling that Christianity completely changed their warrior nature. Demarcating the Scandinavian Peninsula with the Nordic myths, these bands were occupied with a sort of Romantic nostalgia. The repetitive use of these elements, this time with a fascist discourse, could not help Death Metal in its decline – yet, this did not mean an ending of the racial and Satanic crime tendencies in the Heavy

Metal scene, as the Black Metal emerged out of the influences of the primary band, Venom.

Black Metal influences of Venom came out of the punk scene of the late 1970 period, while the children of the conservative Britain sought for a way of getting out of the societal pressures. Punk and Metal, both emerging as the struggling factors against the ruling class dominancy, constructed a means of resurrection for the youth. The association of the punk scene and the Heavy Metal ambience, though seemingly irrelevant due to the clothing styles and behavioural patterns, can be found in their points of view towards their subcultures and living styles, as Weinstein asserts:

The heavy metal [sic] and punk subcultures are the two dominant examples of youth attempting to create and hold onto their own distinctive and unassimilable culture. The significance in both subcultures of hairstyles demonstrates the raising of symbolic stakes. . . . Although dissimilar on the surface, the heavy metal [sic] and punk styles were united at their core. . . (109)

Together with the punk subculture, there were other ways to become independent from the pressures of the society, for the children of conservative Britain. "Satanic" influence on the genre of Black Metal indicated a certain degree of this independence, as explained before, from the strict rules of Christian ideology as well as the limited point of view held by the society. As Satan and his followers emphasized the fulfilment of humanly desires, which normally reach their peak during adolescence, as far as the human biology is concerned, while the religious beliefs and the understanding of morality heavily insisted on the forbidden acts of humanly origin. As the cult of Christianity suggested the heavenliness of the soul and the earthliness of the body, representing the two sides of human beings, closer to God and Satan, the rock music "holding the seeds of the forbidden" was a way of experiencing the earthly feelings, which, through human curiosity, were triggered, for the youth in Britain. Thus, the Heavy Metal bands, from all over the world, were given the Satan's role in giving a way to the youth for gaining their freedom from the strict rules of everyday life, the borders of which were demarcated by the society.

The name for the genre of Black Metal comes from not only the dark suggestions of the genre – as almost all the lyrics elaborate on the beauty of the evil deeds – but also the

title for Venom's album *Black Metal* (originally aimed to make a pun on the phrase "Black Magic"). This was due to the original interest of the musicians of Black Metal in the occultism and esoteric studies as an alternative reaction to the ultimate belief in the significance of the positive sciences in the modern world and the impact of Christian religion in the Western world as a whole.

Black Metal is often confused with Death Metal, due to the similar issues they both handle; yet, characteristics like heavy distortion; fast, aggressive drums, often including blast beats; fast, repetitive guitar playing and riffing; high-pitched screeching vocals; swift percussion; repetition; and the gloomy atmosphere distinguish the genre of Black Metal from that of the Death Metal. The early bands also used make-up for helping the imagery of the dead or the sick, to distinct themselves from the other schisms within. However, the references to the issues like blasphemy, Satanism, dark and occult studies, and Paganism, made the confusion easier with the Death Metal genre.

Yet, the early bands of the Black Metal music were never serious in these discourses, suggested either by the shows or the lyrics, or both; nor did they involve a "show" element, while later on it became "real". Norwegian bands of 1990s are notorious for their "strange" acts, and urban legends like ghost-seeing or performers' having laboratories for experiments on animals began to be heard within this decade. While the early bands like Venom and Bathory were doing it in tongue-in-cheek, later bands that were once among the audiences of these idols, took it seriously – and this is the reason behind the thought among the rest of the society that all the Metal music performers and audience are Satanists or occultists. Even Venom, which was considered to be the first band of Black Metal, which is today often thought as part of the crime scenes, had no ideas involving separation or discrimination. In this sense, it could be said that early bands were quite innocent when compared to the criminal acts and racist discourses of the Scandinavian bands in the Black Metal arena. Tony "Abaddon" Bray of Venom points out the crowd they used to play for, while suggesting the notion of indiscrimination, in his interview quoted by Moynihan and Söderlind:

We played to skinheads, punks, hairies – everybody. Where some guy with long hair couldn't come into a Punk gig, all of the sudden it was really cool to go to a Venom gig for anybody. That's why the audience grew really quick and became

very strong; they were always religiously behind Venom and they've always stayed the same. (11)

Nevertheless, the following generation, like the Black Metal bands of the 1990s, such as Burzum, Mayhem, Old Funeral (sometimes associated with Death Metal), and Darkthrone of Norway, were not that "innocent" and did not have such "good intentions". The Nordic Black Metal scene and the Swedish Death Metal scene, as exemplified by the in-between generation of the late 1980s, some of which survived until 1990s, with the bands like Deicide, Obituary, and Death, together with their American counterparts, such as Morbid Angel and Slayer in its later albums, almost brought the whole genre of Heavy Metal to the threshold of being associated with bloodshed, crime and psychological disorders. Mayhem's lyrics involved necrophilia in the song "Necrolust," and "Chainsaw Gutsfuck," which also pleaded feelings of disgust and hatred with violent lyrics and abrupt use of slang. However, the band aimed to invite the audience to take pleasure from the imagery of corpses by trying to arouse sexual desires. "Necrolust" openly calls for a sexual intercourse with a dead body:

Your stinking corpse I desire
nothing can take me higher
Fucking you till your bones break
Another one has to die

Come dripping from my dick
Fucking you to the core
Can't take this anymore
My brain is driving me insane

Necrolust

Eating the flesh of a thousand corpses
Bloodsucking cuntless nuns
her guts were boiling out of her butt
Eating her slimey cunt as I hold her tits

Come posercorpse and die again! (1 – 14).

On the other hand, "Chainsaw Gutsfuck" included more obscenity in the lyrics:

Bleed down to the fucking core
You're going down for fucking more
Screw your slimy guts
Driving me fucking nuts!

Chainsaw in my bleeding hands
 As I start to cut you in two
 Your guts are steaming out
 And I just love the sight!

Maggots crawling in her cunt
 I just love to lick that shit
 Bury you in a slimy grave
 You will rot forever there! (1 – 12).

However, those invitations to commit a crime, leading to the point of vileness and suggesting a heavy degree of psychological disorder, turned into real with the death of two young men in the Nordic Black Metal scene. The main reality of crime in the racist and Satanist discourse came along with the murder of Øystein Aarseth, better known as Euronymous, the guitarist in the band Mayhem, three years after the successful suicidal attempt of Per Yngve Ohlin, who was also known as “Dead,” and the vocalist for the same band, Mayhem. Dead’s body was found by his home-mate and fellow musician, Aarseth, who, instead of calling the police ran to a nearby convenience store and bought a disposable camera which he used to photograph the corpse for a future Mayhem album cover. Apocryphal reports, which are also proven by interviews with the individuals, close to the “Inner Circle³²,” claim that Aarseth then took some pieces of Dead’s splattered brains and made a stew out of them and/or members of the band took bone fragments from their friend’s skull and made necklaces out of them (Moynihan and Söderlind 55). Aarseth, in his letter to Ufuk Önen of the Turkish band Hazy Hill, mentions the suicide of his home-mate and fellow musician as if it is a very simple happening and comments “we have to find another vocal, now” (1), and moves onto daily subjects in the second page of his letters; concerts, records, flyers, and tours across Turkey.

The murder of Aarseth was committed in 1993, by another prominent figure in the Black Metal arena: Varg Vikernes of the single-man project Burzum. There had been attempts to refer to both incidents as mystical and/or having a connection with occultist issues. In fact, the real motive behind Vikernes’ murder of Aarseth was nothing more than a financial rivalry between the two popular band members. Additionally, both men, as well as their counterparts in the scene, absurdly believed in the incarnated power of

evil, which also constructed another motive behind the matter. Yet, the most significant motive was a clash of power, where Vikernes might have been jealous of Aarseth's dominance in the Nordic Black Metal act. The Black Metal movement was largely directed by the "Inner Circle," established by Aarseth and a few close friends, from the basement of Aarseth's record store, Helvete³³. As already explained, Aarseth's music store, recording studio and the production company were quite popular during the time and this might have constructed a motive for Vikernes to commit the murder, when combined with his "years of thrashing in the dark and confusion of the fatalistic tendencies," as Spinoza Ray Prozak defines the Black Metal scene in his article that took place in the online *Antenna* magazine ("Mayhem"). The *Black Metal* website that has its domain in the United Kingdom explains the influential role of the studio and the record store, Helvete, as well as the Deathlike Silence Productions, which was an independent label owned by Aarseth:

The suicide of Per "Dead" Olin on April 8th, 1991 and the subsequent apparent coldness of the remaining band members towards his death (cf. Euronymous' famous assertion that Ohlin died solely for the scene) only served to increase the band's notoriety, with the infamy reaching a peak when Euronymous opened the doors of his Oslo-based record shop, Helvete, in the Summer of 1991. The effect on bands operating in Scandinavia at this time is without question. During 1990 to 1992, bands that had previously been of a more Death Metal [brand] (Old Funeral, Amputation, Omnipotence, Sanitized, Thou Shalt Suffer) had metamorphosed into such household names as Burzum, Immortal, Satyricon, Dissection and Emperor. The most glaring example of this influence can be found via Darkthrone, whose transition from "Soulside Journey" in 1989 to 1991's "A Blaze in the Northern Sky" may not have been that remarkable musically, but in image the leap was clearly visible. ("History of Black Metal")

While the scene in which the Scandinavian Black Metal bands played was quite anti-Christian, some people among the audience showed pyromaniac tendencies when the church-burning events gained popularity. The aim in the arsonist acts was "to purify the original Scandinavian religion from Christianity and other non-Pagan belief systems". On the other hand, the desire to bring the Scandinavian religions back was additionally seen in the lyrics of the bands, which usually took inspiration from the Nordic myths. This was how the single-man band, Burzum, was founded by Varg Vikernes, who is also known as Count Grishnackh³⁴. The name Vikernes adopted for himself, as well as the name of the band, reflects Vikernes' interest in J.R.R. Tolkien's works, which take their roots from the Nordic and Celtic mythologies, and which have nationalistic

approaches, aiming to revive the original English culture. With a similar understanding, yet, this time, with a stronger nationalistic discourse, these bands tried to revive the Scandinavian origins, paving the way for the National Socialist Black Metal (NSBM). The fearsome atmosphere of war, which is also described in the Nordic and Celtic myths, is reflected in Burzum's song, titled "War," which is one of the rare English examples by the band, whose songs are mostly written in the Norwegian language:

This is War
 I Lie Wounded on Wintery Ground
 With Hundred of Corpses around
 Many Wounded Crawl Helplessly around
 On the Blood Red Snowy Ground
 War
 Cries of the (ha, ha) Suffering Sound
 Cries for Help to All Their Dead Moms
 War
 Many Hours of Music
 Many Drops of Blood
 Many Shiverings and Now I Am Dead
 And Still We Must Never Give up
 War (1- 14).

The warlike attitudes of the Nordic people were the sources of inspiration for all the musicians in the NSBM movement, while the method of spread for this genre was quite similar in terms of Nazi infiltration into the ska and reggae subcultures of Britain through the skinhead movement. As the neo-Nazi skinheads politically infiltrated the original and non-racist skinheads, the racist Black Metal audience and musicians were mixed with the original roots of the Heavy Metal subculture, with the emergence of NSBM. In a similar wave of nationalistic ideologies, in Britain, there had been an influence of the National Front in the musical arena. With infiltration of the National Front members into the Conservative Party, and after their becoming the governing power in the Thatcher governments with collapse of "the welfare state" ideology, the concept of "multicultural Britain" turned out to be an ex-nomination, as Roland Barthes rightly coined the term ("Ex-Nomination"). If one is to define "ex-nomination" as "the absence of determinants of a society," then it would be appropriate to say that the discourse of multiculturalism was not represented by the determinant and racially discriminative policies of the governments in Britain. When the reflections of the National Front infiltrations into the skinhead and the Heavy Metal subcultures were

seen, racially discriminative lyrics of the ska sound, as well as NSBM as part of the *Hate Music* (emphasis added) came to the subcultural scene.

NSBM is also closely linked with Celtic and Viking Metal sub-genres, which handle themes from Celtic and Scandinavian heroes and gods in connection with their mythical stories, as demonstrated by bands like Geasa, Cruachan, Finntroll, and Elvenking. In this sense, they aim to revive the British and the Scandinavian origins and an elaboration of Nordic and British nationalism, similar to the concepts and patterns followed in Tolkien's works, such as the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and *Silmarillion*. Taking a step further, NSBM also deals with Celtic and Scandinavian mythologies, which have links to each other, and this is exemplified by Vikernes' single-man project Burzum, composing songs that include elements from the Nordic myths and Tolkien's works, which give place to the creature of the mythical world, such as elves, dwarves and orcs. The song "Crying Orc," which has no lyrics but melody, is a good example to demonstrate Vikernes' interest in these subjects, also proving his interest in the bad/evil side, as the orcs, having a war-like nature, are the most violent of all creatures among these mythical beings.

Vikernes' interest in war and violence, however, was not limited to literary works or his imaginative side, or the commitment to murderous acts. As a member of the "Inner Circle," Vikernes also claimed the responsibility for setting an important historical church in Bergen³⁵ on fire, and was sentenced to 21 years of prison, due to murder and church-arson ("History of Black Metal"). Though he distanced himself from the Black Metal scene, his explanations on his Nazi claims, despite the fact that once he told he hated racism without giving any reason, made contributions to his notoriety and he began writing on the neo-Nazi subject extensively. His belief in the necessity of a race war, with inspiration obviously derived from the search for immortality in the deeds of Nordic and Celtic heroes, is openly asserted in the lyrics of the song "My Journey to the Stars":

I immaterialize
And slowly drift into the unknown
With the cold winds with soul
The wintry plains lie untouched

I ride on my elements towards the stars unseen
 A quest for knowledge in the Astral
 Luminous stench intensifies
 As I near a spectral sphere
 After a hundred men's lifetime
 In analyzing I learn to consume the sphere of immense power
 And to become immortal
 Darkness hate and winter rules the earth when I return
 War between races
 A goal is reached
 Chaos, hate (1 – 15).

With the repetition of such issues like war, bloodshed, racism, as well as the glorification of heroism and immortality, Black Metal experienced the same decline as its fellow-genre, Death Metal. By the late 1990s, the Black Metal scene, together with all its sub-genres, lost its appeal to the audience totally, due to the emergence of commercialised musical understanding, with the example bands like Finnish Dimmu Borgir, and Graveland, claiming Nazi identity, though ironic, with their Polish origin.

Nonetheless, all of those issues were the extremist derivatives of the idea that “what is unknown is attractive”. The bands of the 1990s strived helplessly to attract the audience by mystifying themselves or creating associations with what is rejected by the rest of the society – however, too much extremism could not bring the success of the forefathers. It was obvious that the genre was originally irrelevant, especially to racism, so the majority of the Metal audience rejected the degeneration of the values to that degree. Parents and governments were upset to hear about the crimes committed in the Metal circles, and concerts and albums were banned or at least tried to be banned. On being out of reach, most of the bands could not make their voice heard, or became totally discarded from the scene. As a result, Black Metal lost its popularity among the audience, who were ready to embrace newly emerging genres, like Nu Metal, a successful example of which is the American band System of a Down, of Armenian origin, fascinating the new generations without corrupting the core of rebellion, which kept its existence throughout the whole evolution process of the Heavy Metal music. The song “D-Devil” is full of criticising elements directed at the society, with clever puns on words and references to literary and academic fields of study:

Plagiarized existence exist,
 Among the writers of the word,
 Shake your spear at Shakespeare,
 Shake your spear at Shakespeare,

...

Stupid people do stupid things,
 Smart people outsmart each other,
 Then themselves, then themselves (1 – 4, 9 – 11).

Though the members of System of a Down expressed their personal commitment to racism against Turks, they do not seem to gain success by using this discourse, as they are also popular among the Turkish rock/Metal audience, as well. They do not use racist elements in their lyrics, but instead they prefer to preserve the original spirit of rock/Metal, and they are against the corrupt institutionalized system of the societies. As it is the case with the punk scene that contributed much to the development of Heavy Metal genre, System of a Down reflects in their belief in their lyrics that the society is torn in to pieces and it is *down* (emphasis added) and collapsed, and this also explains why this band took its name. Therefore, their ideology is based on the belief that an Armenian genocide was conducted by the Turkish people, and they try to voice their belief in their personal commitments, not by their lyrics, in order not to have a failure of success as the previous bands experienced “an eventual artistic collapse” (Prozak, “Mayhem”).

Thus, it can be argued that extreme political arguments and claims in the musical arena can only help the bands get popularized among a limited circle within the societies. The success of the bands actually depends on the originality and the quality of the lyrics and the music, and as long as the audience receives qualified products from the musicians, nothing can hamper the popularity of those musicians, regardless of their personal beliefs, thoughts and behaviours. The necessity of the shocking element, as stressed by David Bowie, might help the musicians only to a certain degree – and it might also prove false, as observed in the case with the Black Metal bands of the 1990s.

Any kind of involvement with racism or violence is needless to succeed in the Metal scene. Proving this fact, the early bands which are still popular today did not get involved in extreme racism or violent activities. Additionally, when deeply analysed, it

could easily be seen that the irrelevance of Black Metal, and especially the Heavy Metal scene, with racism lies beneath the very origins of the genre. Since Metal music began during a period when Western civilisation had its peak in growth, having overcome fascism and nationalism, it is basically impossible to associate Metal music with racism or any other discriminative act, though today some fans and musicians make an effort to connect the genre with racialism, as a cloak to cover themselves under. The time when Metal music was on the scene is an era when the serious political conflicts were solved among the super powers of the world and the efforts of the youth that came after this solution brought Metal as a new genre into the musical ground. During this stage, when Metal was new, society worked for its citizens, instead of having dictating powers as the heads of governments, and the level of welfare in the Western cultures highly increased due to this understanding. Instead of trying to survive, as a human being, fighting against basic rights like food and shelter, the people of this era dealt with such humanistic concepts as justice and morality. What became more important than the nation was the individual, and in this sense, it is possible to argue that Western civilisation had reached another Renaissance, having the human as the centre of the world, once again.

Metal music related itself with this understanding of freedom, on breaking the chains of national and/or racial restrictions. Having a worldly viewpoint, Metal genre touched on the issues like war, politically incorrect attitudes, environmental consciousness, and love, which can be taken as universal themes for all the human beings are and should be interested in these issues. Thus, the origins of the genre never connect themselves with racist or neo-fascist claims, while the later generations who took the violent lyrics seriously carried the movement into different levels, especially when combined with individual disorders of personality.

CONCLUSION

The skinhead movement which began as a youth subculture in the late 1960s, and the cult of Heavy Metal which began during the same period in Britain, turned out to be seen as racist movements and are claimed to have links with extreme right-wing organizations today. When skinheads are mentioned, people generally think about neo-Nazism and racism in its extremist forms, since the skinhead movement is now claimed by the racist ska bands, along with a number of neo-Nazi organizations. Similarly, Heavy Metal fans are usually thought to be connected with Satanism and/or racist/fascist discourses. On the other hand, both of these subcultures originally did not have any such claims.

With a focus on the subcultural theory that supported or refuted the general beliefs based on the urban legends that skinheads and Heavy Metal fans have criminal inclinations, it is possible to state that the origins of both subcultures were not racist and/or Satanist. Most of the accusations were based on media's exaggerated interest in the individual cases of crime within both the subcultures. It can be asserted that youth subcultures are generally pro-rebellion, and this is the reason why the society in general may look down on and/or may be scared of them because the society tends to react against what does not follow the mainstream way of life. However, it has been clearly observed that the inner struggles and conflicts within these subcultures have also caused them to be labelled as criminals, as some groups and/or individuals in these subcultures have had racially discriminative tendencies.

Much of the claims on both the skinhead movement and the Heavy Metal subculture, which spread across Europe to the whole world, are based on the biased approaches caused by the media's exaggerated attention to the criminal scene within both the fields, which can be analysed under the title of "moral panic" (Kahn-Harris 96). By paying extreme attention to the negative sides of the subcultures, which in fact, are the outcomes of the criminal incidents caused by certain groups of people among those subcultures, the media opened the way for a reaction from the society against all the members of those cults, who were already unwanted due to their over-marginalized

appearances. In spite of all the accusations, there are still many members of those subcultures who try to keep the original spirit of their scene alive.

Though rejected by the followers of the original spirit of those subcultures, certain groups that are involved in criminal acts, such as racial abuse, church-arsons, or murders based on claims of Satanism, are also a part of those subcultures, constructing the “self-defeating obscurity” for the decline of the cultures (Kahn-Harris 96). It is a fact that the very first examples of the Metal music had the implication of an interest in the deeds of Satan, but the imploration of such subject matter in the lyrics did not have the aim of influencing its audience to unite under one sect against Christianity or any other religions. In a sense, those lyrics were fictitious. However, some sects within the later generations misinterpreted the lyrics in the cases of personal psychological disorders, or they became over-marginalized by trying to explore and realize what was meant in the lyrics. Varg Vikernes’ church-arson incident is, perhaps, the best example of this; taking the pagan inspiration in the lyrics seriously, and setting the churches on fire on the claim that Christianity forcibly replaced their cultural values of Paganism. It is true that the core of the Metal cult has existed as a reactionary music and subculture, with its own clothing styles, hairstyles, and behavioural patterns, and has always taken what is imposed on the society as its enemy. These imposed elements include militarism, church, and the notion of a state in the extreme phases of Metal, which connects itself to anarchism. Yet, this idea never meant to attack any religious icon or culturally valuable object physically or even verbally. While anarchism and nihilism go hand-in-hand, the misinterpretation of those philosophies have led the later generation of the Heavy Metal audience to vandalism and sadism, especially when united with individual cases of psychological disorders. Racist bands in ska music, such as Ian Stuart Donaldson’s Skrewdriver leading the way to the neo-Nazi organization, Blood and Honour, asking for the completion of the Holocaust project and Øystein Aarseth’s abnormal behavioural patterns on encountering his friend, Per Ohlin’s corpse are similarly bad examples for the genres, as well as causing the subcultures to be seen as linked to crime and racism in the eye of the media and the society.

Moreover, Vikernes' murder of Aarseth is another example of corruption in the youth subcultural arena. It can work as a demonstration of "self-defeating obscurity," and a case of "moral panic," and an example of commodified use of the subcultures, as well. It can be argued that this murder case was the result of a financial concern, as Aarseth's music store Helvete was quite popular when Vikernes' music was in decline during the time of the murder. In other words, it is also possible to consider this murder case as a power struggle – that the decline of the youth subcultures, which are the skinhead movement and the Heavy Metal subculture in this case, are not only caused by the outer impact of the media, but also are the results of inner power struggles between the schisms of those subcultures. Those bands who cannot become successful through their music tried shocking elements on their audiences to attract them; after a while, when they lost their popularity, they had to seek new ways to shock the audience forcing the margins of acceptability within the society.

As already noted in Aarseth's letter to Ufuk Önen of the Turkish band Hazy Hill, the Metal scene was now claimed by the criminally oriented people, who openly explain that they do not want to play for a "normal" audience (2). They believed in the necessity of "the evil," which was the subject matter of their lyrics; however in the original spirit of Heavy Metal, evil was one of those issues to be explored fictitiously. The letter reveals that they did not want "fake evils," as they thought "normal kids" did not commit crimes. For them, this was the commodified part of the scene, although the real commodification was that they were selling their albums in their own music stores, and that they were trying anything for the sake of popularity. For them, evil should have been made into real, which, in fact, was made into real only with the aim of being popular.

From the given evidence based on the historical evolution, it is possible to conclude that these subcultures originally did not aim to have connections with criminal acts and/or the racist attitudes. Looking back to the roots of both subcultures may well supply the facts that they are parts of the youth cultures, which play a very significant role in shaping the personalities of the young people as well as changing some norms within a particular society by challenging the reinforced values of that society. However, both of these subcultures have become the object of political interferences, causing the

teenagers who want to be accepted within those subcultures to turn into potential subjects of crime. This is another reason why these subcultures are thought as the potential danger and it is thought that society should be protected from them.

It is apparent that the National Front and similar organizations in Britain have supplied the basic needs of underclass teenagers economically with the promise that they would find a place in the skinhead subculture which they wanted to be a part of. Yet, the racist ideas are not a part of the original skinhead movement and the skinheads of the anti-racist or non-racist attitudes did not embrace the politically organized sect of the subculture. They have always tried to keep their subculture alive in terms of clothing styles, hairstyles, and behavioural patterns that are of the working class background and they have tried to develop anti-organizations, such as SHARP and ARA, which fight against the racial discrimination and try to cleanse the skinhead subculture from the racist or neo-fascist inclinations. This is how the distinction between the racist and anti-racist skinheads appeared: the skinheads who are loyal to the original spirit of the subculture prefer to be called "skinheads" or "skins," whereas they insist that the racist skinheads should be called "the boneheads". Similarly, there are many people in the Heavy Metal subculture, who have religious beliefs and anti-racist ideas in line with the original character of the cult. The audience of the Heavy Metal cult and the followers of this subculture also want their circles to be cleansed of racist and/or Satanist tendencies. In order for society to make a distinction between the racially abusive or Satanically aimed groups and the original supporters of those subcultures, the role of the media can be an important factor, as the leading means of affecting and manipulating people's ideas.

FIGURES

Album Covers of the Ska and Heavy Metal Bands



Figure 1: Skrewdriver – *White Rider*

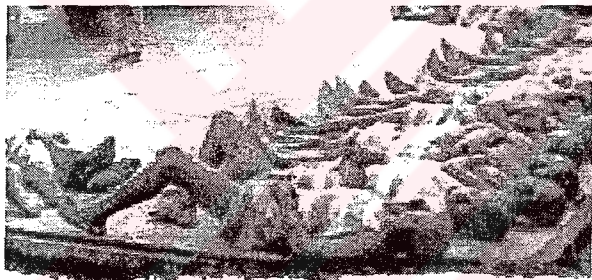


Figure 2: Angry Aryans – *Racially Motivated Violence*



Figure 3: Therion – *Crowning of Atlantis*

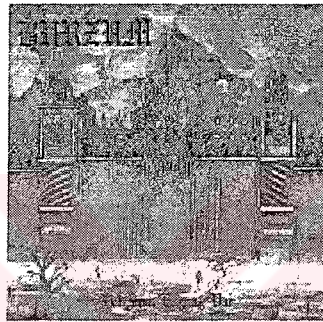


Figure 4: Burzum – *Aske*



Figure 5: Mayhem – *Deathcrush*



Figure 6: Iron Maiden – *Live after Death*

Animated Images – Subcultural Evolution



Figure 7: Teddy Boys and Girls



Figure 8: Hippy

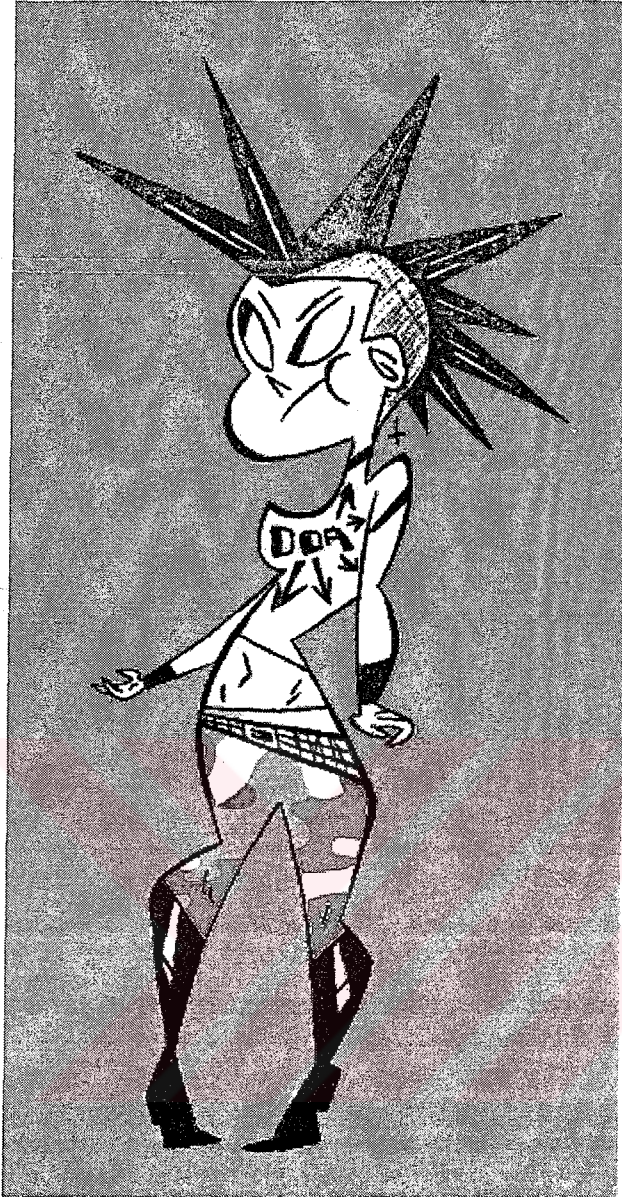


Figure 9: Punk Girl

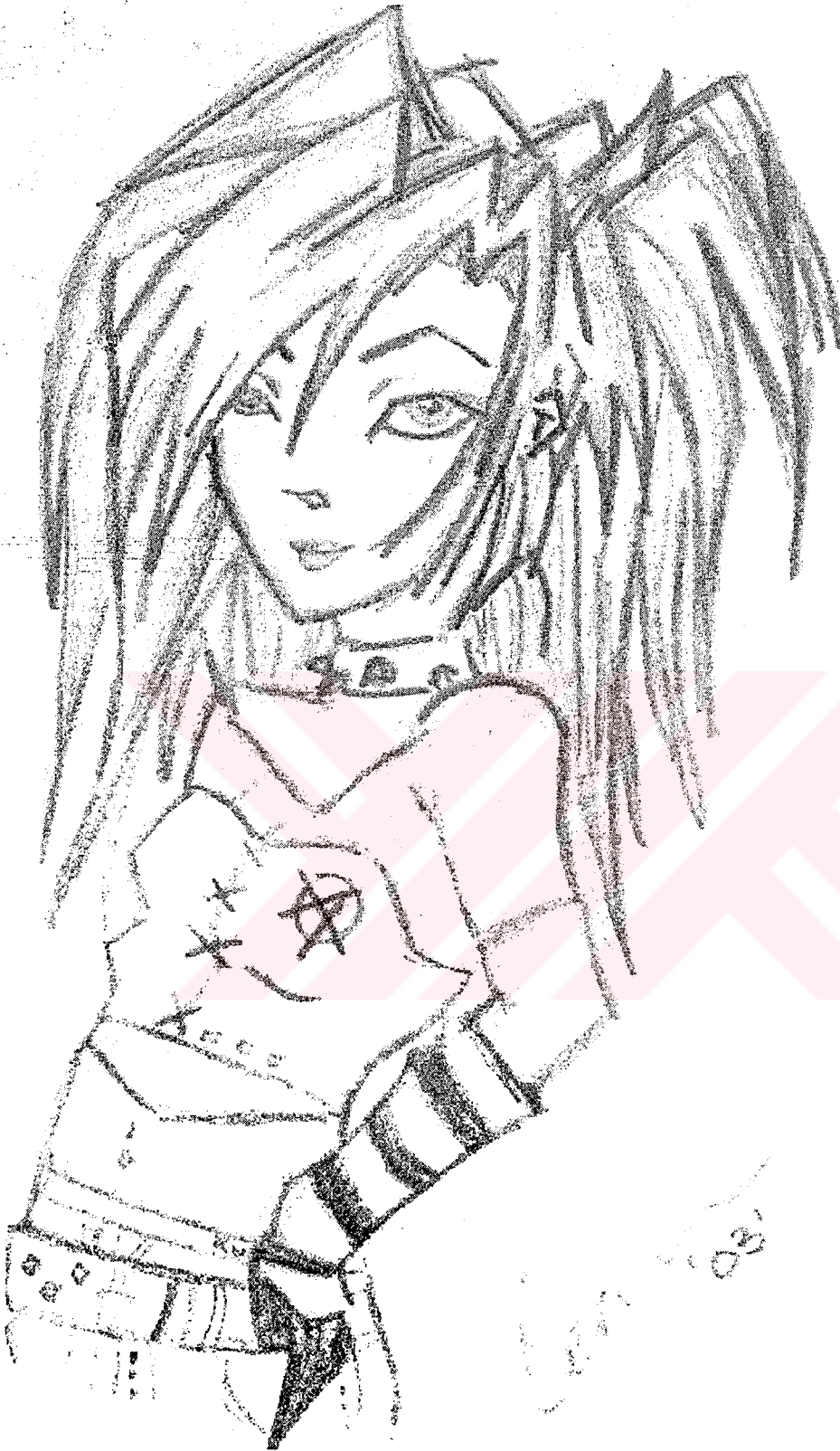


Figure 10: Neo-Punk Girl



Figure 11: Skinhead with the Typical Dress Code



Figure 12: Skinhead Clothing Styles – Boys and Girls



Figure 13: Chelseagirl – Hairstyle

You are a:
Skinbyrd!

You like streetfights,
beers and touch
the skin of your
boy's head!

Oi Oi Oi!



Figure 14: Skinhead Girl / Skinbyrd with the Oi! Slogan

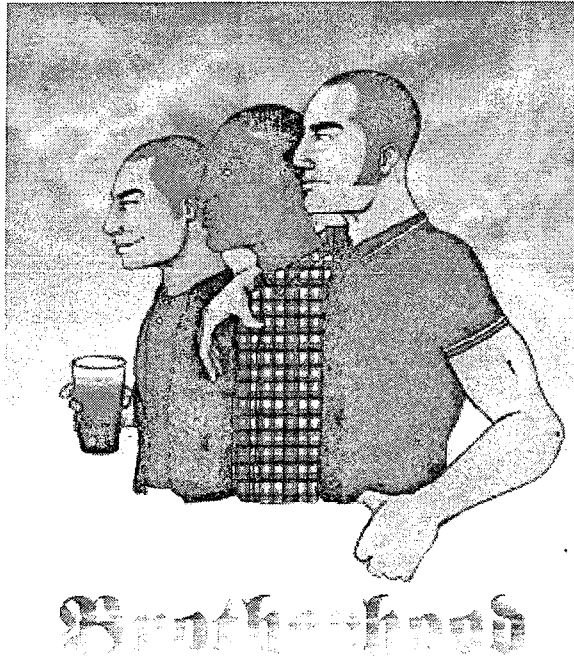


Figure 15: Queer Skin Brotherhood

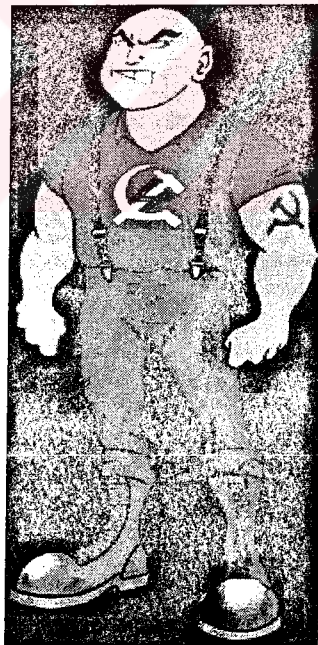


Figure 16: Anarchist Skinhead



Figure 17: Chelseagirl / Poster for the 4th International Anarchist Skinheads Meeting



Figure 18: Gothic Metal Scene – Animated Dress Codes



Figure 19: Marilyn Manson

NOTES

¹ What is signified by the term “fairly” is a system that works with justice and without applying any discrimination towards its citizens because of their race, age, sex, class and other possible *categories* (emphasis added) they can be classified into.

² The world of the adults suggests the mainstream culture.

³ The media’s assumed role to enlighten the masses about the resistance held by the youth subcultures is analysed in Chapter One and Two, in detail.

⁴ The historical evolution of these subcultures are given in detail in Chapter One.

⁵ Specific examples to media’s extreme alertness for the crimes committed by the individual members of these youth subcultures are given in Chapter One and Two.

⁶ Eysenck and Jensen, both influential psychologists during World War II, contributed to the ideology of racist discrimination through their studies which assumed there was a linkage between race, genetics, and intelligence. Eysenck’s *The IQ Argument: Race, Intelligence, and Education*, and Jensen’s *Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development*, in which he collaborated with M. Deutsch and I. Katz, can be considered among their contributions to the field of differential psychology.

⁷ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes that

After earning a doctorate from Heidelberg University, Goebbels joined the Nazi Party and was appointed district leader in Berlin by Adolf Hitler in 1926. A gifted speaker, Goebbels also edited the party’s journal and began to create the Führer myth around Hitler, instituting the party demonstrations that helped convert the masses to Nazism. After Hitler seized power in 1933, Goebbels took control of the national propaganda machinery. During World War II he carried on a personal propaganda blitz to raise hopes on the home front. Named chancellor in Hitler’s will, he remained with Hitler to the end. One day after Hitler’s suicide, Goebbels and his wife killed themselves and their six children. (“Joseph Goebbels”)

⁸ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes that

In his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899), Chamberlain presented a broad but biased analysis of European culture and proclaimed the racial and cultural superiority of the so-called Aryan element in European culture. His theories, which owed much to the writings of Joseph Arthur, count de Gobineau, influenced German nationalist thought, particularly Adolf Hitler’s National Socialist movement. (“Houston Stewart Chamberlain”)

⁹ *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes that

German zoologist and evolutionist, Ernst Haeckel, influenced by Charles Darwin, saw evolution as the basis for an explanation of all nature and the rationale of a philosophical approach. He attempted to create the first genealogical tree of the entire animal kingdom. He proposed that each species illustrates its evolutionary history in its embryological development. (“Ernst Haeckel”)

¹⁰ “The National Front was formed at a meeting in Caxton Hall, Westminster on 7th February 1967; the first Chairman was Arthur K. Chesterton, cousin of G. K. Chesterton. The new party was in fact a merger

of three groups: the Racial Preservation Society, the British National Party and the League of Empire Loyalists" ("A Brief History").

¹¹ *The Glossary of Religious Terms* explains Holocaust as follows: "[The union of the Greek words] 'holos' (completely) and 'kaustos' (burned sacrificial offering). When capitalized, the term usually refers to the Shoah, the killing of five to seven million of European Jews by the Nazi government during World War II. Sometimes used to refer to the total Nazi extermination program, which included Jews, Roma (also known as Gypsies), Russians, Poles, other Slavs, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc. totalling ten to fourteen million humans" ("Holocaust").

¹² The lyrics of the Heavy Metal bands are analysed in detail in Chapter Two.

¹³ It has been observed that the names of subcultural trends, such as teds, the mods, rockers and punks can be used variously in terms of capitalization. While some authors prefer to capitalize the terms, including the term "skinhead," as if to refer to a proper noun specialized to a certain group that would not be revived anymore, some others preferred to write them in small letters to specify a general tendency. In this study, Dick Hebdige's style is followed in terms of using the small letters.

¹⁴ The quiff is a lock of hair brushed up above the forehead instead of being left like a fringe; whereas DA stands for Duck's Arse, a highly stylised hairstyle which is overblown at the back of the head above, seeming like a duck's part of tail.

¹⁵ The common uniforms of teds varied from socks to jackets, having the same colour on every member of a gang.

¹⁶ Pogo is the typical dance of the punk subculture with simple figures: arms motionless at one's sides, the best known figure is to leap up and down, suitably created for the fast and changing rhythms of punk music, which is too difficult to keep up with while dancing in other styles.

¹⁷ In 1958, Notting Hill and Nottingham witnessed race riots between the white working class and their black counterparts for five nights over the August bank holiday ("After the Windrush").

¹⁸ Rockabilly is the earliest form of rock and roll.

¹⁹ Though rhythm and blues includes the blues genre itself and seems like an original root for soul, blues and soul are interlinked and they influenced each other. It "generally suggests an electric-guitar based, speeded-up and hence danceable version of the traditional black American blues" (Thorne 214).

²⁰ 1970s saw the second wave of feminist theory, which is marked by the issue of economic equality (including the ability to have careers in addition to motherhood, or the right to choose not to have children) between the genders and addressed the rights of female minorities, as also noted by Linda Nicholson.

²¹ Rocksteady is a Jamaican musical form of the late 1960s. Thorne states that "rocksteady was characterised by a slower, more hypnotic beat than ska whilst its feel was 'poppier' and its instrumentation cruder than that of reggae. It was identified with the culture of rude boys" (231).

²² Fag-bashing is the slang expression for the violence directed at homosexuals.

²³ Paki-bashing is the slang expression for the violence directed at Asian immigrants, especially Pakistanis and Indians.

²⁴ The invocation of gothic and Gothic fiction is later discussed in Chapter Two.

²⁵ Weinstein differentiates rock and roll and the rock music by using the latter as a next generation form of the former. However, in this study, both terms are used interchangeably as also referred to by other authors of popular music, such as Simon Frith (“The Cultural Study of Popular Music”).

²⁶ The term “rock and roll” comes from the slang expression of “sexual relationship,” often used by the black people.

²⁷ Elizabeth Jane Wall Hinds also resembles the Romantic tradition of the English Literature to the cult of Heavy Metal, as previously argued in the Introduction part.

²⁸ From the famous actress Zsa Zsa Gabor and the serial killer Richard Speck.

²⁹ From the famous model Twiggy and the serial killer Richard Ramirez.

³⁰ From the famous actress and singer Olivia Newton John and the serial killer Ted Bundy.

³¹ A form of rock and roll that is more popularly known than Heavy Metal, having its roots in the 1960s rock.

³² The group of Black Metal bands in Norway were called “Inner Circle” during the 1990s when Euronymous’ record shop, music studio and the production company were popular among the Black Metal scene.

³³ Helvete means “Hell” in English (“Helvete”).

³⁴ Burzum means darkness in the Dark Lord Sauron’s Black Speech in Tolkien’s trilogy; while Vikernes’ stage name, Count Grishnackh, is a modified form of the word “Grishnákh,” an orc character created by Tolkien.

³⁵ Fantoft Church was set on fire on 6th June 1992, and its photograph was used for Burzum’s album cover, *Burzum/Aske* (“History of Black Metal”).

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APPENDIX



ÖZGEÇMİŞ

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