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Crossover in Conflicting Youth Cultures: The case of heavy metal and punk in the UK. Visual, Lyrical and Musical interactions in the Social and Political Context of the Thatcher Era (1979-1990)

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Η έγκριση της διδακτορικής διατριβής από το Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο Κοινωνικών και Πολιτικών Επιστημών δεν δηλώνει αποδοχή των γνώμων του συγγραφέα.

Ευχαριστίες: Στην Νικολέττα, στην Αμαρυλλίς, στους γονείς μου, και στους καθηγητές μου που με την πολύτιμη βοήθεια και την αγάπη τους, με οδήγησαν στην ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας μου.

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Abstract

In the PhD dissertation that follows, it is examined and analysed the perspective of the crossover between punk and heavy metal music cultures into the UK during the Thatcher's era of governance. The research is based on the crossover between UK Punk and UK Heavy Metal and includes the lyrical, musical, image/visual analysis of both genres and how the bands of both genres interacted, grounding the research on the social and political context of Thatcher's era of governance (1979-1990).

Introducing the research, the definitions of "Culture", "Youth Cultures", "Crossover" and "Conflict" take place, in order to establish the background. Therefore, the variations of definitions of culture are given, the history of youth cultures in the UK (pre-war and post-war) is examined, as well as crossover and its variations, while reporting the various types of conflict. Afterwards, there is a presentation of the cases of UK's conflicting subcultures (rockers vs mods, skinheads), before analysing cases of conflict and crossover in punk and heavy metal that could be found in the worldwide history of those two subcultures. The crossover between punk and heavy metal also existed simultaneously worldwide (alongside UK), with the case of USA being the first one that appeared, with acts that appeared influential to both music genres (such as *MC5*, *Blue Cheer*, *The Stooges*) or bands that fused those musical genres first (such as *Runaways* and *The Dictators*) and the reason that this crossover is also examined worldwide is to present facts of conflict, as well as mutual musical/lyrical/visual approaches that shared commonalities with the crossover in UK. In order to establish then the definitions of punk and heavy metal, it takes place a thorough analysis of the imagery, the visual, the musical and lyrics status of both music genres, presenting and analysing representative examples of both genres in each case. Finally, the social and political context is examined and analysed through that period (1979-1990) of time, where references (in lyrical and imagery terms) of bands by both music genres are identified, examined and tied to the social/historical background, presenting on the same time a holistic crossover between the music genres.

The analysis of the research draws accordingly on the themes of: Unemployment, Alienation and Anomie, Fear of a Nuclear War, Fox Hunting and Anti-Americanism.

Keywords: Crossover, Punk, Hardcore, Heavy Metal, Authenticity, UK, Thatcher, Cold War, Fox Hunting, Anti-Americanism.

Introduction

The origins of punk and heavy metal music genres are difficult to specify chronologically with precision though their various aspects have been identified by music historians. On heavy metal's origin, journalist and music historian Lester Bangs believes that the first band to hold the title of "world's first heavy metal band" was the US act *Blue Cheer*, in 1968, and more specifically with their version of the 1950s classic Rock N' Roll song "Summertime Blues" by *Eddie Cochran* (Gross, 1970: 18). Gross points out that the differences between *Eddie Cochran*'s original song and *Blue Cheer*'s version are that the original was a "light-hearted, pop song that was clean sounding, and acoustic guitars alternated with electric guitars, both on the base of the cleanness of the sound, whereas the *Blue Cheer* version transformed the song into a gigantic distorted metallic tune, with power chords reminiscent of what heavy metal would later represent" (Bangs, 1987: 94).

The Canadian rock band *Steppenwolf* released their song "Born to be wild" in 1967, which, according to Gross (1970: 18) is highly typical of modern-day heavy metal, and, to add to the song's connection with heavy metal subculture, Gross points out the reference to the words 'heavy metal' in the song's lyrics ("I like smoke and lightning [...] heavy metal thunder"). Adding to her belief that "Born to be wild" stands as an emblematic early heavy metal song, Gross states that the song is still a favourite among heavy metal fans in clubs (Gross, 2004: 120). Weinstein (2000: 10) believes that heavy metal subculture was a cultural result that came out of complex procedures in Rock n Roll since the 1950s. Weinstein pinpoints the Woodstock Festival that took place in August 1969 as a landmark, because in the years that followed Woodstock young fans did not generally use the term 'rock' in order to express their preference for a specific artist or music style; after Woodstock, rock music lost its coherence, and was divided into different music genres, heavy metal being one among them (Weinstein, 2000: 11). Finally, Weinstein identifies a kind of "contest" amongst fans and journalists to identify the first "real" heavy metal band: was it *Black Sabbath* or *Led Zeppelin*? However, there were differing opinions about the first "real" heavy metal band amongst American and British fans and journalists. Americans considered *Steppenwolf*, *Blue Cheer* and *Iron Butterfly* to be the first 'real' heavy metal bands, whereas the British considered *Black Sabbath* and *Led Zeppelin* as the innovators of heavy metal genre (ibid). Fast (2005: 89) identifies heavy metal's musical roots in blues rock and psychedelic rock, while Palmer (1992: 24) goes back into the early 1950s in order to find heavy metal's musical roots in Memphis blues' guitarists such as *Pat Hare*. According to Walser (1993: 9), *The Kinks*' 1964 song "You really got me" was an

incarnation of what heavy metal represented in musical terms: it was loud, with heavy distorted guitar sound, and at the same time it was melodic and full of harmonies.

Punk rock's musical origin, according to Sabin (1999: 157), is rooted mostly in early 1950s rock n' roll, rockabilly, surf rock and garage rock. Sabin (1999: 159) identifies the US garage rock band *The Kingsmen*, and more specifically their version of the song "Louie-Louie," originally a 1955 rhythm and blues song by *Richard Berry*, as the earliest example of punk rock music. Sabin (1999: 160) believes that a major influence leading the US garage rock bands to play more minimal rock music was the 'British Invasion'¹ that took place during the middle of the 1960s (Perone, 2009: 22). In accordance with the 'British Invasion', US garage rock bands such as *The Sonics* and *The Seeds* employed a simplistic and at the same time more raw sound that actually pre-dated early punk rock musical incarnations (Sabin, 1999: 159).

The above historical review takes place in order to identify the musical roots of both heavy metal and punk rock; it could also lead to various (and different) results, however in this study it is very important to focus on four bands that could be described as predecessors of both punk rock and heavy metal (according to Waksman, 2012): *The Kinks*, *Blue Cheer*, *MC5* and *The Stooges*. This is because these four bands have been considered by scholars to be the antecedents of punk rock and heavy metal, depending on how their sound is described. Though it would be highly speculative to attempt to describe those bands as prime examples of "crossover", I present this case below.

The Kinks' song "You really got me" was mentioned above as a prime example of what heavy metal music genre stands for (loud, heavily distorted guitar sound for the basic opening guitar chord, even though it is not continuous in the song), but at the same time Harrington (2002: 165) describes *The Kinks* as one of the bands that started the whole "three-chord genre" journey, even finding similarities in later *Ramones* songs. *Blue Cheer*, according to Bangs (as already mentioned), was an early heavy metal band, but according to Hughes (2006: 140) *Blue Cheer* could also be described as a prime punk rock band due to their "primitive chord structures". *MC5* was an American band that started in the mid-1960s, and even though they are considered by music journalists to be a garage rock band, they did find common ground in both punk rock and heavy metal genres, according to Braunstein and Doyle (2002: 133). The

¹ As 'British Invasion', it is considered the "cultural phenomenon of the mid-1960s, when rock and pop music acts from the United Kingdom and other aspects of British culture became popular in the United States with significant influence on the rising counterculture on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean" (Perone, 2004)

sound of *MC5* shares similarities with both punk rock and heavy metal musical styles due to their raw, distorted guitar style that employs at the same time simple guitar power chord structures (Bukspan, 2003: 141). Finally, the US band *The Stooges* was among the 1960s garage rock bands to be considered to share common ground with both heavy metal and punk rock genres (Ratliff, 2009: 29). Ratliff also states that *The Stooges* were the band that contributed most to the rise of punk rock in the late 1960s, but at the same time heavy metal responded to their music. Trynka (2007: 95) believes that *The Stooges* 1969 song “I wanna be your dog” (from their first, eponymous *The Stooges* long play 12-inch record) demonstrated a combination of heavy metal and punk rock guitar sound that was simple, distorted and down-tuned at the same time.

Waksman (2009: 148) refers to later examples of bands that fused qualities of punk rock and heavy metal in musical terms, focussing on the cases of two 1970s US bands: *The Dictators* and *The Runaways*. *The Dictators* are a US band that has been active since 1973, and they are considered to be one of the most important purveyors of early punk rock (Waksman 2009: 119). Still, Waksman spots not only punk rock ingredients in their sound, but heavy metal too – the case of the song “The next big thing” from their 1975 long-play 12-inch record *Go girl crazy!* is used in order to build this argument. “The next big thing” according to Waksman (2009: 120) sounds like “stock heavy metal, with electric guitar solo-ing over minor chords”. This *Village Voice* magazine journalist went even further, characterizing *The Dictators* as “the cleverest sounding heavy metal band I have ever heard” (Waksman, 2009: 124). However, it was not just the music of *The Dictators* that resembled heavy metal. Their visual image, as depicted on the inner sleeve of *Go girl crazy!* long-play record (*The Dictators - Go Girl Crazy!*, 1975) as well on the cover of the second 12-inch long play record *Manifest Destiny* (1977, Asylum Records, 7E-1109) is reminiscent of the heavy metal imagery (band stylistics) of the time: long hair, black leather biker jackets, motorcycle boots, flared jean trousers.



(Image 1. Inner sleeve photo of The Dictators Go Girl Crazy! 1975 long-play 12-inch record. Courtesy of Epic Records)



(Image 2. Cover photo of *The Dictators' Manifest Destiny* 1977 long-play 12-inch record. Courtesy of Asylum Records)

Regarding the other case, *The Runaways*, those were an all-woman hard rock band from California that formed in 1975 (Waksman, 2009: 131). According to Waksman (2009: 132), it was guitarists Lita Ford's and Joan Jett's different musical tastes that gave *The Runaways* their unique sound, mixing musical elements of hard rock, heavy metal and punk rock. Lita Ford preferred heavy metal bands like *Black Sabbath* and *Deep Purple*, whereas Joan Jett had an appetite for British glam rock and a growing taste for the (then) developing punk rock movement in Los Angeles (Waksman, 2009: 133). Waksman, in order to support his allegation that *The Runaways* had both punk rock and heavy metal leanings into their music, focuses on the song "Cherry Bomb" from their 1976 *The Runaways* long-play 12-inch record (Mercury, SRM -1-1090). He describes "Cherry Bomb" as a song based on a strong opening hard rock power chord, but one that is repetitive in the style of punk rock music; "Cherry Bomb" thus

kept in both with the heavy metal tradition and with the developing punk rock sound (Waksman, 2009: 140). Moreover, in their 1977 live long-play 12-inch record *Live In Japan* (Mercury, 6338 833), *The Runaways* did a cover of the *Velvet Underground*'s classic proto-punk song "Rock n' Roll". Finally, British music journalist Tony Parsons, in his review for *New Melody Express* of *The Runaways* concert at the Roundhouse, London club in 1976, drew a subcultural connection between "the band's performance and the developing punk scene in terms of violence and the climax of the band's show" (Parsons, 1976: 41)².

Waksman asserts that both *The Dictators* and *The Runaways* incorporated heavy metal and punk rock musical elements, but that "they also left open a potential space for the first 'real' crossover band, since both of them were not identified as 'crossovers' themselves during their careers". He claims that the UK *Motorhead* was the first 'real' crossover band, not just because it combined musical elements of punk rock and heavy metal, but "because it was the first band to be described as such by the music press" (Waksman, 2009: 148). This case is important because *Motorhead* appeared in 1977 when the UK punk rock scene was flourishing.

Simon Frith (1981: 138) believes that punk rock subculture was a form of "social and ideological revolt that emerged in 1976-1977" – and that this constitutes one of the four periods in pop history (Mitchell, 1989: 274). During that moment the musical crossover of *Motorhead* was something both "rare and actually undesirable" (Waksman, 2009: 157). According to Waksman, *Motorhead* was the first band "to be described musically as punk rock and heavy metal at the same time". The journalist Geoff Barton, for example, referred to *Motorhead* as a "veritable crossover of both genres – the first true heavy metal/ punk crossover" (Waksman, 2009: 162). Waksman (2009: 167) goes even further, referring to *Motorhead* as "the band that created the paradigmatic crossover tendencies of punk and heavy metal", and thus regards the group as the prototype and definition of the crossover in music terms.

Later on, during the 1980s, the term "crossover" was employed in order to describe a very specific fusion of hardcore/punk rock and heavy metal music. Journalist, musician, artist and *Pushmort* record label owner Brian "Pushead" Schroeder (in his February 1985 article "Speedcore" for US magazine *Maximum Rock n' Roll*) used this new term to characterise the crossover of heavy metal and punk in musical terms. That term captured "the crossover of what

² Important trivia: Joan Jett went later on to produce Punk long-play records- such as *The Germs GI* 12-inch long play record (1980) and in her early solo career her records could be described musically as punk rock, whereas Lita Ford in her later solo career followed heavy metal, with later collaborations with famous musicians such as Ozzy Osbourne (in the 1988 song "Close my eyes forever").

was known as heavy metal mixed in with the emergent hardcore punk sound” (Schroeder, 1985: 60). However, bands that could be described by that term were also considered to be heavy metal by heavy metal fans, and to be punk by punk rock fans. Schroeder, in an attempt to clarify his use of this term, claims that the sonic image of “speedcore” is one where the speed level and intense power of punk is mixed with the “whining soloing guitars and brutal force of heavy metal” (ibid). Schroeder describes “speedcore” as an outcome of heavy metal bands that they do not want to follow the corporate practices of their peers, and that they reject the “rock star” attitude, adding the perspective of band stylistics in this crossover; on the punk rock side, “speedcore” was an outcome of the disillusionment of the punk scene at that time, with musicians wanting to expand their music horizons. Schroeder then considers bands that embody heavy metal music culture (*Slayer, Metallica, Venom, Exciter, Anthrax, Megadeth, Exodus, Dark Angel, Hellhammer, Possessed, Warfare, Sodom, Zoetrope, Voivod, Bulldozer, Iron Angel, Bathory, Sacred Blade, Motorhead*) and punk music culture (*Discharge, English Dogs, G.I.S.M., Corrosion of Conformity, Poison Idea, Raw Power, Execute, General Disaster, Disorder, Chaos U.K., Outo*). Something very interesting in this case is that “speedcore” is not confined to one or two countries but appears in international punk and heavy metal scenes. For example, *Slayer, Metallica* and *Exodus* are US bands, *Voivod* and *Exciter* are Canadian, *Iron Angel* and *Sodom* are German, *Hellhammer* is Swiss, *Discharge, English Dogs* and *Motorhead* are UK bands, *Outo* and *Execute* are Japanese, while *Raw Power* and *Bulldozer* are Italian bands.

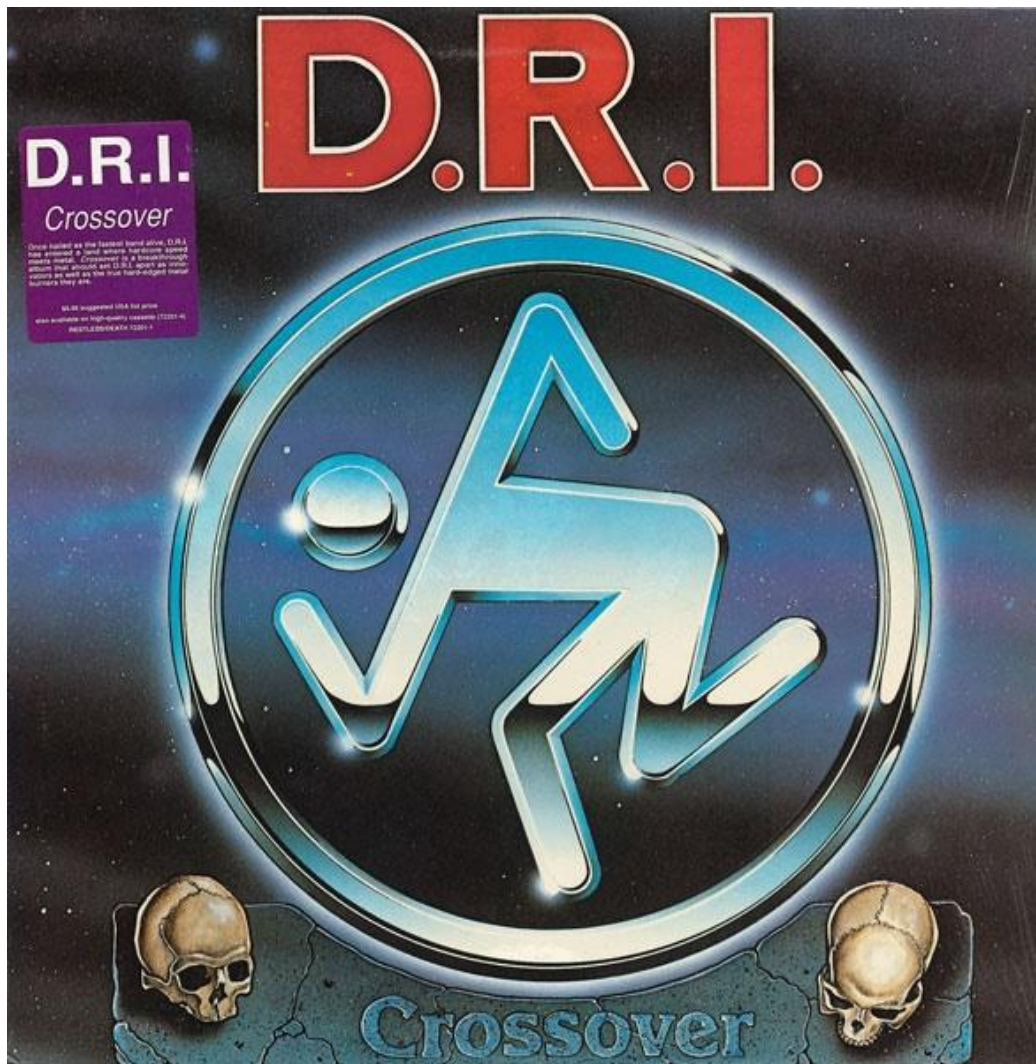
The “speedcore” thesis had both its supporters and its enemies, and this could be identified in the letters section of *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* (1985) at that time. One example of a supporter can be found in the letter by Gene Hoglan, a heavy metal drummer³, who condemns corporate heavy metal musical culture (“Bands like *Quiet Riot, Ratt, Motley Crue, Scorpions* are nothing more than boring, uninspired rock bands for pre-pubescent”) while championing “speedcore” bands (“Have you heard some hardcore notables such as *Slayer, Venom, Possessed, Metallica, Exodus?*”) and expressing his total support for the whole “speedcore” phenomenon (“I’m here to support hardcore metal and punk until I die”) (1985: 10-11). On the other hand, in *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* issue 28 (1985: 5), there is a letter by a fanatic enemy of punk/metal crossover by punk rock fan “Eric The Heretic”. He definitely opposed the crossover of the two (“If punk mixes with heavy metal, punk will meet the head-banger at the altar, heavy metal is a tool of fascist fundamentalist religion so a mixing of punk and metal

³ Among the bands that Gene Hoglan played were the heavy metal bands *Dark Angel* and *Death*.

would destroy the whole meaning of punk”, *ibid*), presenting a punk rocker’s fan opinion on the crossover in subcultural terms.

Eric The Heretic despises heavy metal music (“Don’t be fooled! ‘heavy metal’ is not ‘anti-establishment’! It is just boring music”, *ibid*) and finally he attacks heavy metal fans (“Head-bangers will spend their teenage years listening to boring music, being pressured into taking drugs and chanting religious words. The biggest idiots will continue this ’til their twenties and thirties”, *ibid*). The crossovers and conflicts of heavy metal and punk rock subcultures actually appear variously in *Maximum Rock n Roll*’s letters’ section.

The crossover here went on to constitute a new subgenre in itself, a form that mixed speed/thrash metal with hardcore/punk (Waksman, 2009: 230). One of the first bands in the subgenre that explicitly used the term “crossover” was the US (Texas/San Francisco-based) band *Dirty Rotten Imbeciles (D.R.I.)*, exemplified by their 1986 long-play 12-inch record (Metal Blade Records, 7 73402-1).



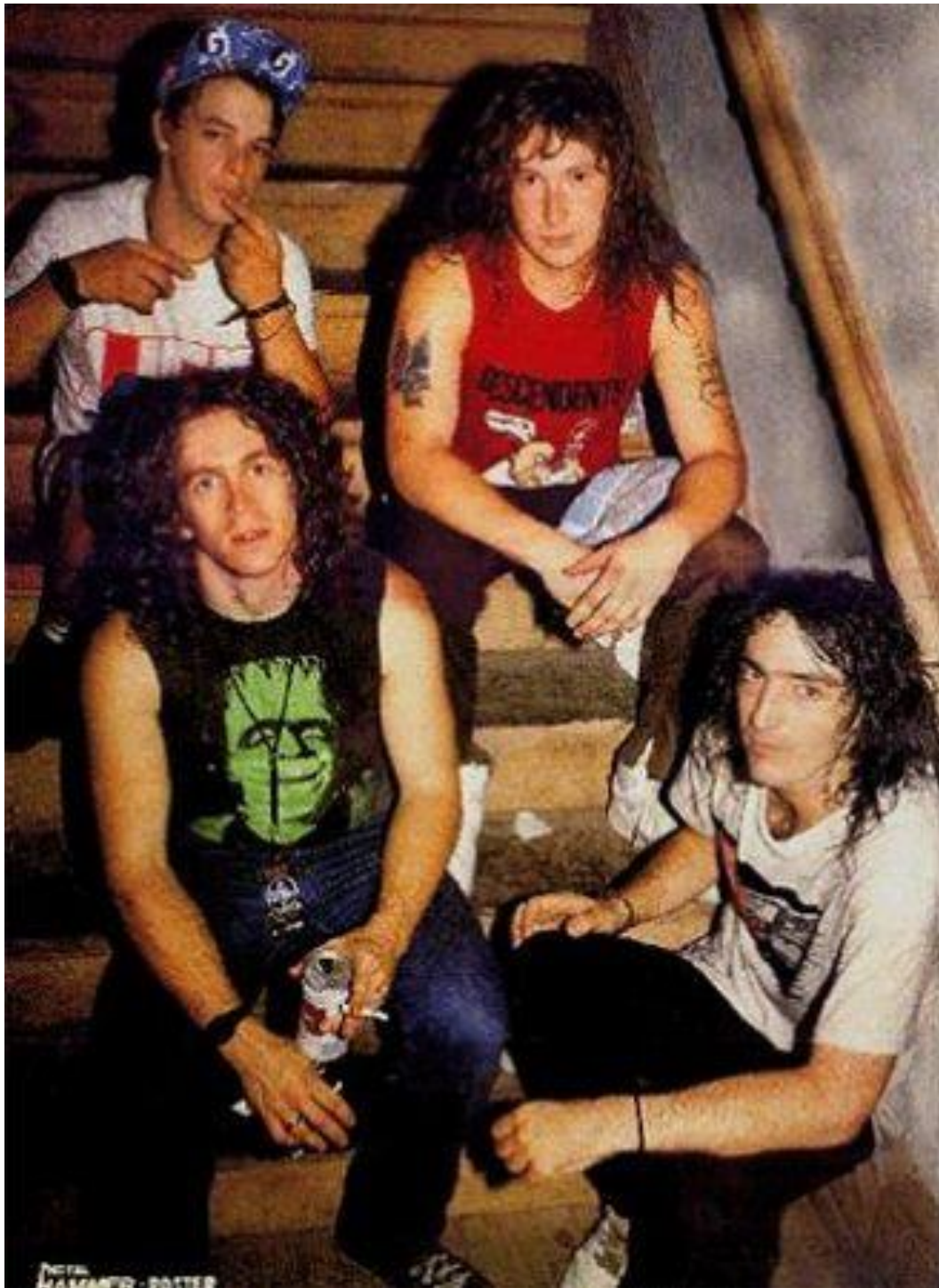
(Image 3. D.R.I.'s cover art for their 1986 Crossover long-play 12-inch record. Courtesy of Metal Blade Records)

It is very interesting to examine the lyrics of the song “Tear It Down” by *D.R.I.* because in it *D.R.I.* pleads for unity among different youth cultures. Gaines (1992: 200) states that “there was a time back in the 1980s when the heavy metal kids and the punks could not simply co-exist, but if, per chance, they would appear in the same place, verbal and physical attacks would occur on a regular basis”. In “Tear it down” *D.R.I.* call on their fans to fight society together (“Fighting this society, there’s only one way to win [...] We must stick together through all thick and thin”) and believe that they can break the barriers of the society they oppose only by together fighting the common enemy (“Just as we watch them build this empire, so they shall watch us tear it down ...combine our forces before it is too late”). Moreover, *D.R.I.* went on to change their image; in the early years of the band (1983-1985), when they were a hardcore punk band in band stylistics, the members of the band being into punk fashion – short hair and

bondage trousers. This changed gradually and in 1986 *D.R.I.* let their hair grow longer, in accordance with heavy metal band stylistics tradition. Both phases are presented below.



(Image 4. D.R.I. 1983 band picture, punk phase. Courtesy of D.R.I.)



(Image 5. D.R.I. 1986 promotional picture, heavy metal phase. Courtesy of D.R.I.)

On the other hand, New York hardcore and punk bands spoke about unity during the early 1980s. *Agnostic Front* in their 1984 song “United and Strong” presented lyrics such as “United and strong, black and white, punks and skins, for everyone”. *Agnostic Front* also transformed their image; they went from skinhead band stylistics to heavy metal in two years (1984-1986), as depicted below.



(Image 6. Agnostic Front stage picture, Skinhead phase, picture taken from the inner sleeve of 1984 Victim in Pain 12-inch-long play record. Courtesy of Rat Cage Records)



(Image 7. Agnostic Front picture from 1986: heavy metal phase. Courtesy of Kerrang!)

Agnostic Front employed social commentary lyrically, in typical punk tradition, in their first long-play 12-inch record *Victim in Pain* (1984, *Rat Cage Records*, MOTR 29), and this is evident in songs such as “Blind Justice” (“There is no justice, it is just us, we need justice, for all of us”). By their second long-play 12-inch record, the 1986 *Cause for Alarm* (*Combat Core*, CC 8049), their lyrics in many songs were in the heavy metal tradition of Weinstein’s themes of chaos (Weinstein, 1991: 38). This is evident, for example, in the song “The Eliminator” where *Agnostic Front* describe and glorify the life of a hitman/hired killer (“killing is my business, and business is fine [...] hand me the contract, I love to kill”), discussing the various methods of execution he could use (“Hanging or lethal injection, Gas chamber, Firing squad, electrocute, more than one face of death”). The same theme was used by US heavy metal band *Megadeth*, in their song “Killing Is My Business...And Business Is Good!” off their 1985 homonymous 12-inch long-player record (*Combat Records*, MX 8015). *Megadeth* also had that theme of Chaos that Weinstein defined (personified in the glorification of killing and death), describing the life of a hired killer (“I am a sniper, always hit the mark, paid assassin, working

after dark”) glorifying this “job” (“It brings me great pleasure, to say my next job is you [...] killing is my business, and business is good”).

The interest on how the crossover in the UK was pursued (in musical, lyrical, visual terms) was the driving force behind the present study. In this regard, my research focuses on the period of Thatcher’s governance in the United Kingdom (1979-1990). The reason for the chosen period relies on two factors: firstly, this was a period of massive tensions in the UK society, with reactions against Thatcher’s policies being expressed by the youth (and not only) of that era with various was, including art. Secondly, the reason for the chosen period relies on the fact that it was that era when punk and heavy metal started integrating elements of one another, breaking down barriers, prejudice and eliminating the conflict among them in subcultural terms, while in musical, lyrical and visual elements, the crossover between the two of them started taking place. In order to pursue my research, I will attempt to provide references in musical, lyrical and imagery terms of bands by both music genres, and this will be grounded on a focus on themes provided for both genres. This research will therefore examine a holistic crossover between the music genres, while the major contribution of my research will be in reference to the issue of authenticity. My contribution is that I will attempt to seek out authenticity in the crossover, through definitions of what is considered authentic in punk and metal alongside through multiple other factors (such as class, lyrics), all grounded in a holistic crossover (music, lyrics, image) in specific political and social issues.

The thesis is structured in the following way:

Chapter 1 sets the context of the research, with the period referring to Thatcher’s governance and the political conditions on the UK, a period that has left its mark in the UK due to the rise of the Conservatives in the governance, and the massive changes it brought in the society, that responded via art (music, films etc) among others in a critical or sceptical way.

Chapter 2 refers to culture, as well as youth cultures (and their history in the UK), and the conflict among youth cultures, an issue that has been widely covered before. The identification of the conflict between fans of metal and punk (in the UK) is fundamental for my research, because not only existed, but also vanished quite quickly through the crossover of both musical genres. Therefore, I analyse the cases of rockers, mods and skinheads, as prime examples of UK subcultures that were conflicting.

Chapter 3 is where the analysis of musical genres takes place, in musical, lyrical and visual terms, delineate the landscape of punk and metal elements, in order to show later where these music genres meet via their crossover. Examples will be given both from worldwide, as well as from the UK.

Chapter 4 analyses the issue of crossover, its examples in art, while focussing on the crossover in music. Alongside, the issue of authenticity is analysed in order to offer the framework of what is (or could be) regarded as authentic in music, focussing especially on the cases of heavy metal and punk.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the methodology and the tools of analysis used in order to pursue my research. Chapter 5 elaborates also into four themes/political conditions in the UK that found responses or reactions from heavy metal and punk in that era. These four themes constitute the base of the case studies that are analysed in the part of findings.

Chapter 7 includes the analysis of the cases-bands that presented this crossover in all aspects (music, lyrics, imagery, and visual status) but on the same time it was strictly grounded into a specific social/political context. In this regard, I refer to and analyse the crossover between punk rock and heavy metal bands in the UK within the social order of Thatcher's governance, in terms of visual imagery as well as in the music and song lyrics.

Concluding remarks reflect on the amount and quality of material I managed to identify pursuing my research. It emphasizes on the most significant findings of my research in all aspects (visual, musical, lyrics and imagery), as well as the issue of authenticity and cases where a crossover can be authentic (or not). It also proposes further expansion of my research in other crossovers between music genres or youth cultures, offering cases that could be investigated in the future.

Chapter 1. Context of the study

1.1 Political Conditions in UK during the early 1980s

The return of the Conservatives to government after their victory in the election of 1979 led to radical changes that transformed the political landscape in the UK for years to come (Towers, 1989: 162). *Thatcherism*, taking its name from the Prime Minister of the UK from 1979 to 1990, Margaret Thatcher, was a reaction against the politics of the 1970s, and endorsed privatization, ‘free market’ ideology and the decrease of the power of trade unions, among other policies (Riddell, 1989: 14). Stuart Hall (1979: 19), labelled Thatcher’s policies a move towards “authoritarian populism”, identified as another form of the capitalist state⁴. The Thatcher era “replaced the Keynesian principle with Neo-Liberal politics and the violent privatization of former nationalized industries led to tremendous changes in British society” (Street, 2014: 49). However, those drastic changes that the Conservative governing party imposed were tremendously unpopular at the time. In 1983 the unemployment rate reached its highest point in the UK (Buiter and Miller, 1983: 305), anti-union legislation led to strikes (Brown et al., 2007: 70) such as the 1984 Miners’ Strike that saw the defeat of the miners after a fierce battle against Thatcher’s neoliberal policies that “resulted in a total all-out war with the trade unions – the ones that Thatcher called “The Enemy Within” (Darlington, 2005: 73). In terms of employment, Thatcher favoured a more “flexible” employment model, where full-time employment was not the only case; her policies encouraged “part-time, temporary or self-employed work in order to get labour costs at the lowest possible levels” (Towers, 1989: 166). The number of miners arrested in 1984 reached “10,000 and 8 per cent of these were accused of violent crimes” (Beynon, 2014: 217).

Alongside, the consequences of Thatcher’s policies (during Thatcher’s first period of election, after 1979) were reflected in growing unemployment rates as well as rising inflation (Buiter and Miller, 1983: 2). Certainly, during the first two years of Thatcher’s government (1979-1981) unemployment had risen, but at the same time inflation was reduced. However, in 1982 unemployment rose to the highest rate (13%) of all during Thatcher’s rule, only to be slightly reduced in 1983 to 12.2% (Denman and McDonald, 1996: 7). That meant that

⁴ Hall states that “authoritarian populism,” “unlike classical fascism, has retained most (though not all) of the formal representative institutions in place, and [...] at same time has been able to construct around itself an active popular consent” (1979: 19).

3,000,000 people in the UK were officially unemployed by 1983. Violent confrontations during the Thatcher era were not limited just to those between miners and the police. In 1981 the most violent riots of the past century in the UK took place in many major cities including London, Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham and started in neighbourhoods that were suffering high unemployment and poverty as well as racial tensions. Lord Scarman described the riots as a result of “various social, economic and racial elements”, and the riots caused “political complaints and tension” (Benyon, 1985: 410).

However, one of the most significant historic developments during Thatcher’s government was the Falklands War. The Falklands War took place over two disputed British islands in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1982, and “the two warring sides were the UK and Argentina” (Barnett, 1982: 4). Pearce and Stewart (1992: 522) state that “the UK went into the Falklands War because Thatcher wanted to gain back the respectability of the UK in international affairs”, as well as wanting to expose globally the fact that UK was still a strong nation, and to inspire the British people in a time when “the UK was suffering high inflation, high unemployment and social agitation” (Bellot, 2013: 24). The Falklands War led to the deaths of 255 British (Clarke et al., 1986: 123), 649 from Argentina and the lives of 3 Falklands’ natives (Ehrmantraut, 2011: 95). Even though the popularity of the Conservatives increased in the subsequent months Thatcher’s imperialistic tactics led to confrontations from non-supporters.

Thatcher’s foreign policy was totally in line with the US, and the electrified political atmosphere in the early 1980s, so much so that the fear of a nuclear war became stronger than perhaps ever before. The political tactics of the US President didn’t help to smooth the situation because Ronald Reagan verbally attacked the Soviet Union, considering them non-trustworthy (Swartz, 1997: 34). Adding to this, highly ranked Reagan officials were speaking openly of a victory in such a nuclear war (Swartz, 1997: 33). Thatcher, while interviewed for *The Wall Street Journal* (March 23, 1983), stated “The dual track decision (with US President Ronald Reagan) was that we have to modernise and deploy Cruise and Pershing on an equal basis as the Soviet Union has SS20”. UK found itself playing a massive role in the Cold War, and the threat of a nuclear war was more evident than ever.

Alongside, Margaret Thatcher’s relationship with US President Ronald Reagan was designated the connection of two “ideological soul-mates” in order to point out their alliance at many levels and on many issues (Blake, 2010). Both of them were exponents of neo-liberal

policies, had a strong anti-Communist stance, shared a mutual aversion to the USSR and their coalition in the renewed Cold War was strong. Even though they had different perceptions on some issues (such as the AIDS epidemic and divorce, see Berridge and Strong, 1992: 308), the two leaders were considered to be inalienable partners. However, the US and UK alliance had both its supporters and its enemies in the UK. Throughout the history of both nations this was not the first time that Pro-American and Anti-American sentiments arose in the UK. The first time that Anti-Americanism appeared in the UK was in a critique of US citizens' manners (Americans were considered by the British to be "rude and impolite"), by English writer Charles Dickens (Schama, 2003). And Anti-Americanism, found again its supporters in the United Kingdom, now due to this 'special relationship' between Thatcher and Reagan.

Fox hunting has been a highly controversial issue in the United Kingdom for many years. This activity has deep historical roots in the UK and was considered a traditional rural sport (with fans among the middle and upper class). However, over time, concerns about animal cruelty and the ethics of fox hunting led to increased opposition. Many argued that the sport was inhumane and unnecessary, as it involved the pursuit and killing of a wild animal for recreational purposes. Fox hunting in the 1980s still spawned controversy in the United Kingdom in terms of animal welfare and animal rights issues, among others. The secretive organization, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) that was established in the UK in 1976, stood against all actions that it considered were cruel to animals (such as vivisection and animal testing) and fox hunting was also a big issue for its members. The organization supported action against any kind of animal cruelty and promoted vandalism, verbal confrontations and even violence in order to stop it (May, 2013: 123). The Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) is another organization that stood against fox hunting in the UK, established in 1963, intervening with direct action against fox hunting. There were also cases where violent acts against hunters occurred (Best and Nocella, 2004).

In 1984, an organization that arose from the HSA, the "Hunt Retribution Squad," took actions against fox hunting to a totally different level. Disaffected with the fact that there was no intention by the British Parliament to vote for legislation against fox hunting, the Hunt Retribution Squad didn't have any moral objections to using violence and intimidation against fox hunters. Amongst their illegal acts was the defilement of the grave of the tenth Duke of Beaufort, a famous champion of fox hunting, in 1986 (Allison, 1993: 184, cited in Wheaton, 2009). The fact that organizations such as the Hunt Retribution Squad had no moral restraints

against adopting utterly lawless acts against the supporters of fox hunting created a tense social climate between the two sides.

Based on the above political and social conditions, I will attempt to identify the cases of UK heavy metal and punk bands that focussed on them, while making a crossover (in visual, imagery, lyrics and musical terms).

1.2 The reaction of punk and heavy metal in the Thatcher era.

Hardcore/punk and metal musician, author, punk historian and journalist Ian Glasper refers to the first half of the 1980s in the UK as “a bleak economic time for the whole of UK, when I recall this era I think of the miners’ strike, the threat of nuclear war that was difficult for people to comprehend back then but we were actually living in fear. Unemployment was increasing and there were very few prospects for people in the 1982 the UK. All this situation sort of fuelled the energy, passion, angst and intensity in this kind of music (punk), especially the second and third wave of punk bands” (Jay Vee, 2018: 01:55).

In the case of heavy metal music culture, Ryan Moore (quoted in Bayer, 2009: 145) states that heavy metal music genre (in our case the New Wave of British heavy metal) provided “escapism for British working-class youths”. The political conditions of the early 1980s in the UK created a grim reality for those youths and heavy metal enabled them have fun with their peers and forget everyday life issues and unemployment. In this case, the reaction of heavy metal was to provide escapism, whereas punk subculture was more about realism and actually rejected escapism. This is evident, for example, in the UK anarcho-punk band *Zounds*, from Reading, in their 1981 7” single *Demystification* (Rough Trade, RT 069), where they use the lyrics below in order to express their opposition to escapism:

“Demystify their heroes with the chances we could take, I’m not looking for escapism I just want to escape.”

Punks saw escapism as a failure of British culture and the apathy represented by the hippies, and punk believed that issues had to be dealt with, not pushed aside. Punk was a reaction to what the music critics described as ‘Art Rock’ or ‘Progressive Rock’ in the 1970s, and bands like *Pink Floyd* or *Genesis* that pushed the limits of rock music both musically, as

well as lyrically, considering their music was an escape from everyday life (Borthwick and Moy, 2004). Borthwick and Moy (2004) also mention that punk places a lyrical emphasis on exposing working-class dissatisfaction with ‘normal’ society, and frequently focuses upon concerns that are particular to young people, thus escapism was never an option for punk. Hanscomb (2020) strengthens the above, adding even more rock genres mention that punk doesn’t take you to journey, while goth rock, heavy metal, psychedelic rock and progressive rock have a strong element of escapism, both in their visual art and in their lyrics. Punk transforms art to life, and life to art, and its fundamental that it should avoid escapism by any means⁵.

Alongside, Sabin (1999) explored how punk rejected the idealism of the 1960s counterculture, opting instead for a more cynical and confrontational approach; Sabin adds that the rejection of escapism by punk is “a call to action”. It challenges individuals to confront the discomforting truths of the world, motivating them to resist complacency and take a stand against injustice⁶.

Therefore, the reaction of punk (and hardcore punk) in the UK regarding Thatcher’s politics, as well as the (then current) state of affairs in the UK society, wasn’t something extraordinary; actually, it was the polar opposite, it was ‘normal’ that punk would react, criticize and oppose to the conservative politics of Thatcher, in lyrical and visual terms. What is remarkable though is that heavy metal, a music genre that was mostly escapist in all terms in the 1970’s, went on to question too Thatcher’s politics in lyrical and visual terms, on the beginning of New Wave of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), a musical movement that American sociologist Deena Weinstein (2000: 101-102) describes as “a movement that started in the late 1970’s and its heyday was up to 1984, with both musicians and fans who were largely young, male and white and shared class origin, ethics, and aesthetic values”. And even though Bayer (2009: 145–146) describes those involved either as fans or as musicians that they were “accused as nihilists, that wanted to escape the bleak reality through music and partying”, there is strong evidence provided later that NWOBHM was much more than that.

⁵ Michael Stewart Foley (2017) however argues about the issue of punk being against escapism; while referring to the 1970s San Francisco punk scene, he mentions that punk offered escapism through the dance (slam-dancing) of punks in the gigs. “Still, if slam-dancing to thunderous music was not the same as taking a cruise or lounging at the country club, there is no denying the fun and even escapism that punk offered”. Alongside, Foley adds that the fact that punks created their communities, outside the norms of the society, was escapist, mentioning that “at least in this one major American city, punk was equal parts political engagement and diversion, equally confrontational and escapist...”

⁶ Sabin offers as examples of this rejection of escapism in punk songs like *Dead Kennedys*’ ‘Holiday in Cambodia’, which critiques political apathy, or *Crass*’ ‘Reality Asylum’, which harshly questions the prevailing ideologies.

One of the most striking aspects of heavy metal's escapism is its propensity for exploring imaginary worlds and mythological themes. Many bands draw inspiration from fantasy literature, science fiction, and mythology to craft their lyrics and album artwork. *Iron Maiden*, for instance, has created entire albums inspired by classic literature, such as 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' and 'Brave New World'. These narratives allow fans to immerse themselves in stories that exist beyond their everyday lives (Wall, 2010). It is somewhat of an 'emotional catharsis', that Weinstein (2000: 134) refers to as "heavy metal music serves as a medium for emotional catharsis, allowing listeners to confront their inner demons and release pent-up emotions. The visceral nature of heavy metal's sound and lyrics resonates with fans who find solace in the genre's ability to articulate their struggles and frustrations. In doing so, heavy metal offers a form of escapism that allows fans to confront their emotions head-on".

However, even though punk rejects escapism, there are arguments regarding its very nature; Michael Azerrad in his book 'Our Band Could Be Your Life', explores the DIY ethic in punk and indie rock bands of the 1980s, with bands like *Black Flag* and *Fugazi* that sought to escape the commercialization of music and maintain creative control over their work. This emphasis on self-sufficiency allowed punk musicians and fans to create a parallel universe where they could escape the commercialized and sanitized versions of reality presented by mainstream media. The very nature of DIY approach is a form of 'escapism' against mainstream music industry's corporate machinery, and it expresses a desire to escape the constraints of mainstream music.

And even though escapism is a very significant component of heavy metal, one could argue that it's not only that, but there's also realism, and dealing with everyday life issues too (lyrically and/or visually). Wall (2013) strengthens this argument, mentioning that many heavy metal bands delve into the realms of personal despair, mental health, and existential crises. For example, *Black Sabbath's* classic album *Paranoid* features tracks like 'Iron Man' which explores themes of alienation and isolation. These songs resonate with listeners dealing with their own struggles, offering a form of catharsis through shared experiences. Ferris (2008: 119) alongside mentions that "themes of war and conflict are recurring in heavy metal...bands like *Slayer* explore the brutality and horrors of war in songs like 'Angel of Death'. Their music serves as a stark reminder of the harsh realities faced by soldiers and civilians in times of conflict", only to show another one perspective of the connection between heavy metal and realism.

Part I-Literature Review

Initially, it is important to define “culture”, “youth cultures”, “crossover” and “conflict” in order to establish the conceptual background upon which my research is based. The definition and etymology of “culture” is given in order to view and clearly mark the wider perspective of where “youth cultures” are rooted, as well as to deepen our understanding of the symbols and beliefs in heavy metal and punk that are analysed in my thesis. Since this is focused on two rock musical styles to which their British followers were dedicated not only in strict musical fandom, but which also embraced a variety of ideological and stylistic factors derived from those styles (thus punks and heavy metal fans are youth cultures), it is necessary to define “youth cultures” and document a short historical review of them. Also, “conflict” is defined and a short historical review of conflicting youth cultures in the UK is presented. The reason for this is that heavy metal and punk had conflicts during the era that I examine, and this conflict was not limited to fans, but existed between some of the musicians, so I’m attempting to create a backbone regarding conflicts between youth cultures, and how these conflicts appeared between heavy metal and punk. Regarding the research context, I present and analyse imagery, visual, music and lyric elements in punk and heavy metal in order to analyse and reflect the various aspects that prevail on the aforementioned music genres and the music scenes. Lastly, the thesis focuses on defining, describing and analysing the term “crossover”. The importance of defining “crossover” lies in its significance for my whole research project, since I am attempting to identify and analyse cases of heavy metal and punk bands where lyrics, imagery, visual and musical crossover existed and mutated within the socio-political context of the Thatcher era. Finally, the issue of “authenticity” is examined, in order to identify and examine, what is the most significant question of my research; if a “crossover” (which is a hybrid), can be authentic.

Chapter 2: Culture & youth cultures

2.1 Culture: A plural term

“Culture” has an etymology traceable to Ancient Rome, and more specifically to the public speaker Cicero who described philosophy as “Cultura Alumni”; Cicero’s description portrayed culture as the “cultivation of the soul,” in comparison with the cultivation of the land by farmers (Szaif, 2003: 25-26). Hebdige’s approach (1979: 5) recognizes culture as a “notoriously ambiguous concept”, noting it has a “variation of regularly antithetical meanings”. Hofstede’s definition (1980: 21) considers culture as “a unified programming of the mind that differentiates the representatives of one group from another”. Hofstede also attempts (1994: 1) to categorize “the components of culture into four separate categories: symbols, rituals, values and heroes”. Another definition given is where culture stands as “a set of values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors shared by a group of people, which differ in the case of each individual, and it is transferred from one generation to another.” (Matsumoto, 1996: 16)

The first modern definition of culture was given by Edward Burnett Tylor (1871) describing it as a convoluted total that includes “knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs” and other competences and patterns obtained by man as a part of a social whole or society.

In social sciences such as anthropology, another definition was given by Harris (1975, cited in Brumman, 1999: 3), according to which culture is an “entirely socially collected way of life (or life-style) of a group of people. Culture is comprised of regulated and repeated ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are distinctive of the representatives of this specific society (or a division of the society)”. In accordance with the above definitions, one could discriminate the fact that ‘culture’ consists of a group/number of people that share some similarities, but the substance of the culture differs in each interpretation.

The evolution of anthropological studies led to the definition of culture becoming even more complicated. Richard Velkley (2002: 11) attempts to differentiate the primary meanings by discriminating between “a) culture as a community essence having an exclusive character and b) culture as the breeding of defiance or free uniqueness”. In accordance with these definitions, the first meaning of culture is mostly used, without however, excluding the use of the second interpretation.

Finally, definitions of culture could be divided into seven categories, according to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 15). Those categories are: “a) descriptive b) historical c) normative d) psychological e) structural f) genetic and g) incomplete”. Examples of all these categories are presented below.

The descriptive category includes “wide definitions underlining the listing of content” where Benedict (1931, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 41) defines culture as “the convoluted total that comprises of all the customs obtained by man as a part of the society/community”. The historical category of culture “underlines the tradition” and Kluckhohn (1949, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 48) defines culture as the “whole life-style of a person and the social heritage that he gets from the group with which he is associated”.

The normative category of culture “underlines regulations or methods” and according to Linton (1949, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 50) describes culture as the “whole life-style of any society”. Normative definitions also underline imaginary concepts and the importance of social behavior. In accordance with Carver (1935, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 51) culture is “the dispersal of extra human power in an enthusiastic activity of greater human abilities”.

The psychological category of culture underlines adaptation and regards it as a technique to find solutions to complications. Ford (1939, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 55) mentioned that “culture (as a form of rules that control the attitude of a human) could provide answers to problems associated with society”. Psychological definitions also emphasize learning, such as Kluckhohn’s (1942, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 57) where the definition comprises “all socially disseminated information”. Habit is also underlined in psychological definitions, such as Tozzer’s (quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 60) where “culture is understood as a justification of habit”. Psychological definitions that are strict and stick to psychology are also common. In accordance to Robeim (ibid), via culture “we can comprehend the aggregate of all sublimations, all substitutes or reaction formations”.

The structural category underlines the design or arrangements of culture and, according to Dollard (1939, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 61), the term refers to “abstruse inter-associated habits of a collective number of social individuals”. The genetic category

defines culture as a product. In this case, Groves (1928, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 62) presents culture as a “set of social and material outcomes of human cooperation”. Another definition focuses on concepts. Wissler (1916, in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 66) refers to culture as “a definite association or complex of ideas”. Symbolization, for Bain (1942, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 69), proposes culture “is the whole behaviour arbitrated by symbols”. Remaining definitions could include Osswald’s (1907, quoted in Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 70) where culture is “the component that distinguishes human beings and animals”.

As I’ve observed, a large number of culture’s definitions exist in world literature and those definitions vary in terms of content, depending on the scientific field that attempts to define the term. Indeed, culture is a very complicated, unclear and even dubious concept. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) attempted to compile a number of the definitions and ended up gathering 164 distinct definitions. Apte (1994; 2001) concluded that “after a whole century of anthropologists attempting to define culture, there was no agreement regarding its meaning” (quoted in Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 16). Culture is a term that can be examined from many different points of views, often leading to equivocal interpretations.

As I’ve mentioned, Cicero was the first to use “culture”, attempting to describe it as the “cultivation of the mind”. Raymond Williams, in the introduction to his *Culture and Society* (1983) proposes that the word’s sense changed in the nineteenth century. Whereas the word primarily had a meaning of “tending natural growth”, by the nineteenth century culture was a “thing by itself” and started having close links with the aim of human excellence. Also, according to Williams, culture by then started having a variety of meanings: it could mean “the widespread state of mental evolvment in a society in general”; it could refer to “the broad body of all the arts” and, later in the nineteenth century, it came to describe “the entire lifestyle which is comprised of [the] material, mental and spiritual”. “Culture” had an astonishing evolution. In some cases, even it was a word that aggravated animosity and shame. The evolution of the word, though, also according to Williams (1983: 58), records “constant and significant alterations in human social, economic and political life”, thus comparing “culture” with the development of “civilization”.

The two early discourses of culture can be identified in German and English Romanticism. The German Romantic movement arose in the 1720s and Immanuel Kant was the first German philosopher to define “Enlightenment”. Kant described Enlightenment as “the

attempt by man gradually to evolve from the immature situation that he had caused himself” (Kant, 1784 quoted in Schmidt, 1996: 58). The German Romantic movement took its cues from German language speakers’ feelings of “belonging to a common nation”, and Enlightenment “grew up with the idea of Nationalism” (Dusche, 2010: 42). Adolf Bastian (1860, quoted in Koepping, 1983: 164) claimed that “all human societies shared a different code of primary ideas and local differentiations of those primary ideas”. Bastian’s words laid the first stone for the conception and articulation of this later meaning for culture.

English Romanticism followed German Romanticism later in the 19th century. Representatives of English Romanticism such as Matthew Arnold defined culture as “the finest thoughts and sayings in the whole wide world [...] it is the study of perfection.” (“Culture and Anarchy”, 1869: 14). Williams (1967: 85), discussing Thomas Carlyle’s essay “Sign of the Times” (1829), specified the idea of “*elite* within culture – an elite that nevertheless offers common good for the society”.

Reay (1997) narrates that in the case of United Kingdom, the most know approach to cultural history was bipolar; this approach mentioned that initially, there was a division in culture between ‘elite’ and ‘popular’. Although this binary model has been slowly replaced by other interpretations (that they stress diversity and multiplicity), there were also overlaps and interactions between the ‘elite’ and ‘popular’ culture. The history of elite culture in the United Kingdom is a complex and multifaceted one, spanning centuries of social, political, and cultural developments. Accordingly, I provide an overview of key periods and events that have shaped elite culture in the UK.

The first known period of elite cultures in the UK, it’s the Medieval and Tudor Elite Culture that spawned from 12th to 17th century (Mortimer, 2009). Mortimer narrates on his Three Estates Model that “during the medieval period, the elite in the UK consisted primarily of nobility and clergy. They lived in castles and manor houses, and their culture was heavily influenced by chivalry and the Catholic Church”⁷ (2009: 47), while Guy (2013: 118)) mentions that “Tudor monarchs like Henry VIII and Elizabeth I played a significant role in shaping elite

⁷ “Medieval society thinks of itself like this: there are three sections of society, or “estates,” created by God—those who fight, those who pray, and those who work the land. The aristocracy are “those who fight.” They protect “those who pray” and “those who work.” The clergy do the praying and intercede on behalf of the souls of the fighters and the workers.” (Mortimer, 2009: 47)

culture through their patronage of the arts and support for the English Renaissance”⁸. Accordingly, there are the Georgian and Regency Eras that spawned from 18th to 19th century (Inglis, 2013), Victorian Era in 19th century that saw the peak of British Empire via industrialization, transforming the economy and leading to the emergence of industrialists and a new elite (Williamson, 2003), Edwardian Era and Interwar Period in the 20th century that continued the traditions of the Victorian elite but also witnessed social and cultural change, including the suffrage movement, as well as challenges of modernity (Holland, 2014), and finally, the Post-World War II and Contemporary Elite Culture that spawns from the 20th century until today (2023), that is the one that is interest for me regarding my research, and brought significant changes to the UK's social and political landscape, including the end of the British Empire and the rise of a more diverse elite, with contemporary elite culture reflecting a mix of traditional British values and global influences, with a focus on finance, politics, and the arts (Jones, 2015).

Popular culture on the other hand, was considered in 1500, as ‘everybody’s culture according to Burke (2017). Although it alongside popular culture there was also a separate culture (elite) for the educated and few (Harris, 1995), that was named as ‘the great tradition’, the elite also participated in the ‘little tradition’ as well. The great schism though took place in the 19th century, when “the elite had abandoned popular culture to the lower classes, from whom they were now separated, as never before, by profound differences in world view” (Harris, 1995:1). This was the case in the United Kingdom even earlier, as reported by Wrightson and David (1995: 180-181); in their detailed reconstruction of life in the Essex village of Terling between 1525 and 1700, Wrightson and David documented an increasing socio-economic polarisation between the village elite and the village poor which was accompanied by cultural polarisation: “new distinctions of education and religion, of attitudes and manners’ emerged, and as the parish notables, many of whom are known to have been Puritans, ‘gradually withdrew from traditional popular culture’, they ‘attacked it’, attempting ‘to impose a new form of social discipline that would reinforce their own position’ and using the courts ‘to redefine and mark out anew the boundaries of permitted behaviour”. Wrightson (2013: 178) argued also that “by 1680 the poor had become not simply poor, but to a significant degree culturally different”.

⁸ “Music under the Tudors was chiefly invigorated by royal and noble patronage, by the continued liturgical demands of cathedrals and their choirs, and by rapid technical and stylistic advances in harmony and part-singing” (Guy, 2013: 118)

The history of popular culture is rich and diverse in the United Kingdom; and while Asa Briggs (in Gardiner, 1988) narrates that it is easier to participate in, to enjoy, to deplore, or to explore popular culture than it is to define it. This is not simply because there are difficulties in relating popular culture to culture (and subcultures) or to folk culture, but because of the inherent difficulties in defining ‘culture’ itself”, various definitions of popular culture have been given. John Storey (2015) defines popular culture as the culture that is left over after we have decided what is high culture. He emphasizes the distinction between high culture (often associated with the elite and refined tastes) and popular culture, which represents the culture of the masses. Raymond Williams (1983) described popular culture as a whole way of life. He viewed it as a complex interplay of meanings, practices, and forms of expression that are characteristic of a particular society or historical period, while another definition, this time a consumer-centric one, was given by Fiske (2010: 19-21), where he defines that “popular culture can be seen as cultural products and practices that are accessible, enjoyed, and consumed by a broad segment of the population. This perspective emphasizes the role of the audience in shaping and defining what is popular”.

Accordingly, the definition of popular culture in the United Kingdom, as in other countries, has evolved over time. There isn't a single definitive source for this definition, but scholars and cultural critics have contributed to our understanding of the concept. Richard Hoggart (1957) examined how popular culture, particularly through the media, was shaping the working-class culture in post-war Britain. Hoggart's perspective emphasized the relationship between mass culture and everyday life. However, the most pivotal role was played by the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies; BSCS shaped the discourse on popular culture in the UK during the 1960s and 1970s. Their work focused on understanding how popular culture was produced, consumed, and contested with Stuart Hall's essays, (such as the 1980 ‘Encoding/Decoding’) that offered insights into the way media messages are received and interpreted by audiences (Sardar, 2015).

Popular culture and youth cultures are intimately connected and influence each other in various ways. Popular culture often serves as a reflection of the interests, values, and behaviours of young people, while youth cultures actively shape and contribute to the content and dynamics of popular culture. Garland et al. (2012: 265) narrate that “youth cultures often use popular culture as a means of self-expression and identity formation. Music, fashion, and other cultural artifacts become important tools for young people to establish their individual and collective identities”. Gelder (2007: 21-25, 106) offers the dimension of trends, mentioning

that “youth cultures often give rise to subcultures that become part of popular culture. Subcultures like punk, hip-hop, and rave culture have had a significant impact on music, fashion, and lifestyle trends, influencing the mainstream in the process”. And in our case, of heavy metal and punk reaction, it should be mentioned Louise Holt’s (quoted on Kitchin & Thrift, 2009: 309-311) approach that explores the relationship between youth, popular culture, and moral panics, who stated that “youth cultures have historically been associated with resistance and countercultural movements. They often challenge dominant social norms and values, and this resistance can find expression in popular culture through protest music, art, and activism”. And here is where the discussion can start about youth cultures history in the United Kingdom.

2.2 Youth Cultures

In this sub-chapter I’m referring to the historical background of youth cultures in the UK, firstly offering their definitions. Alongside, the term of “subculture” and its various, newest progressions are examined, in order to ground my research in them (that is “youth cultures” and “scenes”).

2.2.1 Historical background

According to Rice (1996: 405), youth culture is the “totality of lifestyle of juveniles. Youth culture refers to the totality of values, norms and practices the members of an adolescent society share and have in common”. Both Bennet (2000: 11) and Hebdige (1979: 74) consider the period after the Second World War to be specifically significant for the creation of youth cultures. After that period, the traditional patterns of life in Great Britain were left behind, and replaced by new ones. Hebdige (ibid) also refers to “economic reasons that led to the creation of youth cultures: the spending power of working-class youth was increased dramatically, and this led to the formation of a market that was designed to absorb the money available”. Bennet (2000: 12) also observes that “technological developments that took place in the decade of the 1940s were an important reason that led to the creation of youth cultures in Britain”. Bocock (1993: 21) also puts consumerism on the map. Consumerism, until then, had been a luxury destined only for the upper economic class, but since then the lower classes started to embody consumerism in their everyday life. “Americanization” is identified as one of the reasons that led to the explosion of youth cultures in post-war Britain. The glorification of an American

lifestyle is apparent in the words of John Lennon of *The Beatles* (Savage, 2007: 12), “America used to be a big youth place in everybody’s imagination. America had teenagers and everybody else just had people.”

However, Fowler (1995: 34) identifies “pre-war youth cultures in Britain” and dares to point out their similarities with post-war Britain youth cultures. Savage (2008), in his book *Teenage: The prehistory of Youth Culture: 1875-1945*, attempts to make sense of all pre-war youth cultures, identifying a number of them in this period.

Research into youth cultures also started before the Second World War. The first attempts to study them were made in the 1920s and 1930s by sociologists that had their base at the University of Chicago (Bennett, 2000: 14). Accordingly, in order to examine youth cultures, a wide range of 20th century intellectual traditions were used: “Marxism, semiotics, postmodernism, sociology, gender studies, the theories of Weber, Bourdieu, Gramsci, Barthes, and a lot more” (Mueller, 2014; quoted in Whiteley and Sklower, 2012: 65).

In order to describe the creation of youth cultures in UK, Fowler concentrates on the inter-war, as well as in the post-war periods. Research into British youth cultures however, did not start earlier than 1964, when the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) was established at the University of Birmingham. Hebdige in his *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* examines the UK youth cultures of Punks, Skinheads, Reggae and Rastafarianism, Hipsters, Beats, Teddy Boys, Mods, Glam and Glitter. Brake also focuses on the post-war period and identifies six different UK cultures that evolved from the 1950s to the 1980s: Teddy boys, Mods, Rockers, Skinheads, Glam Rock, Glitter and Punks.

Andy Bennett (2001) offers a chronologically much wider identification of UK youth cultures in the post-war period. Examining subcultures that existed within youth cultures, he ranks these as: 1) Post War youth and Rock n’ Roll; 2) Sixties Rock, Politics and Counter-culture; 3) Heavy metal; 4) Punk; 5) Reggae and Rasta culture; 6) Rap and Hip-Hop culture; 7) Contemporary Asian dance music culture; 8) Contemporary dance music and club cultures.

2.2.2 Criticism on Subcultural Theory and further development

The study of subcultures by CCCS has been heavily connected with the study of youth, and thus the study of leisure, music and style. Adding to that, the book *Resistance Through Rituals* was released by Birmingham researchers Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson in 1975, focussing on the analysis of post-WWII British subcultures. The key to this (and any of CCCS) research is the study of working-class subcultures, through the post-Marxist approach of Gramsci's hegemony and Althusser (1971). This work, alongside the works of Willis (1978), Hebdidge (1979) and McRobbie (1980) focus on the connection of music with style-driven youth cultures with social theory. In other words, CCCS approach was based on the fact that the working-class subcultures were an act of resistance towards the dominant mainstream cultures of their era; therefore, subcultures formed their own identity through their unique subcultural style (Hebdidge, 1979) and that their style was embodied into features like values and activities (P. Willis, 1990). But what was really missing from the early CCCS researchers was the analysis of the importance of music for the subcultures, as just a few scholars paid attention to it (Weinstein, 2000).

The subcultural theory of CCCS even though it is crucial, has been heavily criticized and went under further development by other scholars up to this day. So, 'subculture' is not the only word today in order to address to youth cultures, since the development of this theory has led to different concepts, that stand as an alternative to subculture. New terms such as 'Scene' (Harris, 2000), 'Neo Tribe' (Bennett, 1999) and 'Post-Subculture' (Muggleton, 2000) raised arguments and further discussions. The new concepts have differentiations among them, and have their own definitions, but they all have a common starting place; they distance themselves from the class-based resistance of CCCS theory of subculture (Jackson, 2002). In the new terms, there was a direct criticism towards the CCCS theory, that defined strict boundaries among subcultures ('us vs them'; Bennet, 2002), proposing that subcultures were seen as groups with fluid boundaries, with people changing their identities, and thus removing from subculture to subculture (something though that raises criticism too in terms of authenticity, and has been noted by bands too; The UK punk band *Infra-Riot* on their 1982 song "5 Minute Fashion" wrote: "Five-minute fashion's never here to stay, you worry about the fashions changing every day, you was a punk, you was a mod, What are you now?").

Alongside, the concept of 'scene' (Cohen, 1999) offers us to study a multi-varied range of practices that don't require face-to-face contact, a highly important postulate in the classic subcultural theory (Hodkinson, 2002). In the early 2000s the expansion of the variety of groups

and youth studies issues was so massive, that Bennet (2002: 133) noted that “Youth Culture is a massive umbrella”. Nowadays scholars focus on the symbols that create a common identity among supporters of different music styles. But there is even more than that, since now there are researches on terms like ‘leisure’, ‘entertainment’, ‘ethnicity’ or ‘gender’ withing youth cultures/scenes (Connell and Gibson, 2003). Alongside, researches have been also conducted on how “music can create and affect identity and communication among music-interested youth” (Ventsel, 2008: 46), and how this communication among groups can be based on the system of shared cultural and social norms. Furthermore, new questions have been set on youth subcultures regarding the cultural meaning of consumption, and how patterns of consumption express group identity (Chaney, 1994), and how much they are produced by the music business in order to market music for “in the process of experiencing this fabulous and ultimate channelization of desires” for youth (Attali, 1985: 125).

However, this is still problematic, due to the exclusive focus on ‘youth’; whether the studies are focused on ‘scene’, ‘tribe’, ‘culture’ or ‘post subculture’, the main focus of many studies was ‘youth’. This has been furthermore questioned by scholars (such as Hesmondhalgh, 2005 and Bennet, 2006), and new approaches have been set, that explain that even if the “dominant mass of followers of music-related cultures are young people, there is a percentage of people that when ageing, they are still members of a culture (as Weinsten, 2000 noted ‘they just can’t let it go’). So, new researches were pursued to the ageing youth cultures (Bennet, 2006).

In my research I am approaching this issue multidimensionally, examining youth cultures and scenes. In the case of ‘scenes’, the concept that is followed is the one of “ethnography of practice” (Kozorog and Stanojevic, 2011), where scenes are perceived as “fragmentary and processual expressive social formations”, meaning that they are semi-structured communities, with specific norms, rules and even places, that don’t have a strict definition (sometimes e.g., in the case of anarcho-punk there are strict political rules). Participants within a scene (musicians, fans) follow those ‘rules’, act in-line with them and properly, and have a knowledge of symbols, signs and their use.

2.3 Conflict

Throughout this thesis, I will attempt to spot the reasons that led to the conflict between heavy metal and punk in the UK during the 1980s and examine how the two parties found a common ground, co-operated and, eventually, how the tension between them was lessened.

2.3.1 Definitions and types of conflict

Conflict is defined by Geddes and Grosset (2005: 48) as “a struggle; a fight; strife; an upset”. However, Afzalur Rahim (2010) is critical of a single definition of conflict. His claim is that “there does not exist a globally acknowledged definition,” due to the fact that there is a disagreement about the characteristics that embody conflict. Conflict, therefore, “cannot fit into just one category since two common beliefs about its nature categorize it either as a situation or as a kind of behaviour” (Rahim, 2010: 15-16).

Conflict, however, is “a component of all human societies and can be found in any kind of social relationships” (Avruch, 1991: 7). The nature of conflict is complex and there are cases where the conflicting parties could “find a common ground (expressed in any kind of terms, such as keeping up a basic communication)”, and other cases “where a conflict could erupt between parties, for instance as a form of competition (over beliefs, values, perceptions, etc.)” (ibid). The above descriptions of conflict, point to the importance of my research project; heavy metal and punk were conflicting, found a common ground (musically, lyrically, visually), while prior conflict between punk and heavy metal was also appearing as a form of competition (with heavy metal musicians accusing punks for musical sloppiness, and punks accusing heavy metal musicians for lyrical escapism aka not dealing with the reality and the drastic, violent changes of the UK society).

There are various types of conflict in culture; among others, there is conflict due to cultural hegemony, cultural imperialism, ‘culture wars’, ‘ethnic cleansing’ and to culture diversity.

Karl Marx defined cultural hegemony as “the control of culture in a society by the ruling class that eventually leads to the conception that the culture that is imposed by the ruling class is the norm that should be followed” (Lears, 1985: 570). The militant force that is used by a

ruling class to impose upon the culture of a whole society could be described as a “conflict”, since it involves struggle by such a class to establish and maintain its version of culture within the society. This cultural norm is often questioned either by social groups or individuals, and this leads to cultural conflicts between them and the ruling class.

“Culture war” is a state of cultural conflict, since the metaphor of “war” implies the bitter tensions that exist. The term “culture war” evolved from “Kulturkampf,” used to describe the “state policies deployed against the Roman Catholic Church in Germany in the nineteenth century” (Gross, 2004: 15). “Culture war” was first used, however, to describe “the conflict of values between the Conservatives and the Liberals in the United States during the 1920s”. The reason for the conflict was the issue of immigration (Chapman, 2010: 88).

“Ethnic cleansing” is perhaps the most brutal form of cultural conflict. According to Thum (2007: 71), “[e]thnic cleansing is the removal of ethnic and cultural groups from one area, in order to maintain the ethnic and cultural congruity of that area. Ethnic Cleansing is not a peaceful act, since force is used to remove population and monuments, and in many cases mass killings”.

Cultural imperialism refers to “the dominance that is created and preserved by a stronger civilization towards weaker, subjugated ones” (Schiller, 1976: 9). It is the type of cultural domination of one civilization by other that is expressed in various forms, such as the “mass media” (Schiller, 1976: 9), or the “import of hardware and software” that could change the structural form of a culture (McPhail, 1987: 18). Foucault (2019: 133) connected cultural imperialism with hegemony, by proposing that “Truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures...and it is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it-a ‘regime’ of Truth”. Cultural conflicts emerge from cultural imperialism, and this is evident, for example, in Elizabeth Dunn’s study *Privatizing Poland*, where neo-liberal practices were applied to post-Communist workers, who, until then, were used to co-operating with rather than antagonizing each other (Dunn, 2004).

A definition of conflict due to culture diversity is given by Avruch. Avruch defines cross-cultural conflict as that between “the individuals or [members of] a group that are segregated by cultural limits” (1991: 4-10). Societies – as well as individuals – differ

remarkably from each other. The individuals could present differences from each other in terms of dress, language and traditions, but in the case of societies there can be found important differences in terms of structure, ethics, and so on. Conflicts could arise from the different cultural conceptions of individuals or the different cultural heritage of societies.

In my thesis I concentrate on the type of conflict that concerns the music genres, and this is conflict due to culture diversity; however, this diversity is not the only factor that creates antagonism. Following Marx's social conflict theory, I argue that punk and heavy metal bands, through conflict, are trying to gain and maintain access to material resources (and in this case, the material resource is a bigger portion of the music market). Accordingly, Weber (in Haralambos and Holbern, 1995: 37) observes that "class is a group of individuals that share the same position in a market economy, and the improvement of their economical position will lead them to those material regarded by society as 'desirable'". One can group punk and heavy metal bands as opponents, in the same (or similar) market, which, in order to improve their economic position, will clash with each other. The diversification of heavy metal and punk was not only musical but also political, in terms of lyrics, and sartorial; and this was true from the very beginning of both music genres.

2.4 Conflicts in Youth Cultures

In this sub-chapter, I attempt to offer cases of conflicts between youth cultures in the UK, through the 1960s until the early 1980s. The case of "rockers vs mods" is examined, as well as the case of skinheads, who have a chronicle of conflicts with other youth cultures since the late 1960s.

2.4.1 Rockers vs mods

According to Hebdige (1979 in 2006: 34), "the rockers and the mods were two youth subcultures that co-existed in the UK during the 1960s, but although they co-existed there was little interaction between them as they were diametrically opposed, and this was a result of the lack of commonality in the ideas and the lifestyle that both subcultures had adopted since their early beginnings". Both were characterized by their "musical preferences, the use of slang language, dressing style and, in general, the whole image that their members had adopted" (Bozilovic, 2010: 46).

The Rockers were more “traditional” musically, and “adopted early 1950s rock n’ roll music and its artists such as *Elvis Presley* and *Buddy Holly*” (Brake, 1980: 76). Mods, on the other side, “favored soul, ska and r n’ b” (Brake, 1980: 74). The rockers used to “ride stripped down motorcycles (such as the Moto Guzzi) which they transformed into ‘racing motorcycles’ in order to race illegally on the roads” (ibid: 76), whereas the mods rode scooters (like Vespas). The image of the rockers, according to Brake (ibid: 76), “perfectly suited their motorcycling habits”. The rockers wore leather jackets, blue jeans and black boots. The mods, on the other hand, “adopted a more stylish, gentle and Dandyish clothing style, with tailor made suits, V-necks, athletic (bowling) footwear and had more posh haircuts than the Rockers (who mostly adopted a rockabilly hair style)” (Rawlings, 2000: 24).

However, Hebdige claims that “there wasn’t a real hatred between those two subcultures until the press took advantage by promoting the tension between them” (Hebdige, 2006: 35). As a result, the physical conflict of fighting became inevitable after the polarization of this tension, and this spread all over the UK, becoming the driving force that led Cohen (1972: 4) to formulate the idea of a “moral panic”⁹. The relevance of the idea of “moral panic” could also be attributed to the case of the punks, where the mass media in Great Britain quickly came to regard them as a “threat to the youth and society in general”. Punks were portrayed as the ultimate evil in movies such as *Quincy* (1982) and on the front pages of newspapers such as *The Daily Mirror* on 2 December 1976.

⁹ “A moral panic may be defined as an episode, often triggered by alarming media stories and reinforced by reactive laws and public policy, of exaggerated or misdirected public concern, anxiety, fear, or anger over a perceived threat to social order.” (Cohen, 2002 on Lancaster, 2011: 33-34)



(Image 8. The Daily Mirror's 2 December 1976 front page on the Sex Pistols. Courtesy of Daily Mirror)

The physical conflict between mods and rockers was depicted in the 1979 British film *Quadrophenia*. The film was produced by one of the mods' favorite bands (The Who) and was set in 1964 in Brighton on the English south coast. It depicted the violence (mass or not) that "took place as those two subcultures fought each other"; "the rivalry between the two subcultures was basically a fight between the 'Past' (rockers) and the 'Future' or 'Change' (mods)" (Feldman, 2009: 6). The mods were against the old, their major aspiration being to escape from everything that was connected with the past, and especially from the "uncouth ignorance and urban grit of working-class life" that the Rockers to their eyes represented (and upheld).

2.4.2 Skinheads

The case of the skinheads is not restricted to a conflict between youth cultures, but is expanded in many sociological accounts, due to the violent nature of the skinheads. The skinhead youth culture arose in the UK by the late 1960s, arising from social divisions within the mods: the “hard mods”, contrary to the middle class “smooth mods”, “belonged to the working class and eventually became skinheads” (Hebdige, 1979: 55). The first wave skinheads “were fans of Jamaican reggae and soul music” (ibid: 56), and, just like the mods and rockers, skinhead youth culture was “mostly based in the working class”. Although skinheads emanated from the mods, they did not share their vision for the “the upwardly mobile option”, but expressed a “more violent, lumpen identity” (ibid: 56). Haenfler (2014: 19) claims that the “basic component that revealed skinhead violence was their close-cropped hair; it was perfect for fights, since it gave skinheads an advantage over their enemies, since it was impossible to be grabbed by their hair”.

Skinheads acted violently towards other social groups and youth cultures. The first wave of UK skinheads adopted and favored “Paki-Bashing”, which were violent acts (verbal or physical assaults) towards people who came from Pakistan¹⁰, and the remarkable fact in this case was that “both white and black skinheads used to do “Paki-Bashing”” (Haenfler, 2014: 21). Later in the 1970s the skinheads began to attack people according to their sexual preferences. Violence against homosexuals and lesbians is noted from that era, and, according to Marshall (1991: 52), “this behaviour towards people with different sexual preferences reflected the skinhead “aggro” mentality, the super-masculine (‘macho’) behaviour” that many skinheads adopted.

Divisions between skinheads that started in the late 1970s led to youth culture conflicts. The skinheads during that period were divided into Racist, Non-Racist and Anti-Racist factions (Wooden and Blazak, 2001) and conflicts occurred due to these political differences. Various organizations arose on each side (e.g., S.H.A.R.P, standing for: Skinheads Against Racist Prejudice) combating their opponents both physically and verbally. British skinheads in the 1980s also used to fight each other over soccer team rivalries. One example is given in the BBC’s “Arena” documentary (1982) on the UK Oi! band *Combat 84*. During their live set, a fight erupts between skinheads supporting different soccer teams (Chelsea FC and Tottenham

¹⁰ However, “Paki-Bashing,” according to Haenfler (2012: 20), was not only limited to people from Pakistan, but also targeted other Asian people, due to their colour.

FC), and Combat 84 singer Chris Henderson desperately cries “what’s the matter, stop it, we are all skinheads after all!” (*Combat 84* - BBC Arena Documentary, 1982, 37:47)

The case of UK skinheads in the late 1970s/early 1980s is so confused in terms of conflict with other youth cultures that George Marshall (1991: 72) states that “during the summer of 1977, where fights were an everyday occurrence on the King’s Road in London between the teds and the punks that the older generation of skinheads would stick with the teds and fight the punks while the newer generation of skinheads would stick with the punks in order to fight the teds!”.

My concern here, however, is with the conflicts that erupted between skinheads and other youth cultures. One of their first enemies was the hippies, whom the skinheads considered to be their exact opposite, described as, for instance, “middle class pacifist drop-outs” (Marshall, 1991: 40). Finally, among their other enemies were the militant Anarchist punks of the early 1980s. According to Steve Ignorant, singer of the band *Crass*, “anarchic squats in London were under continuous attack by skinhead gangs [...] the chances of violence and Nazi saluting in punk shows were increasing rapidly if a gang of Skinheads showed up” (Berger, 2006: 145). On the 1982 long-play double record *Christ – The Album*, *Crass* included the song “It’s the Greatest Working-Class Rip-off” that mocked Oi!’s version of *The Cockney Rejects* song “The greatest Cockney Rip-off”, criticising skinhead violence at punk shows, their macho attitude and internal “class segregation” glorifying the working class.

Chapter 3. Music genres and music scene

The term “genre” derives from the Latin word “genus,” meaning “class” or “kind”. According to Leen Breure (2005: 30), a genre “might be described as a type or category, defined by structural, thematic, or functional criteria”. While discussing categorizations of music Frith mentions that “popular music genres are constructed – and must be understood – within a commercial/cultural process” (1996: 89). Franco Fabbri defined musical genres on “the basis of shared social understandings”; he stated that “a musical genre is a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules” (Fabbri, 1981: 52). However, Fabbri also mentioned that “music genres are hard to describe” and their description is based on the fact that they “emerge as terms, that define recurrences and similarities that members of a community make pertinent to identify as musical events” (2012: 180). Simon Reynolds, though, went on to describe the usefulness of music genres and subgenres by stating “they’re also a way of talking about the music, of arguing about what it’s for and where it should go” (1998: 7).

The classification of music genres can take various (and many) forms, but one of the most widespread among musicologists is Philip Tagg’s “Axiomatic Triangle”. Tagg divides music genres into three categories: “Art music, Popular music and Folk/Traditional music” (1982: 41). For each term Tagg provides a description and in the case of the category of popular music (including punk and heavy metal) the genre “is defined in relation to a socio-economic and cultural basis”. According to Tagg, Popular music is “conceived for mass distribution to large and often socio-culturally heterogeneous groups of listeners [...] stored and distributed in non-written form [...] only possible in an industrial monetary economy where it becomes a commodity [...] in capitalist societies, subject to the laws of ‘free’ enterprise [...] it should ideally sell as much as possible” (ibid).

However, Tagg’s categorization of music has been criticized by other musicologists, due to the blurring of these divisions; Middleton (1990) mentioned that there isn’t a clear division between them, and he used examples in order to prove it, such as the Sex Pistols (“by no way was their music accessible”), Frank Zappa (“by no way was his music simple”) and Billie Holiday (“by no way was her music naive”)¹¹.

¹¹ In my case too, Tagg’s categorization of music could find many objections in order to neatly define bands such as Discharge, Amebix, etc..

The term “music scene” has used in order to describe “the clusters of musicians, promoters and fans, etc., who grow up around particular genres of music” (Bennett, 2004: 223) and it has been used to describe “a particular music style that was either born or adapted through appropriation by a specific city or district”¹². Terms that were forerunners of the term “music scene” included “community” and “subculture” (Bennett, 2004: 225). The term “music scene” was first used by academics in a loose sense (the case with Dave Laing’s, 1985), but Straw (1991) set the basis for using the term as a theoretically grounded mode of analysis. Straw described “music scene” as “actualizing a particular state of relations between various populations and social groups, as these coalesce around specific coalitions of musical style” (1991: 379). However, in my research I will use the term “subculture”, because the case studies I examine differ much in terms of “scene”; this is because, e.g., Discharge could be regarded both as an anarcho-punk band as well as an “UK82” band or a “first wave UK punk” band since they were formed in 1977. Therefore, because I am analysing different punk and heavy metal bands from different “scenes” in a specific time period it is better to continue with the term “subcultures”.

3.1 Imagery, visual, music and lyric elements in punk and heavy metal.

In this sub-chapter I offer all the definitions (based in bibliography), regarding the musical, visual, lyrics and imagery element of heavy metal and punk; alongside, I present example of every case.

3.1.1 Imagery

Punk and heavy metal subcultures exhibited a different aesthetic in broad terms of image. Punk style sported “a postmodern aesthetic” (Moore, 2004: 306) using “symbols, slogans and clothing that shocked, denouncing commerciality”. The postmodern aesthetic lies in the fact that punk “was armed with self-reflecting irony, and used cultural images and signs

¹² Examples of “music scenes” could be found in my research too. New Wave of British heavy metal (NWOBHM) refers to the British heavy metal bands that appeared from late the 1970s until the mid-to-late 1980s, UK82 refers to UK punk bands that adopted a specific visual style and sound, and appeared in the early 1980s, NYHC (New York Hardcore) refers to the New York based bands that appeared in the early 1980s playing hardcore/punk music – even though this term expanded during the following decades until today to describe a specific music style of hardcore/punk that originated and evolved in New York, etc..

(such as the Nazi swastika) in order to spoof and start a shocking debate about them, in order to deconstruct the prevailing meanings that had saturated society” (Moore, 2004: 307). This postmodern aesthetic can be found in the early British and New York punk scenes, where “numerous punk musicians were previously educated in art schools” (Frith and Horne, 1987).

In terms of clothing punks wore studs and spikes (in their belts, in their jackets and sometimes even in their boots), had “Mohawk styled hair or choppy or coloured/colourful hair, tattoos, piercings and safety pins, wore torn t-shirts, tight and ripped jeans or military black trousers” (Wojcik, 1995: 16), and wore motorcycle jackets that were studded with metallic “pyramids” (Laing, 1985: 109). Bricolage, according to Hebdige, is another component of punk. Bricolage is “a collection of various cultural elements that could exist for themselves but also as a whole” (Weinstein, 1991: 5). The punk fashion ended up as an obsession for its adherents; and according to Steve Jones, UK band *Sex Pistols* guitarist, “Our goal was to look like third-rate vagabonds. Therefore, people with little or no self-esteem about their appearance saw themselves in the mirror eventually as pretty, by being un-pretty” (Lopez, 2014: 5). In Steve Jones’s words one can view the postmodern aesthetic that punk bands adopted in terms of imagery; the *Sex Pistols* wanted to look like “third rate vagabonds” because via this stylistic choice they denounced the dominant fashion choice of the “smart” or “clean-cut” appearance, offering an optimistic view for the people that could not identify with what society thought as a “norm of perfection” in terms of appearance. An example of typical punk visual appearance is evident below in this 1977 photograph of the *Sex Pistols*.



(Image 9. Picture band of The Sex Pistols circa 1977. Photo Courtesy of The Sun¹³)

According to Weinstein, though, bricolage is an integral part of heavy metal too. Weinstein classifies heavy metal as a rich multi-dimensional culture, “a bricolage itself”, given that there is not a “single description that could describe its complexity and richness”. In terms of the image of heavy metal fans and musicians, heavy metal initially borrowed the look from the rock music cultures that were their primary sources. It might be assumed that the initial imagery of heavy metal had been “stolen” from “the 1960s blues rock bands, as part of a process of appropriation” (Harris, 2006: 18). However, by the late 1970s the imagery of heavy metal bands had evolved into something that was their “own”, appearing like a progression from the original blues rock look. Early heavy metal artists (such as *Black Sabbath*) wore “street” clothes (jeans, t-shirts and long hair) “in accordance with the blues rock imagery of the time” (Weinstein, 1991: 30). When heavy metal stood on its own ground as a music genre, the look that prevailed in heavy metal was the one “adopted by the rockers, as immortalised by Marlon Brando in the movie *The Wild One* (1953), and the first heavy metal band that sported this specific look was *Judas Priest* in the late 1970s”. Given that the “leather jacket and style had connection with the S/M subculture, it was inevitable that this would influence heavy metal” (Weinstein, 1991: 31). Another heavy metal image component were spandex pants,

¹³ Retrieved from <https://www.thesun.co.uk/living/2265133/mohicans-safety-pins-rebellion-and-rage-how-the-sex-pistols-turned-punk-into-a-phenomenon-40-years-ago/> accessed on 08/06/2021

which appeared in the 1980s among heavy metal musicians. Spandex pants gave freedom to their movements: the heavy metal musicians “could perform on stage and at the same time expose their athletic bodies, thus accentuating the vitality and power of their music” (ibid: 31). This aforementioned definition of heavy metal dressing style is evident in the photograph below of the UK band *Iron Maiden*, circa 1982.



(Image 10. Iron Maiden backstage at the Rosemont Horizon during their *Beast on the Road* Tour, Chicago, Illinois, September 21, 1982. Photo Courtesy of Paul Natkin)

3.1.2 Visual Status

There are several differences marking the visual profiles of heavy metal and punk subcultures. Heavy metal band logos are usually written in Helvetica typeface, while the heavy metal code specifies that “record covers should be colourful, with black and red dominant, and that they must picture threatening and disturbing images proposing chaos” (Weinstein 1991: 27-29). Therefore, “horror themes, heroic fantasies and science fiction imagery are employed to decorate heavy metal record covers” (ibid: 27-29). Finally, the heavy metal visual tradition implies it should depict something “dismal and haunting, suggestive of chaos and even describable as “grotesque” (ibid: 29). The visual imagery of heavy metal record covers has the same impact as multi-coloured psychedelic rock record covers and minimal new wave record

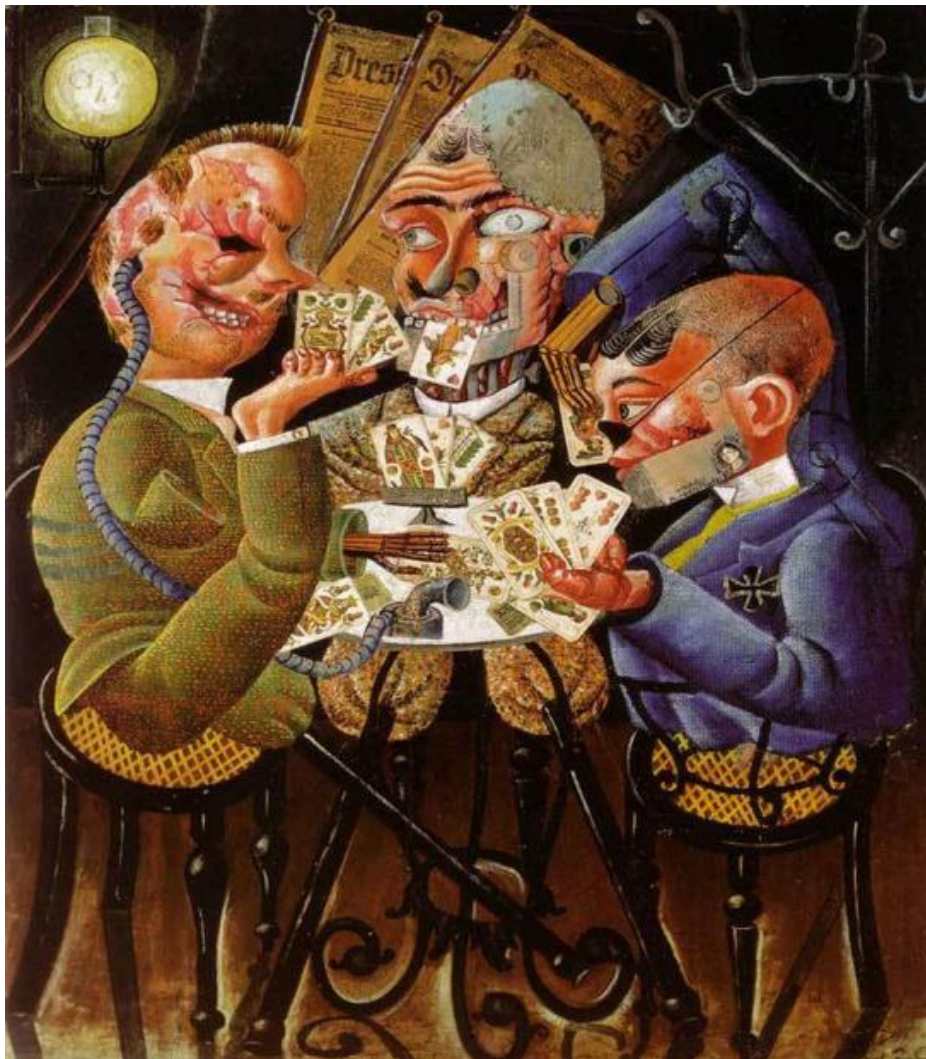
covers. This is because heavy metal covers are designed to convey a sentiment, and via the record covers the music is contextualized, and the covers act as a ‘first impression’ of what the listener is expecting to hear.



(Image 11. Band logo of the NWOBHM band Diamond Head, from their 1981 12" long play record Living on...Borrowed Time. Courtesy of MCA)

“Grotesque” is a complex term to define. The general meaning of the word “grotesque” is to describe something that is “appalling, nasty and unenviable that could be slightly frightening” (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 2012: 626) or “exaggerated, strange, bizarre, funny”. In visual art, though, grotesque, according to Connolly (2003: 3), describes the deviation from an “ideal or [the] conventional,” in order to create the deformed, the exaggerated, the repulsive or “even the formless”. An example of grotesque is Otto Dix’s

1920 painting “The Skat Players”, depicting the artist’s understanding of World War I (Bauer, 2011: 8).



(Image 12. Otto Dix's 1920 painting The Skat Players)

The Grotesque in Otto Dix's painting is that it depicts three humanoid figures, playing cards, dressed in military clothing; however, they are limbless (they have no legs), their faces are disfigured, their facial expressions cannot be defined. Otto Dix in this painting describes the horrendous consequences that World War I left to the soldiers of his country (Germany), and in order to depict them, he uses a repulsive, yet exaggerated painting in the tradition of the Grotesque in visual arts.

Even though there are cases where heavy metal bands incorporated into their artwork paintings by artists that were representatives of the grotesque (such as the Swiss heavy metal

band *Celtic Frost* that used H.R. Giger's 1977 painting "Satan I" in their 1985 12" long play record *To Megatherion*), Weinstein's interpretation of the grotesque is based on the general meaning of the word, rather than its specific artistic sense. Weinstein uses the word in order to describe the appalling, nasty and frightening nature of heavy metal's visual profile. This particular visual status "has been chosen by heavy metal bands in order to transmit a sentiment of what to expect in musical terms" (Weinstein, 1991: 29). Just like in the case of 1960s psychedelic rock bands' multi-coloured covers that contributed to the sense of the music, heavy metal's visual character is a means to convey to the listener the message of what to expect in musical terms, before he listens to the record.



(Image 13. *Celtic Frost's 1985 To Megatherion 12" long play record cover artwork, by H.R. Giger. Courtesy of Noise Records*)

The aesthetic of punk visual culture was, according to Mark Vallen, “complex and deep in shock value and worshipped everything that was considered ugly by wider society”¹⁴. The radical aesthetics of Dada and Surrealism are present in the record sleeves and flyers of punk, in accordance with the shock value approach that was deeply rooted in Dadaism. Along with the fashion of punk, its record covers continued in the same direction. “Day-glo coloured, with torn and sharp lettering styles, the use of shocking images”, while “the record covers were created with the use of cheap material” (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 80).

¹⁴ "A visual survey of early Punk Rock Album Covers," Essay by artist, Mark Vallen Retrieved from <http://www.art-for-a-change.com/Punk/punka.htm> Accessed on 02/12/2019



(Image 14. UK punk band's X-Ray Spex 1978 cover of Germfree adolescents 12" record. Courtesy of EMI. INS 3023)

However, this is only one point of view in the aesthetic of punk visual culture. Late 1970s UK band *Crass* stood up as a catalyst for another, more political view of the visual culture of the UK punk. The black-and-white, politically inspired record covers that could be provocative or even scandalous were *Crass*'s repertoire, but it was not only this: *Crass* also used the techniques of "photomontage and détournement, as they were influenced by Dadaists, Surrealists and the Bauhaus era" (Raposo, 2012: 4). Consider the case of another pioneering and influential UK punk band, *Discharge*, whose covers were "crude, simplistic, promoting anti-war messages, sporting black and white photographs or pictures" (Dines, 2004: 129). The musical content was – like in heavy metal – representative of the visual character of the record

cover; in the case of *Discharge*, the listener could expect to hear “a brutal, sonic and harsh assault, rather than well-structured and performed music” (ibid).



(Image 15. *Discharge's* cover of their 1980 7" record *Fight Back*. Photo Courtesy of Clay Records, Clay 3)

3.1.3 Lyrics Status

Lyric content in heavy metal vary considerably. As Kotarba and Wells state (1987: 404), the “lyrical themes of heavy metal genre can be so diverse and [...] spawn from a huge field that ranges from Christian salvation to oral sex”. Weinstein observes that “power” stands as a driving force in heavy metal genre’s lyrics. She states that even “the most devastating feelings of despair are empowered by heavy metal’s sheer and loud sound” (Weinstein, 1991: 35). However, Weinstein categorises heavy metal’s lyrics into two clusters: “the Dionysian and the chaotic”. Dionysian themes include “sexual fantasies, the use of drugs and the praise of heavy metal (or rock) music and its lifestyle”. Chaotic themes in heavy metal genre include

“contradiction, destruction, fantasy, the grotesque, religion, horror stories, death and ultra-violence” (ibid). Dionysian themes celebrate the “rebellious lifestyle of “sex, drugs and rock n’ roll”, and this name derive from Dionysus, the Greek ancient god of religious and theatrical ecstasy “whose existence was interwoven with wine and a ‘party’ lifestyle” (Hedreen, 1992: 6).

On the other side, chaos in Greek mythology is defined as the primary “void” God and is considered to be “the first thing that existed” (Gatz, 1996: 3). The Greek etymology of the word “chaos” was “great lack of order and organization, general confusion” (Gatz, 1996: 3). The meaning of chaos, though, as it is used in our case, is represented firstly in Gosson’s essay “The Schoole of Abuse” (1895: 21). Gosson describes chaos as a “state in which volumes [are made] no better than an Apothecaries Shop, of pestilent Drugges [...] a huge Chaos of foule disorder”. In other words, chaos, according to Gosson, is total disharmony and irregularity.

Punk lyrics regularly tend to approach issues socially or politically. In many cases, punk lyrics deal, for instance, with unemployment and underemployed youth, as well as “describe the problems of urban youngsters, openly confronting the UK’s political system and sometimes even trying to shock the common view” (Laing, 2015: 31, 81). Punk’s genre lyrics style also includes confrontation and mockery of “normal” ways of life, as well as the apparent glorification of lawlessness and anomie. V. Vale, in John Savage’s study “England’s Dreaming: The Sex Pistols and punk rock,” describes punk’s lyrics style as “an outright cultural revolution, due to the fact that punk (as a subculture) attacked all known darker pages of history and culture, opposed right-wing politics, and met face to face sexual taboos, in a way that had never happened before in any subculture” (Savage, 1991: 440).

The Dionysian lyrical category of UK heavy metal genre includes songs from bands like *Saxon* (1986 song “Party til you puke”) and *Raven* (1981 song “Rock until you drop”) that praise heavy metal/rock lifestyle, and songs by bands like *Diamond Head* (1980 song “Sweet and Innocent) and *Grim Reaper* (1987 song “Suck it and see”) dealing with sexual fantasies.

A song that stands as a paradigm of Dionysian lyrical style praising heavy metal/rock lifestyle in UK heavy metal is *Battleaxe*’s “Burn this Town” (from the homonymous 1983 12” long play record). *Battleaxe* express here their dedication to heavy metal as a way of life for the band (“Been on this road for miles and miles / For us to live or die”), the band’s energetic appearance on stage (“Cause when me and the boys get going / We’ll blast you with our sound / Our music is so loud”), even encouraging the fans to express their enthusiasm for *Battleaxe*

(“You've heard the sound, you've seen us play / So stand on your feet and clap your hands”), finally proclaiming with hyperbole that *Battleaxe*'s live performance is so explosive that its “Gonna burn this town tonight”. On the other hand, the expression of sexual fantasies by UK heavy metal bands is apparent in *Venom*'s 1981 song “Red Light Fever” (taken from their *Welcome to Hell* 12” long play record). *Venom* in this song portray and eulogise the experience of visiting a brothel (“Red light” symbolises the sign of a brothel according to Cambridge Dictionary, 2016), and describe the narrator's sexual fantasies for vulgar love (“You pay your money you pay the price / You take a chance and it feels so nice”) and his urgency to fulfil his passion (“I need to feel it baby can't you see / I need a girl to set my venom free”).

The chaotic lyrical category of UK heavy metal genre also includes songs from bands like *Angel Witch* (the 1980 song “Angel of Death” that focuses on the theme of death), *Cloven Hoof* (the 1984 song “Night Stalker” that focuses on the theme of ultra-violence, the narration of a horror story, as well as the grotesque, as if the word “grotesque” could describe the monstrous character of the protagonist), *Atomkraft* (their 1985 song “Starchild” focuses on fantasy and science fiction, since it narrates a story that takes place in 2100), *Sabbat* (their 1988 song “I for an Eye” narrates a religious themed story where the participants are God, righteous angels and Lucifer), and *Blitzkrieg* (their 1985 song “Inferno” focuses on the destruction of Earth).

Consider *Rogue Male*'s 1986 song “Animal man” as an example of chaotic style in heavy metal. It includes references to death and destruction (“What is happening in the world today / Death, destruction, casualty”), while at the same time it portrays the profile of an ultra-violent and grotesque character (“Animal man / There's murder on his mind”) and exposes a contradictory opinion about this fictional persona, regarding him as a mentally ill person (“Animal man is sick / Animal man is psychotic”) and as a saviour simultaneously (“Animal man is your saviour”).

As previously mentioned, the UK punk genre lyric tradition includes references to social and political topics, specifically to unemployment, youth problems and related issues, confrontation of political/social structures, shocking the common view, mockery of everyday normal way of life, as well as the apparent glorification of lawlessness and anomie.

Punk genre's lyrics tradition therefore includes cases such as *Chelsea*'s 1977 song “Right to work” that focuses on unemployment and youth's concerns, *Peter and the Test Tube Babies*' 1982 song “Elvis is dead” that attempts to shock the common view by mocking Elvis

Presley's death (thus attacking Elvis Presley as a popular and beloved persona). *Abrasive Wheels*' 1982 song "Burn 'em down" confronts the educational system and glorifies the criminal act of burning down schools, *Crass*' 1982 song "Deadhead" confronts the normality of people's everyday lives, *X-Ray-Spex*'s 1979 song "Art-I-Ficial" mocks from a feminist approach women's needs to be acceptable in terms of appearance by society, *The Clash*'s 1978 song "Last gang in town" examines youth gang rivalries in London, and finally *The 4-Skins* 1982 song "Evil" appears to glorify violence and lawlessness.

Blitz's 1981 song "45 Revolutions" criticises the apathy of British youth regarding everyday issues, preferring to listen to songs about revolution or reacting against Thatcher's politics, but not implementing their own actions on the streets. *Blitz* use the symbolism of the number "45" to refer to the "revolutions per minute" (rpm), which is the number of times a 7" record rotates in one minute. The use of "45 revolutions" by *Blitz* is ironic, since they use part of the "rpm" acronym in order to declare that British youth prefer to listen to revolutionary songs on their turntables rather than taking action. *Blitz* accuse British youth of escapism, rather than acting against the government on a physical level ("Not one revolution on the street"). *Blitz*'s lyrics style is in the tradition of social commentary in punk, even though it doesn't criticize the establishment or society's dominant institutions, but decries the passive stance of youth towards them. The use of the word "revolution" by *Blitz* is a literal use of a homograph, where "revolutions" stand for "rotation" and "overthrow", depending on its use.

3.1.4 Music Status

Heavy metal's music status, as described by Weinstein (1991: 21), could be defined first and foremost as "loud", and where "the sonic standards of live performances are also apparent in the studio recordings". Weinstein states, however, that the element of loudness in heavy metal music is "not meant to be disturbing, but rather adds power to the whole heavy metal experience".

Heavy metal music genre could be described as "complex", due to the guitar work that "emphasizes distortion and complicated guitar techniques, where the use of technology and sophisticated technical ability in guitar playing is necessary" (Weinstein, 1991: 21). Heavy metal guitar playing is defined "by the use of power chords" (Walser, 1993: 2), and "guitar solos are the most basic characteristic" of heavy metal (Weinstein, 1991: 22). The guitar solos (as well as the rhythmic guitar parts) in heavy metal are rooted in the blues and rock tradition,

and more specifically “in the early guitar solo improvisations of bands like *Cream*” (Weinstein, 1991: 22)¹⁵. Walser (1993: 58) describes the “connection of heavy metal with classical music” that derives from the fact that many 1980s heavy metal guitarists (such as Richie Blackmore, Yngwie Malmsteen, Randy Roads) “adopted practices and melodies from classical music, and more specifically, from Bach and Vivaldi”. Wagner (2010: 156) believes that heavy metal and classical music produce “positive results when mixed, and that there is a common ground that they can share”.

Judas Priest’s 1984 song “Sentinel” is typical of the heavy metal’s genre guitar playing tradition. It starts with a slow guitar intro that leads to a technically proficient melodic chord (0:32-0:41), only to continue with another change in guitar playing in the form of a power chord that is enriched with a number of occasional guitar effects and changes in playing. On 02:30 the guitar solo begins, where the two guitar players alternate, using technically demanding techniques. An electro acoustic guitar break then appears at 03:17, adding to the whole guitar playing diversity of the song. Finally, at 03:52 the song returns to the guitar power chord that it is based on, only to end up on a lead guitar playing at 04:36. The diversity of guitar playing as well as the high technical proficiency of “The Sentinel” could stand as an example of the style of heavy metal guitar playing.

Regarding the assimilation of classical music into heavy metal guitar playing, the name of the 1970s heavy metal band *Rainbow* should be mentioned. Ritchie Blackmore, the guitar player, is mentioned by Walser (2009: 268) as the “first to achieve such an impressive fusion of rock and classical music”. This is evident in the 1981 *Rainbow* instrumental song “Difficult to cure (Beethoven’s Ninth)”, taken from the homonymous 12” long play record. “Difficult to cure” starts with a lead guitar reminiscent of an oriental style, while at the same time it maintains the blues rock style (00:01-00:42). *Rainbow* then present their own version of Beethoven’s “Ode to Joy” using the same melodic approach, only to change into a guitar solo (01:44- 02:47). The first guitar solo could be described as a fusion of heavy metal soloing with parts of classical music. Finally, in terms of guitar playing, the song returns (04:34) to *Rainbow*’s version of “Ode to Joy”. “Difficult to cure” exposes the aforementioned tendency of some heavy metal guitar players to incorporate classical music components into their music; while *Rainbow* by no means attempt an exact replication of the original piece, they integrate parts and melodies from “Ode to Joy” into their rock/heavy metal-based song.

¹⁵ According to Eric Clapton, solos originated with Cream.

Heavy metal genre's music tempos (proceeding from the drum beats) vary. According to Weinstein (1991: 22), it was a common belief in the 1970s that "heavy metal tempos tended to be slow", but this changed in subsequent years. Drumming techniques vary in heavy metal today, as well as the tempos. However, double bass drumming (or 2-Bass) is maybe the "most common bass drumming technique in heavy metal" (Rondinelli and Lauren, 2000: 3). Double bass drumming creates a "heavier" sound and is produced with the use of a double kick pedal or with the use of two bass drums (Nyman, 2009). Complexity is another component of heavy metal drumming, and requires the drummer to be proficient in his instrument (Weinstein, 1991: 22). While referring to the term "complexity" I will attempt to use from now on in my thesis the usage in art history and criticism suggested by Harris (2006: 56). In this case "complexity" refers to "the presence and interaction of a range of elements within an object under analysis [...] for instance, a style". In the case of heavy metal drumming style, the incorporation of a variety of rhythms and different techniques is proof of the style's "complexity".

The heavy metal bass guitar tone is the one that gives heavy metal genre its "heavier" sound. Technologically, heavy metal could not have achieved the levels of heaviness in its sound before the 1960s because the "bass amplifiers were only invented in that decade" (Weinstein, 1991: 22). The importance of bass guitar in heavy metal music is crucial, because due to "the low-key sound that is created via the bass guitar, heavy metal music formulates its musical character" ("Heavy"- Weinstein, 2010: 24) that differentiates it from the other rock music genres (and especially from the 1960s blues rock bands) (Walser, 1993: 9).

Heavy metal musical tradition always includes vocals (with the exception of heavy metal instrumental albums), and the heavy metal vocal style is "totally different from typical pop music culture" (Weinstein, 1991: 25). In heavy metal, "vocals are treated as a separate instrument, and the vocal style differs in each heavy metal sub-genre" (Sharpe-Young, 2007: 11)¹⁶. Therefore, the vocal power in heavy metal is "as important as the musical power" (Weinstein, 1991: 34). Vocalizing techniques in contemporary heavy metal vary from "clean, melodic and high-pitched vocals, to un-pitched vocals (that could be screaming, growling)" (Swami et al., 2013: 377). In my research, though, the two heavy metal sub-genres that would be examined most (in terms of their crossover with punk) are classic heavy metal and thrash

¹⁶ According to Sharpe-Young, we have 15 different heavy metal sub-genres: 1) heavy metal 2) doom metal 3) New Wave Of British heavy metal 4) thrash metal 5) neo-metal 6) death metal 7) power metal 8) black metal 9) progressive metal 10) speed metal 11) grind metal 12) gothic metal 13) folk metal 14) New Wave of American heavy metal 15) symphonic metal

metal, where the vocal style is “falsetto and clean melodic” in the case of classic heavy metal (Walser, 1993: 27) , and “shouting in the style of punk, although this is not the norm as singing could be often employed as vocal style” (Tsatsishvili, 2011: 21), although it was connected with the less-melodic side of punk.

The musical status of punk genre could be described by the words of *Punk* fanzine co-editor, Jon Holmstrom: “Punk rock — any kid can pick up a guitar and become a rock ‘n’ roll star, despite or because of his lack of ability, talent, intelligence, limitations and/or potential ” (Moore, 2004: 314). According to Longhurst (1995: 111, quoted in Wall, 2013: 14), punk genre “represented an attempt first to regain the spirit of early days of rock n’ roll in its desire for independence and the short three-minute song; and second to reintegrate the rock and pop forms which had been increasingly split during the 1970s. It also marks the beginning of the fragmentation that was rapidly to develop in the 1980s and 1990s”.

Laing (1978: 125) describes punk genre as a “straightforward music style that is based on the Rock n’ Roll tradition of the decade of 1950s” and states that punk “employs a poor melodic chord structure that mostly emphasizes the rhythmic bases and leaves little room for any melody and spontaneity”. According, again, to Laing, the vocal style of punk is reminiscent of the “Cockney-styled” vocal approach of David Bowie only that it is more artless and cruder, more “natural”, and in some cases “contains hints of the football chants style” (Laing, 1978: 126)¹⁷. Finally, he describes the punk vocal style as “the struggle of the working class to be heard, and therefore something completely new” (ibid).

Another account of punk genre’s singing style was given by Reed (2005: 47) that describes punk vocals as “sometimes through the nose [...] nasal, discordant, off-key and in many cases shouted rather than sung”. The guitar playing style in punk has been described by Laing (1985: 62) as “a collision of simplified, highly distorted guitar chords, that eventually lead to the creation of a sound that could be described as buzzsaw; very noisy and low fidelity sound”. However, this is not the general rule in the guitar sound of punk, since many bands have a different approach in their guitar style¹⁸. The bass playing style in punk “is simple, non-arduous, often following repetitive rhythms that support the drumming style” (ibid). However, exceptions exist in many punk bass players who incorporate more challenging and diversified

¹⁷ Laing believes that the most significant innovation of punk was its vocal style, rather than its musical style, since its vocal style was something completely new in rock n’ roll.

¹⁸ Bands like *Gang of Four* and *Raincoats* incorporated a clean guitar sound, with a thinner tone (O’ Meara, 2003: 305).

styles of playing¹⁹. As for the drumming style, Laing (1985: 63) describes punk drumming as “simple, loud, heavy, non-technical” and often sounding “primal”. The drumming style of punk is based in the “ultra-minimal drum set-ups, and the rhythm, even though it is basic, can range from mid-tempo to fast” (ibid). In general, punk (and hardcore punk) music style could be described by the “limited harmonic content of the guitar chords, and, at the same time, bass playing doesn’t stray from the same line; drummers in punk construct simple rhythms that give emphasis to the guitar chords, and the vocalists tend to enunciate the guitar chords and riffs” (Easley, 2015: 2).

The characterization of the general attributes of each musical genre will be connected to actual songs in later chapters, but it would be proper to conclude by analysing two songs by each genre that are typical of the UK heavy metal and UK punk of the era that I refer to.

An example of a UK punk song is “True Confessions”, by *The Undertones* (taken from their homonymous 1979 12” long play record). Even though the singing style of the song is more harmonic and melodic than the usual punk song, “True Confessions” exposes a repetitive and minimalistic instrumental side that only lasts for 01:53 minutes. The song starts with a bass guitar intro, accompanied by a simple mid-tempo drum beat and this tempo is repeated throughout the song with minor changes. The guitar playing is typical of punk, generating a noisy and low fidelity sound reminiscent of the aforementioned “buzzsaw” guitar sound, with simplistic guitar chords repeated through the song. Even though the singing style of “True Confessions” is melodic, it is still in the tradition of punk since it doesn’t have any changes in pitch and volume (as defined by Reynolds, 2005: 9). The lack of guitar solos, the duration of “True Confessions”, as well as the whole soundscape, indicates that this song belongs in the punk musical style.

On the other side, the UK heavy metal song structure and style could be represented by *Black Sabbath*’s 1980 song “Neon Knights”. “Neon Knights” has duration of 03:49, a song length that is highly typical of heavy metal. The song starts with a power chord guitar playing style exhibiting technical proficiency, which is repeated with changes throughout the song. At 02:02 a guitar solo takes place that lasts 41 seconds, also indicating high technical ability. The song’s tempo is fast and the drumming style is fast too, however the playing style is not minimalistic, since various changes and different cymbal and hi-hat hitting take place. The

¹⁹ Paul Simonon of UK punk band *The Clash* was an accomplished bass player that incorporated different playing styles into punk such as dub and reggae. (Gilbert, 2005).

soundscape mostly emphasizes power, presenting all instruments at the forefront. The guitar sound is tuned in low key, and the singing style highlights considerable technical ability, with many changes in pitch and volume.

Chapter 4. Crossover and authenticity

4.1 Crossover: The term

The term “crossover” sustains a variety of definitions and is used here on many occasions to describe a different state of things each time. The difference between crossover and hybrid here (in terms of punk and heavy metal) accords with Everett’s (2008: 129) classification of crossover and hybrid in his examination of jazz and rock. Everett describes crossover as the attempted “holding [of] two repertoires simultaneously” and when “the outcome falls into either the one or the other repertoire that have been mixed together, this produces crossover” (ibid). However, “when the outcome leads to a new sub-genre that does not fall into either originating category (e.g., the case of fusion from jazz and rock), the result is characterized as a hybrid” (ibid).

According to the Oxford Dictionary, crossover is defined as: “A point or place of crossing from one side to the other” (Oxford Dictionary, 2014: 56). However, the term has, as mentioned, various applications, such as in movies, TV shows, comics and books (fictional crossover), in sports, in genetics, in linguistics, in technology and of course in music.

Fictional crossover could be divided into different categories (such as movies, TV shows, comics and books), where crossover has a different meaning in each case. The definition of crossover literature, according to Beckett (2009: 18), is that “crossover literature is the kind of fiction that crosses from child to adult and from adult to child audiences”. This means that a separate category of literature exists next to child, young adult and adult categories, and “this separate category (the crossover) can find application and readership in more than one category” (Beckett, 2009: 40). Galef (1995: 29) even identifies “three separate categories of fictional crossover: a) authors that originally targeted one audience and along the way chose to target another; b) authors that target both audiences (children and adults) but still separate their output according to which of these they target; and c) authors who are targeting children and adult audiences on the same time in one book”.

A case of a classic crossover book is presented by Falconer (2004: 556). Falconer states that “the fairy tale story ‘Alice In Wonderland’ targeted children in the first place, but through the years has become considered to be an adult book too, since it is so well known that it can

find a readership in adults too”. Concluding, crossover in literature defines the interaction between and multitude of readership age groups.

However, crossover in animation, comics and video games has a different meaning. In animation, crossover is the case where animated characters from a cartoon show can appear (and even have a lead role) in another cartoon show. This could be found in “the *Family Guy* episode where characters from another show (*The Simpsons*) joined an episode where the animated characters (Griffin’s and Simpson’s families) from both shows were part of the story” (Dan Snierson, 2013)²⁰.

Crossover in comics is the same as the aforementioned crossover in animation. There have been several cases noted where comic heroes have appeared in stories of other comic heroes. One example is the “collaboration of Batman and Superman for several years (from June 2003 to October 2011) under the name of ‘Batman/Superman’” by DC Comics, an on-going series of magazines” (Cowsill and Dolan, 2010: 311).

Crossover in video games is exactly the same as the above two (in animation and comics). Cases where video game characters appeared in other video games have happened since the 1980s. One example is the game *Super Smash Bros* published by Nintendo in 1999, where “several famous Nintendo characters (such as Mario and Donkey Kong) were used in order to participate in a single separate video game” (*Super Smash Bros. Ultimate for Nintendo Switch*, n.d.).

Crossover in the film industry appears in cases where a main character (or characters) of a film, appear (s) in another film. A much-known film crossover is the case of the *Alien vs. Predator* film series where the characters from both original *Alien* and *Predator* films were brought together into a series of films. Finally, crossover in TV series is the case where a character from one TV series appears in another.

Along with the concept of crossover there are related terms, such as “inter-penetration”, “alignment” and “cross-fertilisation”. Another related, significant and special case is the “artist crossover”. Artist crossover is defined as “the crossover that artists implement when they are seeking extra income” (Markusen et al., 2006: 37). For example, artists working for the non-profit sector, when they are in need of money, crossing over to work in the commercial sector.

²⁰ <https://web.archive.org/web/20200617093145/https://ew.com/comic-con/2013/07/20/the-simpsons-futurama-crossover-epsidoe/>

Crossover in a musical context “had initially been defined in terms of the presence of a particular song in two or more music genre charts appealing to different audiences” (Lonergan, 1975: 5). The term is much more complicated, however, and I examine its meanings below in a variety of genres. In many cases, crossover defines the artistic approach of a musician from one genre orienting towards another in order to gain a fan base from it (Malone and Neal, 2010). Artists that crossover to different genres “not only incorporate other music elements that could appeal to new fans, but also introduce crossover elements into their visual image too” (Fenster, 1988: 285). At the same time, musicians that crossover to another genre also attempt to maintain their original genre fans. Musical crossovers include those in classical music, country, Latin, Christian, as well as crossover as a mix of music genres, of performance art into pop, and of pop with world music.

The term “classical crossover” applies to artists that play classical music and combine it with other music genres (rock/pop, etc.). This is the case with David Garrett, who is a recording artist/violinist who mixes rock and pop music in with Mozart and Paganini overtures (Sweeting, 2011). On the other hand, “crossover in classical music indicates the appeal that classical artists have with audiences of other music genres” (Sciabarra, 2004: 26). Mario Lanza, for example, was a classical artist (a tenor singer) whose appeal was widespread. In his career Lanza “developed a wide repertoire that included music comedy, opera to show tunes” (ibid).

A highly typical crossover in country music was the one with pop that took place in the 1990s. The example of Shania Twain is one of the most well-known cases of crossover country pop (Betts, 2014). Twain’s transition from a country artist to country pop artist gained her tremendous international appeal (Malone and Neal, 2010).

Crossover in Latin music has been defined as the marketing strategy used by Latin artists in order to gain acceptance in nationwide charts with the use of Spanish language and/or Latin music incorporated into pop songs (Garofalo, 1997). The crossover in Latin music is apparent in artists such as Christina Aguilera and her 2000 record *Mi Reflejo* with entirely Spanish lyrics, as well as in Ricky Martin’s 1999 pop hit “Livin’ La Vida Loca”.

Crossover in Christian music has been defined as “the attempt made by Christian artists to expand into a wider, even non-Christian audience, in order to spread their religious message” (Luhr, 2005: 104). Throughout the years there have even been attempts by Christian heavy metal bands, such as “*Stryken*, *Stryper* and *Barnabas*, to appear on the same bill with non-Christian heavy metal bands (such as *Motley Crue*)” (Luhr, 2005: 105).

Crossover understood as a mix of music genres describes, variously, such a mixing of genres within the members of a band, on a record, or even in a music movement. Bauck (1997: 232) defines grunge, for example, as “[t]he crossover, the style that melted different music styles altogether [...] It took the energy, the volume and the distortion of punk and mixed it with the melodies of heavy metal [...] from punk it left behind the ultra-fast tempos and from heavy metal it left behind the sexist attitude”. Of course, the grunge movement is only one case of mixed genres. Several bands in the rock field could be classified as “crossovers”, such as the *Red Hot Chili Peppers* (mixing funk, alternative rock and heavy metal) or *Rage Against The Machine* (mixing heavy metal and hard rock with rap).

According to Tony Mitchell (1989: 284), “the US new wave/punk band *Talking Heads* vocalist David Byrne is an instance of crossover from performance art into pop”. Mitchell states that Byrne, “a former Rhode Island School of Art student, incorporated art motifs into his pop” thus creating a body of pop music known as “avant garde”.

Crossover of pop with world music is “an incorporation of World Music snatches into Pop,” according to Mitchell (1989: 290). In order to support this definition, Mitchell offers the example of UK electronic music band *Coldcut*, whose 1987 12” single *Paid in full* used a small sample of Israeli singer Ofra Haza’s song “Im Nin’ Alu”. Haza was a traditional Israeli singer, famous in her country but with no (or a very small) following into the Western world.

Other music methods include sampling, appropriation, parody and pastiche. Sampling is the method where “a composer manipulates a fragment of sound from a past recording, using it as a part of a new composition” (Houle, 1992: 879). Examples of musical sampling could be found in rap music, e.g., the case of the *Beastie Boys*’ 1986 song “Rhymin’ & Stealin’” where the basic guitar power chord of *Black Sabbath*’s 1971 song “Sweet Leaf” is incorporated throughout the song in order to create a new composition that is totally different. However, one can admit that in the aforementioned case of *Beastie Boys*, the musical sampling of two different music styles led to a crossover (of rap and rock), that appealed to fans of both genres; Anderson (EW.com, 2012) claims that even though there were earlier cases when rap incorporated rock beats (such as *Afrika Bambaataa* using *Rolling Stones* beats), *Beastie Boys* were the first rap/rock crossover; actually *Beastie Boys* alongside *Run DMC* established rap’s musical crossover potential (Light, 2004: 144) in commercial success.

Appropriation, on the other hand, in musical terms may be traced to as early a period as the Renaissance (Bartholomew, 2004) and includes the methods of sampling. Appropriation

could be found in art in general, meaning the use of “pre-existing images/objects with little or no transformation” (Chilvers and Graves-Smith, 2009: 27). Marx (1844: 33) described appropriation, in a different context, as “an equal of exploitation while commenting on capitalist appropriation that it didn’t allow man to appropriate the products of society”. The definition above is mentioned in order to describe the general nature of appropriation (in art, music, culture). A case of appropriation of my concern (music) is what Walser (1992: 264) referred as “heavy metal appropriations of classical virtuosity”; the aforementioned Richie Blackmore (of *Deep Purple/Rainbow*) used “chord progression reminiscent to Bach in the ‘Highway Star’ guitar solo” (Webb, 1984: 54) while Rosen (1984: 62) claims that “this guitar solo is just arpeggios based on Bach”. Appropriation can lead to a crossover, however in the case of Richie Blackmore’s ‘Difficult to Cure’, an instrumental built around the ‘Ode to Joy’ from the last movement of Beethoven’s ‘Ninth Symphony’, it sounds rather like a parody, and not only because we can hear laughter from the studio at the end of the song; according to Walser (1992: 270) “‘Difficult to Cure’ is a comic anomaly, and it reminds us that heavy metal musicians are in fact very selective in their appropriations of the various styles that are usually lumped together as ‘classical music’, and that fusions signify quite precisely”.

Parody is a word with Greek origin (Παρωδία) that was used to “describe poems with a satirical (often mocking) content” (Denith, 2009: 9). Denith, accordingly, defines parody as “any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice” (2009: 9). In musical terms, parody has two meanings: one “serious” and one referring to its humorous effect. The term parody appeared (like appropriation) in the Renaissance in order to describe the borrowing of polyphonic textures (Timouth and Sherr, 2012). However, the dominant use of the term “parody” nowadays refers to the humorous effect of musical appropriation. Such is the case with “*Weird*” Al Yankovic’s 1992 song “Smells like Nirvana” that is a parody of the 1991 *Nirvana* song “Smells like Teen spirit”.

Pastiche in art “imitates the character of the work of one (or more) artists” (Green et al, 2012: 1005) but in contrast to parody “doesn’t have a satirical nature – instead it glorifies the work it copies” (Hoestery, 2001: 12). An example of pastiche in music is *Queen*’s 1975 “Bohemian Rhapsody” which incorporates opera into rock, creating an outcome that celebrates opera rather than mocks it. According to Braae (2014: 3) “the famous opera section of Bohemian Rhapsody is probably best heard as a pastiche of Gilbert and Sullivan’s light opera style, a point duly noted by the reviewer from *Melody Maker* in 1976, and point made clear by

this comparative excerpt”. But even though the good, and honest intentions that *Queen* had while glorifying opera through their rock-styled “Bohemian Rhapsody”, can somebody regard it as crossover? The distinction among the two different styles into this song is absolutely evident, and one part does not mix with the other.

However, the term “interaction” does not entirely apply to the case researched here, because this interaction resulted into the creation of a whole new music subgenre that mixed both music styles, even though sometimes the components of the one prevailed the other. Thus, the best way to describe this “interaction” among punk and heavy metal bands is the word “crossover”.

4.2 Reflections on crossover of heavy metal and punk

Brian “Pushead” Schroeder (1984: 60), as noted, first used the term “speedcore” to describe the “crossover, where what is known as heavy metal is mixed with the sounds of punk [...] the outcome naturally is considered heavy metal by the metalheads and punk by the punks”. Kennedy (2015: 428) defined crossover between heavy metal and punk subcultures as “an outcome of the recognition of the ‘common ground’ between metalheads and punks” that took place in the mid-1980s.

According to Philips and Cogan (2009: 81) crossover defines “the blurred line between heavy metal and punk bands throughout the decade of the 1980s”, and this is what crossover between heavy metal and punk music is; a musical result that shares components from both music genres, that appeals to a proportion of both punks and heavy metal fans, and sometimes is so blurry, that even the most dedicated fans of those genres can’t decide whether a song is punk or metal. Another one issue regarding crossover is the case of *Motorhead* (that will be examined in a later chapter) focussing on whether this was a band that crossed over from one musical style to another or instead created a fusion of the genres. Accordingly, my very interest on crossover between two genres (in my case, metal and punk), is also based on the issue of authenticity, that I will elaborate further later, however an initial argument would be how a crossover (that leads to a ‘hybrid’), could be authentic.

Crossover in music terms therefore is the mix of punk and heavy metal that could appeal both to a proportion of punks and heavy metal fans. The component elements of both music

genres might not necessarily be 50-50% as there is no clear definition of where to categorize the outcome of the crossover since sometimes it is more punk-oriented and sometimes more heavy metal-oriented.

However, before the crossover of punk and heavy metal the two subcultures did not mix and the fans were alienated from each other. Philips and Cogan (2009: 81) state that early on in the punk subculture “many fans saw punk and metal as being mutually exclusive with metalheads deriding the perceived ineptness of punk musicians, while many punks despised what they saw as the pomposity and self-seriousness of heavy metal”. Philips and Cogan believe that “it was the UK band *Motorhead* that was the first to bring together metalheads and punks with their unique blend of both genres in the late 1970s”. However, Waksman (2009: 48) believes that “there were at least musical similarities between the two genres, and musical exchanges from earlier on during the decade of 1970s”.

Christe (2003: 184) describes the situation among the two youth subcultures as “generally hostile in the early formative years of *Motorhead* and *Damned*” where battles between heavy metal fans and punks could even erupt in the streets of London. The hostility was not limited to the fans. Some musicians of both genres acted provocatively by exposing their hostility against the other genre. Joe Elliot, the singer of heavy metal band *Def Leppard* mocked punk music genre in the early 1980s by calling it “Gutter Music” (Christe, 2003: 185). Steve Harris, bass player with *Iron Maiden*, stated in Tomas H. Green for *The Telegraph* (2010) that “Punk was only important in that we hated it and didn’t want anything to do with it [...] when punk began to really happen in ’77 people started making those comparisons which really annoyed us because we didn’t want them,” exposing his natural distaste for everything that punk subculture stood for back in the late 1970s. Rat Scabies, the drummer with UK punk band *The Damned* mentions in the New Wave Of British heavy metal (NWOBHM) documentary by Metal Evolution that there “were only similarities between punk and heavy metal bands in terms of volume [...] the fans also were like cats and dogs, they hated each other [...] but after a few years, they got used to each other and finally got along [...] when I first heard the term New Wave Of British heavy metal I thought about idiots in spandex ” (Rat Scabies, NWOBHM documentary, 2013: 02:48, 14:19).

In the same documentary, author John Tucker stated that, when the two subcultures erupted, it was much of an “us versus them” issue between the fans and that “they did not mix [...] nor there was an attempt to mix [...] and if the fans did mix, there would be trouble”

(Tucker, NWOBHM documentary, 2013: 04:00). Dennis Stratton, former heavy metal guitarist of UK metal bands *Iron Maiden* and *Praying Mantis*, exposed his distaste for punk subculture: “I hated it [...] I do not see anything good in people spitting at gigs [...] It ruined proper music” (Stratton, NWOBHM documentary, 2013: 04:10). Heavy metal band’s *Girlschool* guitar player, Kim McAuliffe, believed that “punk sounded weak [...] heavy metal’s got a lot more power” (Kim McAuliffe, NWOBHM documentary, 2013: 12:30). *Iron Maiden*’s bass player, Steve Harris, in the same documentary stated, when asked about the way they produced, recorded and issued themselves their first 7” record “Soundhouse Tapes”, that the band was “not influenced by the DIY culture of punk [...] We were only influenced by ourselves,” indicating that *Iron Maiden* didn’t want to be connected even slightly with the UK punk subculture and its values (Harris, NWOBHM documentary, 2013: 12:30).

Punk music genre, according to Lydon et al (1994: 87), was a way to express sheer hatred towards the “arrogance of progressive rock bands, as well as heavy metal – the aforementioned unholy trinity of *Black Sabbath*, *Deep Purple* and *Led Zeppelin*”. The animosity of punk musicians towards heavy metal subculture, though, continued on during the 1980s. An example of this tension is given by the UK, London-based band *Conflict* and its song “Mental Mania,” taken from the 1986 long play 12” record *The Ungovernable Force* (1986, *Mortarhate Records*, Mort 20):

“Watch me, I can play at 90,000 notes an hour, know me for my power chords [...] That heavy metal driving sound, that’s a real challenge, three quid to stare at some thick arse, don’t complain you’re broke [...] Seen my bird, my Satan tattoos [...] You pile of sexist, drugged up macho shit; you’re a hindrance not a help [...] An excuse for doing nothing you help them [...] to oppress us”.

These lyrics represent the band’s stance against heavy metal in general. *Conflict* force direct criticism of heavy metal lyrics, music and attitude in “Mental Mania”, mocking the technical precision of heavy metal bands and their tendency to impress their fans through their powerful and fast sound; the band mocks the stage presence of heavy metal musicians and their impressive stage shows, and accuse heavy metal bands of sexism and machismo. Finally, *Conflict* propose to their fans that it is not wrong to like heavy metal music – it is their choice after all – but suggest they should care more about the message than the music, the tunes and the sound, because, in their opinion, if the music is more important than the message, this would lead to an “alternative to rebellion” that would lead to the oppression of passive fans. In other

words, *Conflict* regard the escapism that heavy metal lyrics offer to their fans as a method that could be used to blindfold and handle them with more ease²¹.

The antipathy of punk musicians towards heavy metal subculture was also present visually. Take the example of 1980s UK, Wigan-based punk band *Electro Hippies*. In a picture that was retrieved from a fan of the band depicting a live performance (uploaded in <http://killextrememusic.blogspot.co.uk>) one can detect the message written on Simon's (the drummer) T-shirt: "heavy metal attitudes suck". Ironically, though, the vocalist/guitarist Andy Barnard, on stage in 1987, wore a heavy metal band T-Shirt bearing the name of German (thrash metal) band *Destruction*!

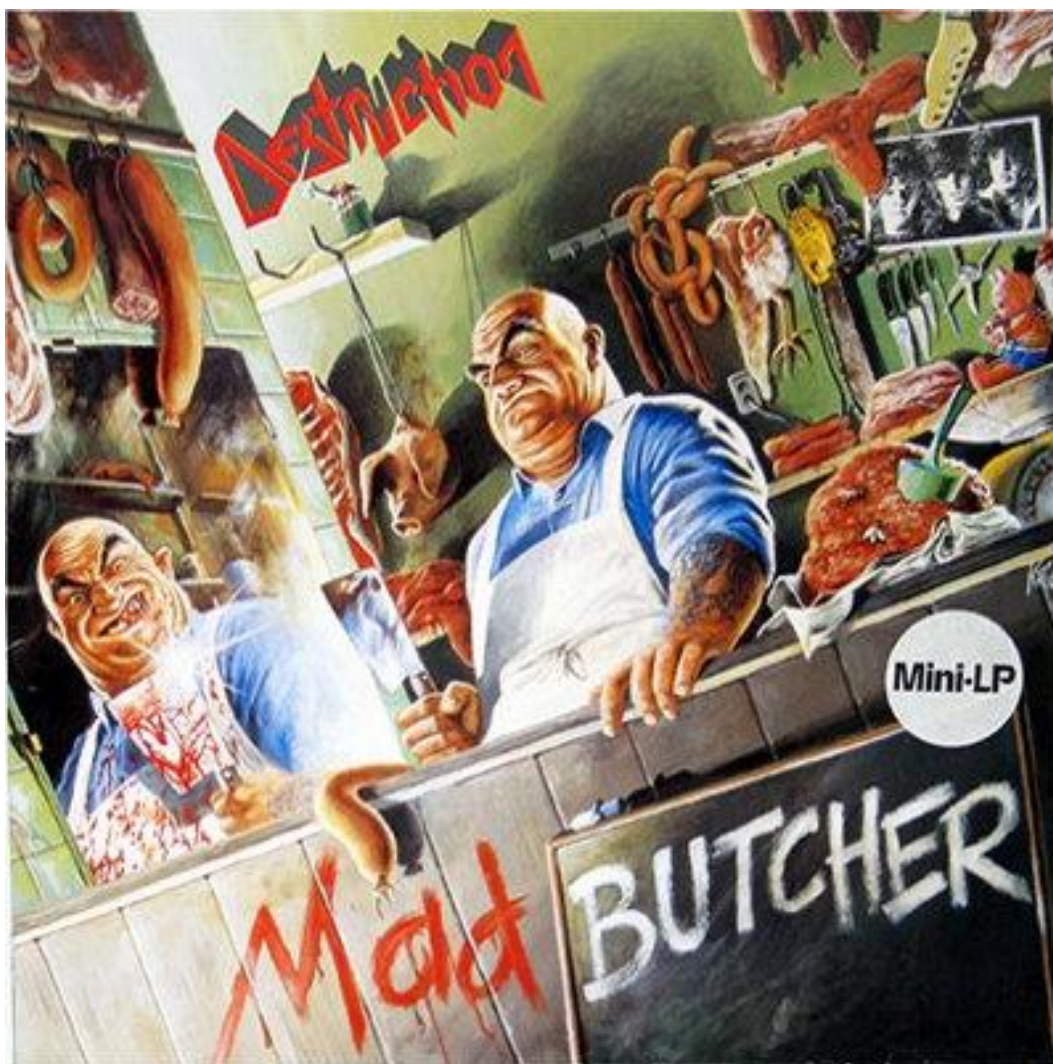


(Image 16. *Electro Hippies*' 1987 live performance, where the drummer (Simon) wears a t-shirt with an anti-heavy metal message. Origin unknown.)

²¹ However, punk's attitude toward heavy metal wasn't just a UK issue. Punk bands worldwide exposed their discontent with heavy metal music as will be demonstrated in a later chapter.



(Image 17. Andy Barnard of the Electro Hippies in 1987 wearing a heavy metal T-Shirt by German band Destruction. Courtesy unknown.)



(Image 18. Destruction's cover artwork for their 1987 12" mini-long play record *Mad Butcher*, Steamhammer, SH 0062. This painting was used for the t-shirt that Andy Barnard wears. Courtesy of Steamhammer)

The artwork for *Mad Butcher* was designed by Sebastian Krüger, a German artist who represents New Pop Art²² used for the covers of many German heavy metal band records of the 1980s (*Destruction*, *Risk*, *Running Wild*, *Sodom* and *Tankard* among others)²³. *Mad Butcher*'s artwork is in the tradition of heavy metal's visual dimension, as proposed by Weinstein (1991: 28). Using an angular logo typology for the band's name, Krüger's design depicts a caricature of a butcher at work; the butcher's mental condition ("mad") is depicted through symbolism in the mirror's reflection, as well as in the red colour (representing in this case blood) in which the word "mad" is written, adding to the menacing nature of the cover.

²² www.sebastiankruger.com

²³ Data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Sebastian_Krueger/119045

The two subcultures, as this instance indicates, had a gap musically and in terms of attitude until the early years of the 1980s. There was a definite tension between the two genres, not limited to the fans, but among the musicians too – even though players from either scenes sometimes articulated admiration for the other (e.g., Biff Byford, singer of *Saxon*, states that he was directly influenced by punk and Brian Tatler, guitarist of the band *Diamond Head*, expressed his deep love for the early punk movement).²⁴

The importance of the crossover between punk and heavy metal genres in this specific period could be pointed into many aspects; firstly, in terms of subculture, the crossover created a “better subculture”. Punks and heavy metal fans (and musicians) were hostile to one another, and the cases of conflicts among fans weren’t something unusual. The crossover of heavy metal and punk genres came to create a subcultural approach that could fit a proportion of both music genres fans, where they could come together and find a common ground. Another aspect that stresses the importance of this crossover is that some heavy metal bands followed the punk lyric and visual status, writing songs with social/political awareness, and designing record covers with political/social messages, leaving behind the heavy metal tradition that proposed a non-political commentary. Punk bands too, as it will be presented later, benefited from the musical crossover with heavy metal since they became more proficient musicians; it was heavy metal’s demand of musical proficiency that was a driving force for the punk musicians to practice more into their instruments, and become much better players. Finally, in terms of subculture, the fact that there were many gigs all over the UK where the billings included both heavy metal and punk bands, it could be regarded only as beneficial; heavy metal fans got the chance to be informed about social and political issues in benefit gigs (such as benefit gigs for Hunt Saboteurs Organization), whereas punk bands gained popularity among heavy metal fans, due to the more commercial status of the heavy metal genre that period.

In relation to the basic aims of the thesis, I have to mention that the punk/heavy metal subcultural crossover happens in this specific period because of many reasons. Among those reasons were the commercial tendencies of punk bands in the late 1970’s and 1980’s, when some punk bands wanted to expand their fanbase into other musical spectrums too alongside with punk; this phenomenon appeared into heavy metal bands too. Regarding also punk’s experimental artistic tendencies, punk bands experimented musically many times with the more un-commercial styles of heavy metal music too. Finally, another reason was the incorporation

²⁴ See Metal Evolution, NWOBHM documentary, 2013

of the DIY attitude that gave a punk ethic to the NWOBHM (New Wave of British heavy metal) movement thus leading to the interaction between two youth cultures that belonged in a similar social background.

The significance of this crossover lies in the fact that punk and heavy metal were two conflicting youth cultures that rarely mixed, but which eventually got along with each other; the crossover's most significant consequence was that, for a period of time, it unified these two antithetic and conflicting youth cultures. It also brought political commentary and concerns into heavy metal genre, while punk's crossover with heavy metal brought heavy metal fans into contact with political activism, and introduced punks to a new and more complex music style that fitted with the punk ethic. And even though this crossover is firstly and foremost, a musical crossover, the cases that will be examined refer to a holistic crossover among the two music genres, all grounded in a specific time period and social/political status, thus pointing out the scientific contribution of this research.

Crossover between punk and heavy metal music cultures is connected with the historical and socio-cultural period of the 1980s in Britain; in socio-cultural terms, this crossover was a natural thing to happen, in a time when musical experimentation in punk included incorporating diverse music styles like reggae (*The Clash*), funk (*Gang of Four*), pop (*The Undertones*), avant-garde (*Crass*, the *Yes Sir, I will* LP era), rockabilly (*The Meteors*), ska revival (*The Specials*), folk (*The Pogues*), experimental/art rock (*Wire*, *The Fall*), among others. Alongside, in the heavy metal subculture, "crossover took place within the evolution of a movement – the New Wave Of British heavy metal – that incorporated, early in its appearance, the Do-It-Yourself attitude of punk in terms of releasing and producing records, as well as experimenting with music styles, such as progressive rock (*Shiva*), hard rock (*Praying Mantis*), blues rock (*Gaskin*), boogie rock (*Saxon*) and glam rock (*Girl*)" (McMillan, 2012: 526).

4.3 Authenticity and "Commercial vs Commitment".

The significance of "authenticity" in music runs averse to the matter of commercial motivations (Laing, 2015: 26). However, the question of authenticity in music is not something new: in 1899 Sir Hubert Parry, while declaring the founding of the English Folksong Society, mentioned the "opposition between folk music (authentic) and popular music (inauthentic, plagued by the commercial motivations of its promoters)" (Middleton, 1981: 1). This critical

contrast continued on into the subsequent decades, while in the 1960s the model of “authentic versus commercial” was relocated within popular music (Laing, 2015: 26), rather than “in a comparison between popular music and other “accredited” musical forms, such as blues or jazz”.

Authenticity has been a concern in terms of lyrics too; this issue was central to Simon Frith’s “Realism versus Escapism” theory. According to Frith, “Realism is the basic component of folk music lyrics, understood as an expression of an original fantasy that derived from people and reflected the social conditions of the time” (Frith, 1989: 83)²⁵. The authenticity or inauthenticity of political folk lyrics is, however, another issue, that according to Harker, depends on a variety of factors, such as “the social background of the artists”. Harker relies on an account of the class origin of the artist in order to determine the authenticity or the inauthenticity of the song. “If the artist is from a working-class background or by a left-wing intellectual, then the song’s lyrics are authentic” (Harker, 1985: 89). The theme of authenticity is highly problematic with many controversies deriving from it; e.g., if a band is commercial, how can it propose an authentic political statement? O’Connell (2014: 44) mentions that, in order to determine the authenticity of an artist in popular music, one should examine “the very same factors which inform its politics: modes of production; musical construction; lyrical content; the performer’s biography and presentation”. Laing (1985: 24) notes that it is “the expectations of the listeners concerning the representation of the real feelings of a performer via the lyrics of the song which eventually makes for authentic vocal performances: it is not “how skilfully a singer can *signify* or present an emotion [...] but [rather how much the listener believes] a singer “really feels” what is being communicated”.

Another aspect of the problem of authenticity relates to the “pop” versus “rock” music debate. Frith and Horne (1987: 148) observe that for “the 1960s art school beat musicians, true expression was defined against both bourgeois and showbiz convention, and ‘rock’ was differentiated from ‘pop’ along the axes of passion, commerce and complexity,” thus yielding the further dichotomy: “pop commercialism (inauthentic) versus rock artistic experimentation (authentic)”.

Commercial tendencies are highly connected to the activities of big record companies that demand “commercial recordings”, rather than artistic promotion and success in its own right. Laing (2015: 26) presents the cases of *The Moody Blues*, a progressive rock band that

²⁵ Even though these reflections and views should not be taken for granted as being genuine.

warned in the early 1970s of interference from the big companies which cared only for commercial success and *The Bay City Rollers*, a teenybop band that were referred to by *Melody Maker* magazine as a “consumer product with no artistic significance” (inauthentic), holding them in dismal contrast with the musical-sociological phenomenon of *The Beatles* (authentic).

Punk subculture was highly critical of the major record labels in the years after 1976 and this led to “the organization of small, independent punk labels, where artists could have artistic control” (Triggs 2006: 70)²⁶ as well as control over the distribution of their records. This attitude continued into my period of research (from 1979); small independent punk labels such as Crass Records (and Corpus Christi), Clay Records, No Future Records and Mortarhate were either created by bands (such as *Crass* with Crass Records, *Conflict* with Mortarhate, *Subhumans* with Bluurg) or by fans (such as Clay Records, No Future, Riot City, Link Records). The DIY²⁷ (do-it-yourself) attitude of releasing your own music, under your own label, was also demonstrated in the late 1970s-early 1980s New Wave Of British heavy metal (NWOBHM) movement. Artists took complete control of their music, releasing records independently (such as *Diamond Head* and *Blitzkrieg*) or via small labels (such as *Iron Maiden*’s and *Praying Mantis*’s “Soundhouse Tapes” and Holocaust respectively). The punk tradition of independent labels and DIY continued into the 1980s with the emergence of UK hardcore/punk and labels such as Children of Revolution (with artists like *The Stupids*, *The Depraved*, *Concrete Sox*), Manic Ears (with bands like *Civilized Society?*, *Bad Beach*, *Doctor and the Crippens*), labels created by bands (such as In Your Face Records by *Heresy*, Looney Tunes Records by *Active Minds*) or independent, private releases of records (such as Sore Throat’s first two 7-inch extended play records). DIY is surely considered to be a sign of authenticity, especially in the case of punk subculture.

The idea of authenticity is apparent in punk and heavy metal subcultures in terms of fandom and expressed in various ways. Both punks and heavy metal fans used the word “poseur”²⁸ in order “to describe someone who might use the same dress code, the same sonic code (if it’s a band) in order to gain acceptance in the subculture, but at the same time s/he was

²⁶ Triggs mentions not only the DIY in punk music, but also in the subculture in general, as this was reflected in “the homemade, A4, stapled and photocopied fanzines of the late 1970s [which] fostered the ‘do-it-yourself’ (DIY) production techniques of cut-n-paste letterforms, photocopied and collaged images, hand-scrawled and typewritten texts, to create a recognizable graphic design aesthetic” of 1970s UK punk.

²⁷ Bruce Leighton and Eddie Taylor, on the “New Wave of British heavy metal: The Bands of the NWOBHM 1978-1982” (2015: 6), mention that “The DIY attitude of the new (NWOBHM) metal bands caused the diffusion of raw-sounding self-produced recordings and the proliferation of independent record labels”.

²⁸ According to Morris (1969: 1022), the poseur “affects a particular attitude, character or manner to impress others”.

not considered to really share common ground with the values of the subculture” (Arnett, 1993: 423). Here, however, I will specifically examine the term “poseur” in regard to the bands under consideration, since in my analysis I will be attempting to determine their authenticity.

In the case of heavy metal subculture, the authenticity of a band is partly defined by “its members hairstyles (long), the seriousness of the themes in its songs, the emotional quality of the vocals” (Weinstein, 2010: 46), alongside with “long-term dedication to heavy metal and respect for its culture” (Larsson, 2013: 95). Barker and Taylor (2007) also mention that both in heavy metal and punk subcultures a band is considered to be a sell-out if their starting base was from a working-class social environment and the band later signed a profitable contract with a big record company, thus becoming inauthentic.

Crass’s 1980 song “White punks on hope”²⁹ illustrates what *Crass* considered to be a “sell-out”, where they condemned *The Clash* for straying away from their socialist principles (“*Clash*, they can stuff their punk credentials, cause it's them that take the cash”). In heavy metal subculture, the word “poseur” was used by thrash metal bands in the 1980s in order to “mock the “hair metal” bands and their stylistic choices (e.g., make-up, big haircuts, outrageous outfits as well as their commercial music tendencies)” (Berger and Greene, 2011: 39).

However, heavy metal subculture was generally a much more commercial movement than punk, and this is evident in many aspects. First of all, there was never any criticism of heavy metal bands playing on TV shows such as *Top of the Pops*. Also, heavy metal bands, even early on in their careers, signed contracts with big record labels (e.g., *Iron Maiden* on EMI, *Saxon* in Carrere) or moved from small labels to big ones (e.g., *Motorhead* from Chiswick to Bronze, *Judas Priest* from Gull to CBS) and, in general, UK heavy metal was a more US-friendly music movement than punk. This is evident by the fact that many “NWOBHM bands toured in the US on a steady basis” (Kirkby, 2001: 35:12). It was this commercialization that led NWOBHM’s main promoter, Geoff Barton, to declare that “NWOBHM is dead now in 1981”; his disappointment reflected the fact that this underground movement was becoming “extremely mainstream, as well as that big record labels were constantly signing heavy metal bands” (Tucker, 2006: 79)³⁰.

²⁹ Taken from their 1980 “Stations Of The Crass” 12” long play record.

³⁰ NWOBHM band *Def Leppard* found itself in a very difficult situation, being bombarded with beer cans while performing at the Reading festival in August 1980. The reason for that was a song from their first 1980 12” long play record, “Hello America,” as well as because of their constant touring in the US. (Larkin, 1995: 1118)

A major difference between heavy metal and punk in terms of commercialization, therefore, can be spotted in terms of the cultural basis of both music genres. Frith (1981: 138) notes that “the five dominant record labels (CBS, RCA, WEA, Polygram, Capitol) owned about 90% of the market by the late 1970s, but that they failed to manipulate the rock consumers’ tastes, and ended by creating an expensive system of overproduced music products”. Frith claims punk subculture proposed an “alternative” to the “mainstream” record companies (via its DIY ethic of small record companies), but that it eventually failed “because it was mostly absorbed by the dominant labels, as well as because it did not achieve “financial viability” either in the UK or in the US” (Thompson, 2004: 143). Frith interprets punk’s independent and commercial failure as its broader “cultural failure”, even though if punk had succeeded economically this “would have been against its early anti-commercial ethic”. In terms of commitment, many people from the punk subculture believed that “if it is not DIY and its commercial, then it is not punk” (Dunn, 2016: 15).

In heavy metal subculture, commercialization was not much of an issue. This is evident in the fact that the music industry “decided in the 1980s to invest in the most commercial, female-friendly side of heavy metal, as well as in bands such as *Def Leppard* whose sonic output was a watered-down version of heavy metal” (Tschmuck, 2012: 157). Heavy metal music genre by the mid-1980s gained even more airplay on commercial MTV shows, reaching “20% in 1984 from 8% the previous year” (Garofalo, 1997: 401) and having a peak in 1989 when “40% of all the albums sold in the US were exclusively heavy metal” (Walser, 1993: 3). Heavy metal subculture seemed to adopt the principles of pop’s “cultural imperialism” in the mid-1980s; this is evident in the case of *Hear n’ Aid*, the 1985 one-time collaboration amongst heavy metal musicians in order to raise money for Africa’s famine relief (Tobler, 1992: 416). *Hear n’ Aid* was the heavy metal equivalent of Pop’s USA for Africa’s 1985 “We are the World”. Street (1997: 77) discussed “We are the World,” noting that “The stars of USA for Africa may sing ‘We are the World’, but theirs is, in fact, a very particular world. Pop music may be sold all over the globe, but its production and character derive largely from the ‘worlds’ of the USA and Britain”, and this was exactly the case with *Hear n’ Aid*’s “Stars”.

This commercial explosion of heavy metal music genre by 1985 might be a reason why punk music genre lost its power and attractiveness. This issue is raised in the discussion of *Onslaught* in the second theme of analysis, where I argue that heavy metal’s commercial explosion contributed to heavy metal’s dominance in “extreme” music, leaving only a small,

underground room for punk promoted on John Peel's BBC Radio show³¹. However, the loss of punk's attractiveness could be also attributed to the division of punk into many small sub-genres (like hardcore/punk, garage punk revival, Oi!, anarcho-punk and crust punk) which represented different music scenes (subcultures) with different and often conflicting values (such as Oi! and crust-punk). In the case of heavy metal subculture its factions were mainly explicable in music terms, and the relations between its subgenres were rarely conflicting (such as in lite metal vs. thrash metal), and it continued to enjoy far more cohesion than punk subculture.

Against this background, the issue of authenticity is critical in terms of identifying crossover's perspectives (authentic or inauthentic) commercially or artistically driven.

³¹ Some extreme hardcore/ punk bands even had their Peel Sessions released on vinyl, such as those by *Extreme Noise Terror*, *Intense Degree* and *Doom*.

Part II - Methodology

Chapter 5. Research design

5.1 Research objectives and approach

In this section I present my research objectives, as well as the methodology I use in order to implement my research project. My research interest is to explore the evolving dynamics of punk and heavy metal music in the UK during the 1980s, with a particular emphasis on the impact of socio-political factors on the lyrical/visual content, while my goal is to highlight the musical development/evolution that derived from the crossover of the two genres, as well as providing evidence in terms of visual, lyrical and imagery crossover issues, proving that was an interaction among the two conflicting subcultures.

My research questions are:

- Was there a holistic crossover (visual/imagery, musical or lyrics) between different subgenres/scenes of heavy metal and punk in the UK in the period researched?
- Were there commonalities of the components (visual/imagery, lyrics, music) of punk and heavy metal bands, referring to specific social/political issues of that period and country?
- How the issue of ‘authenticity’ is addressed and to which extent this crossover was artistically or commercially driven?

Qualitative analysis is valuable in researching the crossover of musical genres because it allows researchers to delve into the complexity and richness of the phenomena, capturing diverse perspectives, contextual nuances, and the dynamic interplay of musical, lyrical, and visual elements in punk and heavy metal. Alongside, through qualitative analysis we can capture the cultural context, historical influences, and societal factors that contribute to the evolution of musical genres. This contextual understanding is vital for comprehending the significance of the crossover between punk and heavy metal. Therefore, the reasons that we need qualitative analysis in the present research are:

- Contextual understanding: Qualitative analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the context in which the music was created. This includes social, cultural, political, and economic factors that may have influenced the music and the band's evolution.
- Artistic expression: Music is a form of artistic expression, and qualitative analysis helps in exploring the artistic elements of a band's work. This includes lyrical themes, musical styles and the overall creative direction such as imagery and visuals.

- Subjective experience: Music is a subjective experience, and qualitative analysis can capture the emotional and personal responses of artists, critics and the audience (that in our case will be addressed through letters in magazines of the day). It helps in understanding how music is perceived, interpreted, and experienced by individuals.
- Cultural significance: Music is often intertwined with broader cultural movements, and qualitative analysis can uncover the cultural significance of a particular band or musical movement. It helps in identifying how music reflects and influences societal norms, values, and changes.
- In-depth exploration of lyrics and themes: Qualitative analysis allows for a detailed exploration of lyrics, themes, and storytelling within music. This is particularly important in genres where lyrics play a significant role, such as in punk and heavy metal.

To summarize, in my research qualitative analysis is indispensable for gaining a richer and more nuanced understanding of the artistic, cultural, and emotional dimensions of heavy metal and punk within the specific timeframe I'm focusing on.

5.2 Data collection

The timeframe of my research is from 1979 to 1990 (Margaret Thatcher's era as prime minister); in a very few cases, songs that were released prior to or later than this era were examined too, based on their relevance with my research.

To conduct the research, magazines and music newspapers were collected via internet platforms such as *Pro-Quest* and *Rock's Backpages*, as well as via visits to British Library Newspapers in London. The use of internet databases (*Pro-Quest* and *Rock's Backpages*) included free subscriptions (a 3-month period for *Pro-Quest* and an unlimited time subscription for *Rock's Backpages*). After a 6-month period of research, I managed to get hold of 2167 newspapers and musical magazines dating from 1979 to 1990; this number included issues of *New Musical Express*, *Melody Maker* and *Sound* newspapers, *Metal Forces*, *Metal Hammer*, *Kerrang!* and *Maximum Rock n' Roll* magazines among others. Due to the nature of combing

those magazines (usually page per page), I had to organise and file the electronic (PDF) documents I created in chronological order and in page number sequence, issue by issue³².

I managed to get photographs of bands and concert flyers via their original websites (or from their official Social Media pages); about 120,000 pictures were collected, and the extraction of evidence led to a total number of 1372 pictures (after 3 months) that are available in a hard disk drive³³.

Official musical videos from bands, video interviews, video documentaries as well as movies were also sought via the internet and specifically from www.youtube.com and www.dailymotion.com. The total number of videos sought and analysed was 84, over a six-month period.

Data such as the chronology of records, outer, inner, back sleeves and lyrics were sought out through electronic databases such as www.discogs.com and www.metal-archives.com. Via those databases I also had the chance to seek out band members' other projects, as well as contacting band members. This procedure lasted 6 months in total.

In parallel, I undertook primary research in the respective field via structured, open-ended questionnaires. Those questionnaires were distributed to UK heavy metal and punk band members of the 1980s via Social Media (*Facebook*) and were collected over 3 months. Twenty-two responses were collected (12 from punk and 10 from heavy metal) and data was used in accordance with its relevance to my chapters and discussion of music bands, regarding their musical crossover with either hardcore/punk or heavy metal, as well as in terms of conflict between the two subgenres. The purpose of those questionnaires is to create a strong point of/whether the members of the bands examined had used elements from one genre (or the other), in their musical approach, only to strengthen my assertions regarding their musical approach.

Initially, and before deciding on the case studies of my chapters, all PDF magazines and newspapers were analysed; data was extracted in accordance with its relevance to my research and terms such as "heavy metal", "punk", "hardcore", "NWOBHM-New wave of British heavy metal", "Oi!", "street-punk", "UK82", "crossover" were used in order to

³² Those documents are available in a hard disk drive that will be submitted to Panteion University after the completion of my studies.

³³ A hard drive that will be submitted to Panteion after the completion of my studies

categorize band member interviews, record and live performance reviews. This research procedure was carried out over four months.

The band pictures and gig flyers were chosen on the basis of their relevance to my research objectives: punk and heavy metal band photographs and flyers were identified in terms of evidence of visual crossover and incidence of musical mutual gig appearances (in the case of flyers). This procedure lasted 3 months. Official videos, interviews, documentaries and movies (of the era or referring to the era) relating to heavy metal and punk bands were analysed in terms of identifying “conflict” and/or “crossover”, over a period of 6 months.

A chronology of records and songs was sought in order to create an historical backbone that would help me form and refine the content of the case studies in my chapters. Outer, inner and back sleeves were collected in order to undertake the imagery analysis and to identify a possible imagery crossover between punk and heavy metal bands through considering the specific social and political context. Lyrics were collected through databases with the use of keywords in order to seek and identify songs by bands that fitted my era of study (1979-1990) and location of research; therefore, chronological and country search restrictions were implemented.

Books, papers and journals of the era as well as politically themed databases (such as www.margarethatcher.org) were analysed in order to understand the social and political context to which my chapters refer. Key references such as “unemployment”, “Thatcher”, “Cold War”, “nuclear disarmament” were identified in the manual searches of those databases. This research procedure was undertaken in 6 months./

My methodological approach in terms of digital research, involved extensive digital research, utilizing various online platforms and digital tools to gather a comprehensive set of data related to the punk and hardcore music scenes of the 1980s. The sources included Pro-Quest, anarcho-punk.net, heavymetalrarities.com, social media platforms, official websites, metallipromo.com, Soulseek, YouTube, and Dailymotion (among others).

The sources and data collection included online platforms (such as Pro-Quest), where I downloaded academic articles, magazines, and newspapers in PDF format. Pro-Quest is a reputable database that provides access to scholarly resources, ensuring the credibility and reliability of the data collected, and all of the files downloaded were stored in a hard disk drive, in chronological and alphabetical order. Alongside, the websites of anarcho-punk.net and

heavymetalrarities.com were also examined in order to download files (fanzines and magazines) into PDF format, and the storage procedure was the same, as above aforementioned in Pro-Quest. These niche platforms are valuable for accessing rare and specific content related to the punk and heavy metal scenes, providing unique insights unavailable through mainstream sources. PDF files were downloaded via Download Manager application.

Accordingly, social media and official websites of bands were also examined, in order to collect images (band pictures and flyers), and download them. Those images were saved in a hard disk drive, and they were named each one after the bands appearing, in a folder named as “band pictures and flyers”, all downloaded via Download Manager. Alongside, thorough examination and analysis of the band flyer database of metallipromo.com took place, searching for keywords/bands to find and use flyers relevant to my research. These files (jpeg or jpg images) were downloaded via Download Manager application, named after each band and date of gig, and saved in an external hard disk drive folder named as “band flyers”.

The audio and video platforms that were used in my research were Soulseek, Youtube and Dailymotion; in the case of audio, Soulseek (a peer-to-peer file sharing network) was used in order to download songs/full records of bands, and it was used because it is effective for accessing rare and underground music that may not be available through commercial platforms. The songs/LPs were downloaded through Soulseek, in a folder named as “Soulseek Downloads” and a sub-folder named as “Complete”, and their format was mp3, mp4 or FLAC. Regarding the video platforms, the tools needed in order to download videos/movies (or other songs) were YouTube Downloader (for Youtube) and Savefrom.net (for Dailymotion), and every download took place via Download Manager application, with the files being then available in a folder named as “PhD Downloads”. Their format was either mp4 or MOV files.

Finally, I undertook personal digitalization of magazines, newspapers, and fanzines into PDF files, with the use of a portable scanner (named as “I-Scan”); these files were later stored in the external hard disk drive, in a folder named as “Fanzines and Magazines”, through Bluetooth linking of the portable scanner with the PC used. All files were then categorised after their name/brand (e.g. Metal Hammer Greece), and with chronological sequence (when it was available).

In terms of questionnaires that I distributed via social media to band members, those ones were in Microsoft Office Word format, and the responses were downloaded (via

Download Manager application) and saved in the external hard disk drive (in the format of docx), in a folder named as “Questions-Answers Bands PhD”.

As aforementioned, all files (images, video, audio) were stored on an external hard disk drive, categorized into magazines/newspapers, pictures, music, and videos, with alphabetical and/or chronological sequence (magazines and newspapers followed a strict chronological sequence, especially in weekly publications such as *NME* or *Melody Maker*).

An issue that occurred during my research was, therefore, the lack of data, in terms of official videos of the bands (with the exception of Judas Priest, The Clash, The Exploited and Motorhead). This lack of evidence is credited to the fact that punk and heavy metal bands of the era avoided making videos of their songs. The reason why I analysed certain socio-political issues of the era (unemployment, nuclear war, fox hunting and anti-Americanism) was the amount and the quality of the evidence; in all cases, I identified a holistic crossover between punk and heavy metal.

5.3 Themes of analysis

After the collection of all data (music, lyrics, imagery, visuals and social/political material) four themes were identified – ‘unemployment, anomie and alienation’; ‘the threat of a nuclear war’; ‘fox hunting’; ‘anti-Americanism – on which my analysis probes further. The basis of drawing on these themes is chronological and the reasons of their choice rely on different factors - the first two were chosen for popularity reasons, whereas the third and fourth were chosen because of their controversial nature. The themes of unemployment, anomie, alienation and the threat of a nuclear war were prevalent in the UK punk of early 1980s, both lyrically and visually, and this can be also be alleged for numerous occasions of UK heavy metal bands of the timeframe explored, when they strayed from the Weinstein definition of ‘Dionysian and Chaotic’. Lyrics database keyword searches (such as in Punk Lyrics on punkyrics.com and Metal Archives on metal-archives.com) provided such plethora of examples, with the evidence expanding even more while focusing on the magazines, musical newspapers and fanzines of that era.

The controversial nature of fox hunting and anti-Americanism in the UK was the driving force behind choosing the third and fourth themes. Fox hunting was an issue that

spawned massive controversy in the 1980s, with anti-hunting activists and associations taking action against it through lawful and even unlawful means, while the upper class being supportive of fox hunting, as a game destined for the privileged ones. Alongside, the fourth theme of anti-Americanism was evident in a section of the UK society in the 1980s, a sentiment that we bred in the early of 20th century and spawning in the decade of 1980s from the aforementioned nuclear weapons/Cold War, as well as the 'special relationship' between Thatcher and Reagan. The criticism on USA was also evident in cultural and economic bases, with segments of the British society condemning the increasing Americanization of British culture (as this was appearing on media, values, economic policies or even fast-food chains). Even more, numbers of UK punk bands were critical (lyrically and visually) of the constant Americanization in terms of economic policies and military action. However, on the other hand, the invasion of Americanism in British society was welcomed by the largest segment of British, as this is evident on the acceptance that American consumer culture had, with American fashion, music, and entertainment (including the rise of MTV).

The bands chosen, had a very different background, both in musical style, as well as in terms of subculture. In the first theme (unemployment, anomie and alienation), *Judas Priest* were chosen, which is a band that defines classic heavy metal, with multi-national corporations (labels) being behind them at the period we research on, and with massive sales already all over the world. *Amebix*, on the other side, were rooted in the anarcho-punk scene of Tavistock, Devon, being musically the innovators of crust punk, a very rough subgenre of punk music. Their records were DIY initially, on their own Spiderleg Records, and then were released through small indie labels. Their musical approach was weird, angular and definitely non-commercial.

In the second theme (the threat of nuclear war), *Discharge* were chosen due to the fact that they were a punk band, that in that era, focussed lyrically and visually almost exclusively in the fear of (nuclear) war, with their anti-war message being crude and brutal, yet very influential. They were the innovators of the D-beat style, and their legacy/influence was massive in both punk and metal scene, since they were one of the first punk bands with such a bass-heavy and extreme sound. *Onslaught* were chosen because they were one of the first bands that took *Discharge's* influence and transformed it into a more heavy metal (thrash metal) approach, being one of the first bands in the UK that crossed over from punk to heavy metal. *Raven* were chosen in the second theme because they belong to a different generation of heavy metal, the one called as New Wave Of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), a movement that

took cues from the punk scene too in terms of music, lyrics, and releasing records, yet being considered as one of the most pure forms of heavy metal to ever appear in the genre.

In the third theme (fox hunting), the reason that *The Business* were chosen relies on the fact that it was a band connected with the Oi! subgenre of punk; Oi! didn't have the specific left-wing political direction of punk, and neither did it embrace anarchism, that was prevalent in the 1980s in the UK punk scene. Oi! was working-class, patriotic, with signs of nationalism (and even cases of being fascist-friendly), and with traces of machismo and sexism, while musically it sounded like a combination of pub rock, punk and classic rock with football chants, sounding much more mellow than the UK punk of early 1980s. On the other hand, *Sacrilege* were chosen, a band that proposed an ultra-extreme approach into their music, grounded in the anarcho-punk scene musically, lyrically and visually, with a female vocalist and with their early releases sounding like a wall of noise. So, the third theme included bands from the opposite spectrum of punk in all aspects, that headed to crossover with metal later.

Finally, the fourth theme (anti-Americanism) includes two bands that enjoyed a more mainstream acceptance, later signing to big record labels, and both having in their fanbase punks and heavy metal fans; *The Exploited* and *Motorhead*. The reason that those bands were chosen, is to focus on the issue of authenticity. Can a band with a more mainstream acceptance, that crosses over heavy metal and punk, retain its authentic nature, and earning respect for their authenticity from fans of both subgenres?

Overall, the themes and the bands chosen are as follows:

For the first theme - Unemployment, Anomie and Alienation in 1980s UK – the bands of *Judas Priest* and *Amebix* (1980-1985)

For the second theme - The threat of a Nuclear War – the bands of *Discharge*, *Onslaught* and *Raven* (1982-1985)

For the third theme - Fox Hunting and the reaction of punk and heavy metal bands in the UK – the bands of *The Business* and *Sacrilege* (1981-1990)

For the fourth theme - Anti-Americanism in UK punk and heavy metal – the bands of *The Exploited* and *Motorhead* (1982-1989)

5.3.1 Unemployment, Anomie and Alienation in the 1980s UK

As I have argued so far, the changing ideological and political policy of this decade can be seen clearly reflected in the music and iconography of both metal and punk bands of the time. As Moy (1985: 8) has argued, the Thatcher era is usually associated with the early 1980s recession around the developed world. For Hay (2009, 2010), the ideological change signalled by the election of Margaret Thatcher's first government in 1979 can be traced back to the country witnessing the so-called 'Winter of Discontent' (1978-1979), when employees in the public sector actively perused wage rises and used strikes in support of their aim (Hay, 2009: 546). Even though the strikes were over by February 1979 (Hay, 2010: 63) the Labour Party's incapacity in handling them led to the victory of the Conservative Party in the general election later in 1979, with Thatcher introducing legislation that reduced the power of trade unions.

The main ideological changes responded to by popular musicians can be found in the Thatcher government's macroeconomic policymaking and rapid increases in unemployment. This is characterized by Tomlinson (2007: 4) as a radical drift from the Keynesian "deficit financing" model to macroeconomic regulations that led to drastic changes.

The high unemployment figures as well as the social discontent that spread all over the UK were considered to be major factors that led to subsequent riots; the vast changes in the UK economy created widespread urban fracture, and those changes created social and political problems affecting the people of those cities (Rodrigues, 1981: 19). Such was the case with the Brixton and Toxteth riots in 1981. Toxteth had some of the highest rates of unemployment in the whole of the UK during the recession (Parkinson and Duffy, 1984: 76). The intensity of the Toxteth riots was such that widespread public shock accompanied them; rioters had conducted petrol-bomb attacks and used milk-float vehicles against the police, and there had been pillaging of shops (Jefferson, 1983: 203).

Scott-Samuel, et al., (2014: 66) note that Thatcherism had a big effect on the well-being of the population in the UK; specifically, they identify depression as a natural outcome of the political and social situation when unemployment, poverty and income inequality heightened. They also state that the outcome of this social alienation and depression was the rise in mortalities related to drug and alcohol abuse, as well as rises in violence and suicide.

5.3.2 The renewed threat of Nuclear War

The renewed fear of a nuclear war in the 1980s arose following increased tensions in the Cold War, the product of the political and military tensions that had arisen after the World War II between the United States and its NATO allies on the one side and the Eastern Bloc countries (with Soviet Union in the leading role) on the other (Gaddis, 2005: 22).

The frightening return of Cold War tensions in the late 1970s commenced after the USSR invaded Afghanistan on the 5th December 1979, when the Soviet Army allied with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in order to fight rebelling groups of Mujahideen tribesmen (Lacina and Gleditsch, 2005: 154). Some U.S. officials had started secretly to meet these insurgent leaders via the mediation of the Pakistan government in May 1979 (Galster, 2001: 1). This happened following the kidnap and murder of U.S. ambassador Adolph Dubs by an unknown group of militants in early February 1979.

The U.S. put pressure on the Afghan and Soviet governments to secure the peaceful release of Adolph Dubs, but with no result. Dubs was caught in the crossfire while Afghan security forces (with the supervision of Russian advisers) tried to attain his release (Harwood, 2001). Dubs's death led to heavy criticism by the U.S. of the methods used by Soviet security forces, thus adding more tension in their relations (Ostermann, 2005: 139). The next year, 1980, tension increased when the U.S. boycotted the Summer Olympics held in the USSR in order to protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Smothers, 1996). The boycott of the Summer Olympics was motivated by Operation Eagle Claw, a failed U.S. attempt to rescue 52 of its citizens held hostage at the U.S. embassy in Tehran (Bowden, 2006). In this operation on the 24th April 1980 one of the six helicopters crashed, leading to the death of eight U.S. servicemen (Gabriel, 1985: 106). These interrelated events led to the resurgence of the Cold War.

Thatcher saw nuclear armaments totally positively, considering nuclear weapons to be a deterrent for any kind of war, be it conventional or nuclear, and she gave the example of Russia in her interview for *The Illustrated London News* (28 March 1983); she stated that Russia did not destroy their stockpile (as the UK had), and even more, the Russians went further, developing an extended nuclear weapon force. According to Thatcher, Russia's tactics and political status ("inhuman even towards to its own people") would make the UK vulnerable; moreover, she did not believe in disarmament in a single country, but only globally,

and since there were countries that were not willing to disarm, the UK couldn't be the one that would do it.

The British response from Thatcher was totally supportive of Reagan's cold war politics (along with the general anti-communist stance both had adopted) and by 1985 she endorsed the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), a U.S. missile system that was claimed to protect the US from nuclear attack, and cruise missiles were placed on UK soil with Thatcher's consent (Nolan, 2002: 1600).

5.3.3 Fox hunting and the English social order

Fox hunting, according to Griffin (2007), had its roots in Great Britain in the 16th century, and continued until its ban in 2005. Fox hunting included the activities of monitoring, chasing and hunting down (and killing) a fox, with the help of dogs.

Though Almond (2003: 5) states that there have been few (or even no) references by British historians to the history of foxhunting, a significant amount of literature actually exists on the subject. In fact, there have been references in British bibliography to foxhunting through a variety of perspectives. Williamson and Bellamy (1987) examined the political context for the whole outdoor recreational experience in the countryside, focussing on the prevention of unauthorized access by the landowners. Itzkowitz (1977) emphasized the social context in which fox hunting developed from an outdoor recreation for the rich elite to a more popular activity, including many not strictly from an aristocratic background.

The issue of the ban on fox hunting also arose in the UK General Election of 1983 when it became clear that the voters were widely critical of it. Only 11% of the electorate approved of fox hunting, whereas 65% stood against it, and 55% of the whole electorate favoured the ban of fox hunting. However, the interesting issue that arose from this election was the fact that there appeared to be a major differentiation amongst party voters. The condemnation of fox hunting among Labour and Liberal voters was high (80% and 69% respectively), while only 45% of Conservative voters stood against it (Griffin, 2007: 203). Therefore, the issue of fox hunting appears to have also been a social class issue in the decade of 1980s.

May also states that there was a social class issue in the advocacy of fox hunting. Richard Thomas, in his 1983 book *The Politics of Hunting*, mentioned that the social class of the individual was a crucial element defining the individual's approval of the ban. Liberal and Labour voters appeared to be in favour of the ban on fox hunting (at a percentage of 68%). To

the contrary, the percentage of Conservatives supporting the ban was much less (only at 51%). Thomas added to his conclusion another aspect of social context, the “urban versus rural” issue. Thomas presented the statistical analysis of a 1978 poll conducted on the ban that indicated the urban residents’ advocacy of the ban at 65%, which dropped to 53% for rural residents (Thomas, 1983: 98).

In terms of the social class issue, one of the most famous supporters of fox hunting was Prince Charles. Even though Prince Charles started fox hunting in his mid-20s, the fact that he was a competent horse rider contributed to his transition into a skilled fox hunter (Griffin, 2007: 206). During the 1980s Prince Charles was a regular fox hunter, presenting and promoting the sport to his sons, and getting involved with the ‘Peterborough Royal’ (the most famous foxhunting meet), along with Princess Michael of Kent (Griffin, 2007: 207). Prince Charles’s fondness for fox hunting, however, attracted social criticism (May, 2013: 24).

Thomas (1983) took an ethnographic approach in order to describe the people that formed the specific group that supported fox hunting: “Older middle aged, upper-middle class, Conservative rural men”, thus distancing the fan base of the supporters of fox hunting from the working class.

Concluding, both punk and heavy metal music cultures during this period shared songs whose lyrics showed awareness of fox hunting, confronting the sport. Alongside the animal rights concerns of punk and heavy metal bands, it could also be said that there was another reason for punk and heavy metal bands to stand against fox hunting; this derives from the fact that fox hunting was mostly now a sport of the bourgeoisie. UK punk bands attacked Conservatism and the upper classes in all their forms and expressions, while both punk and heavy metal bands consisted mostly of members from working class and middle-class background.

5.3.4 Anti-Americanism and “special relationship”

The terminology of the “Special Relationship” was introduced by Winston Churchill in 1946 in order to enclose the entity of the alliance between USA and UK in a spectrum of issues (political, historical, cultural, military) (Wither, 2006: 47). The alliance of the UK and US arose, however, not only through support but criticism too in the period to which I refer (1976-1989) and this will be analysed.

Anti-Americanism continued sporadically throughout the 20th century in the UK, with the Left being mostly against USA in the post-war period (since 1945) (Pelling, 1956). British criticism of the US was a complex issue that included the expression of opposition over such issues as politics, social life and culture. This derives from the definition of “Americanism” that David Strauss offers (“the set of values, practices and origins that are rooted in the USA”), leading to a definition of Anti-Americanism as the ideological opponent of assumed American values (Strauss, 1978: 6). Americanism, according to Kazin et al., (2012: 12) could be interpreted in two ways: as the signification of what is unique about the USA (incorporating all those colonies and territories that constitute the US) and allegiance to the US nation that is based on the advocacy of its political ideals. Hofstadter (in Barrett, 1997: 3) considers Americanism to be a result of the inevitable fate of USA as a nation not to have any ideologies, but to actually be an ideology in itself. Another historic fact, according to Kazin, is that the conservatives were the ones to promote Americanism as their exclusive property during and after the Vietnam War; Americanism at that time was an exclusive property of the Right, and it was expressed by over-exaggerated forms of patriotism. Anti-Americanism, on the other hand, expressed scepticism then towards the USA tactics in the Vietnam War.

During the Thatcher era although there was a close alliance between the countries, sentiments of hostility (even if they were pale in comparison with other countries) towards America were expressed (Glick et al., 2006: 363). The Reagan-Thatcher period led to an alliance that had a common ground in the political and economic ideas of neo-liberalism (‘small government’, taxation reduction, freedom in market transactions) as well as strong defence politics (Reynolds, 1985: 1). Coker (1992: 407) characterised Great Britain’s political attitude in that period as being the most pro-American when compared with other nations.

Chapter 6. Methods and tools of analysis

The levels of analysis can be discerned into two; including the general analysis, that is a bibliographic analysis, where it presents and analyses cases of crossover between heavy metal and punk worldwide. Alongside, this first level of qualitative analysis progresses furthermore into a more specific context, where cases of crossover of heavy metal and punk in the UK are presented and analysed. Accordingly, this first level of analysis responds to the first research question on the existence of crossover (visual/imagery, musical or lyrics) between different subgenres/scenes of heavy metal and punk in the UK in the period researched.

The second level of qualitative analysis (vertical-style) includes the selection of these specific issues that are based on the reply of punk and metal in visual and lyrical terms, reflecting on the four themes (Unemployment, Anomie and Alienation in the 1980s UK; The renewed threat of Nuclear War; Fox Hunting and the English social order; Anti-Americanism and “Special Relationship”) while analysing the case-bands of *Judas Priest*, *Amebix*, *Onslaught*, *Discharge*, *Raven*, *The Business*, *Sacrilege*, *The Exploited* and *Motorhead*, and replies the second and the third research questions on the commonalities of the components (visual/imagery, lyrics, music) of punk and heavy metal bands that referred into specific social/political issues of the day in UK, as well as the issue of authenticity (in order to identify the ‘artistic vs commercial’).

6.1 Levels of analysis tools

The tools of analysis used for both the general and the second level of analysis, differ.

In the case of the first level of analysis, I went on through the bibliographical method of analysis, either from books, papers or magazines/musical newspapers. I offered examples of lyrics that were either punk or heavy metal, via the search through databases such as Punk Lyrics (plyrics.com) and Metal Archives (metal-archives.com), in order to connect the lyrics with what Weinstein referred as metal lyrics, or what Sabin referred as punk style of lyrics.

I also presented and analysed examples of music, such as *Judas Priest*’s “Sentinel”, to offer the perception of what Walser or Weinstein regarded as prototypes of heavy metal music,

while the same level of analysis took place in another classic punk song, *The Undertones*' "True Confessions", in order to present an example of what Laing and Reynolds regarded as a typical punk song, and its ingredients.

Alongside, heavy metal covers and logos of 1980s such as *Diamond Head*'s logo, *Celtic Frost* "To Megatherion" were chosen in order to present and analyse heavy metal visual status according to the definitions given by Weinstein, and the cover of the classic UK punk band *X-Ray Spex* "Germfree adolescents" was also chosen in order to be analysed of what a prototype of punk cover is, in accordance to Jones and Sorger definition, or the black and white approach (as described by Dines) that was explained via the example of *Discharge* and "Fight Back" 7" cover.

As for the imagery status, the cases of *Sex Pistols* and *Iron Maiden* were presented (punk and heavy metal respectively), in order to offer visual examples of what Laing and Weinstein defined as punk and heavy metal typical imagery status.

Overall, the bibliographic analysis was highly valuable in a number of contexts. First of all, it helped you identify key works, seminal texts, and influential writings regarding punk and heavy metal (and their crossover) in the period examined. This enabled me to build on existing research, acknowledge the contributions of previous scholars like Weinstein, Waksman etc and provide a comprehensive overview of the existing literature. Alongside, I managed to build on the foundations/evidence that were laid in newspapers and magazines, incorporating them and proposing new questions for my research, that ended up being my second and third research questions, both appearing in the second level of my analysis.

Regarding, the second level of analysis, these include the ways in which I will choose to analyse my findings; these differed in every case/band, due to their specific nature.

David Machin's multimodal method, as outlined in his 2010 book "Analysing Popular Music: Image, Sound and Text," combines semiotics and discourse analysis to examine the interaction of various modes of communication within a cultural artifact such as a song, music video or album cover. The method involves the identification and analysis of the different modes, including linguistic, visual and musical, and an exploration of how they work together to create meaning.

Machin argues that popular music is a rich source of data for exploring the interplay between different modes of communication, as it frequently incorporates lyrics, visual elements

(such as album covers and music videos), and musical structures. By examining how these different modes interact, the analyst can gain insights into the ways in which cultural meanings are constructed and disseminated through popular music.

Machin proposes a four-stage analytical process, which involves (3,7, 218):

1. Identifying the different modes of communication present in the cultural artifact.
2. Examining how these modes are organized and structured within the artifact.
3. Analysing the ways in which the modes interact with each other to create meaning.
4. Interpreting the meaning of the cultural artifact as a whole, taking into account the insights gained from the previous three stages.

To illustrate the multimodal method, Machin provides a detailed analysis of the song and music video for *Pulp*'s "Disco 2000" (1995). In this analysis, he identifies the linguistic, visual, and musical modes present in the song and video, and examines how they interact to create meaning.

Overall, Machin's multimodal method provides a useful framework for analysing the complex interplay between different modes of communication in cultural artifacts like popular music. By examining how linguistic, visual, and musical elements work together, analysts can gain a deeper understanding of the cultural meanings embedded in these artifacts and how they are constructed and disseminated.

In my research, I use Machin's method in order to understand and to identify authenticity in lyrics; in my case, the 'Values-Participants-Agency' method that David Machin proposes is used to analyse 'Sabotage The Hunt' song by *The Business*. This includes three parts where the first section is concentrated with explaining the lyric story at its basic core and the second one includes the identifications of the participants in further understanding the meanings of the song. In my case, the participants are foxes, fox hunters, saboteurs and the Law. So, Machin's method is pursued to analyse the participants of the song and their roles in society. Also, Machin's method is used in order to interpret iconographical some covers (such as *The Business* again), in order to set where (punk or metal) a cover/picture belongs. Finally, Machin's method is also used in order to analyse the musical backbone of songs, and to identify the genre that these songs belong to.

Alongside, Steve Waksman's 2009 book "This Ain't the Summer of Love: Conflict and Crossover in Heavy Metal and Punk" provides a detailed analysis of the musical and cultural similarities and differences between the heavy metal and punk genres, with a focus on their historical development and intersections.

In terms of musical analysis, Waksman argues that heavy metal and punk share a number of musical features, such as a focus on power and intensity, the use of distorted guitars and aggressive drumming, and a rejection of mainstream commercialism. However, he also notes that there are important differences in terms of melody, harmony, and overall aesthetic approach. While punk tends to prioritize simplicity and immediacy, with an emphasis on rawness and DIY aesthetics, heavy metal often emphasizes technical skill, complexity, and virtuosity, with a focus on instrumental prowess and musical virtuosity.

Waksman also examines the ways in which heavy metal and punk have influenced each other musically, with punk musicians incorporating elements of metal into their sound (such as the use of power chords and extended guitar solos), and metal musicians incorporating punk's energy and attitude into their music (such as the use of faster tempos and more aggressive vocals). He argues that these crossover elements have helped to create a range of hybrid sub-genres, such as thrash metal, crossover thrash, and grindcore.

In addition to the musical analysis, Waksman also provides a cultural analysis of the ways in which heavy metal and punk have intersected and clashed over the years. He notes that while both genres emerged in the 1970s as a response to mainstream rock and popular culture, they developed distinct subcultural identities and values that often put them at odds with each other. For example, while punk emphasized DIY ethics, political activism, and a rejection of mainstream consumerism, heavy metal often emphasized technical proficiency, musical virtuosity, and a celebration of excess and spectacle.

Waksman argues that these cultural differences have led to conflicts and tensions between heavy metal and punk communities, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s when both genres became more mainstream and commercialized. However, he also notes that there have been moments of collaboration and mutual influence between the two genres, particularly in the underground and DIY scenes where crossover and hybridization have been more common.

Waksman's method of musical analysis is a great tool in order to identify in which genre does a song belong to; adding to Machin's method though, Waksman also identifies if there is

a musical crossover between metal and punk in a song, and how does this can be interpreted. Waksman's method is used in every case of heavy metal songs, describing them from start to finish.

Textual analysis is a method of studying and interpreting the meaning of a text by closely examining its language, structure, and content. It is often used in the fields of literature, media studies, and cultural studies to analyse a wide range of texts, including novels, films, advertisements, and political speeches. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258), "textual analysis is an approach to analysing social phenomena, which focuses on textual (including semiotic) aspects of the phenomena". This approach involves examining the language and other forms of representation used in a text, as well as the social and cultural context in which the text is produced and consumed.

One example of textual analysis could be analysing the lyrics of a song. For instance, consider the song "Imagine" by *John Lennon*. A textual analysis of the song might examine the language and structure of the lyrics, as well as their historical and cultural context.

The analysis could explore the use of the present tense, which creates a sense of immediacy and encourages listeners to imagine a different world. It might also examine the repetition of the phrase "imagine all the people," which creates a sense of unity and solidarity. The analysis could also consider the historical context of the song, which was written in the midst of the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, and examine how the lyrics reflect the social and political concerns of the time.

Overall, a textual analysis of "Imagine" could provide insights into the song's meaning, its significance within popular culture, and its enduring appeal as a call for peace and social justice.

When considering contextual factors, the aim is to understand how the social, historical, cultural, and political context in which a text was produced and received shapes its meaning and interpretation. This approach emphasizes the importance of analysing a text within its broader context, rather than viewing it in isolation.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 8), "The meaning of a text arises from the interaction between its linguistic and other semiotic resources and the social, cultural and historical contexts in which it is produced and consumed". This means that understanding the context in which a text is produced and consumed is essential for interpreting its meaning.

One example of considering contextual factors could be analysing the lyrics of a popular song. For instance, consider the song "Strange Fruit" by *Billie Holiday*. The song is a powerful protest against racism and violence towards Black Americans, particularly the practice of lynching.

In order to fully understand the meaning of the song, it is important to consider the historical and cultural context in which it was written and performed. At the time, lynching was a common practice in the Southern United States, and Black Americans were routinely subjected to discrimination and violence. The song's lyrics and haunting melody evoke the horror and brutality of lynching, and serve as a poignant reminder of the injustices faced by Black Americans.

By considering the contextual factors surrounding "Strange Fruit," such as the history of lynching in the United States and the broader cultural and political climate of the time, we can gain a deeper understanding of the song's meaning and significance. This approach helps to demonstrate how the social and cultural context of a text can shape its interpretation and impact.

The textual analysis of my themes is concentrated on analysing the lyrics of songs with Weinstein's definition of heavy metal lyric style, Sabin's punk lyric style, and focussing on the folk vs pop definition of Frith, as well as Harker's definition of authenticity, alongside other factors of authenticity that apply either to heavy metal or punk. Considering also the contextual factors is cases like e.g., *Judas Priest's* 'Breaking the Law' lyrics are the ones that apply to specific period's social climate (unemployment), have a crossover tendency (a pure heavy metal band writing a song with social orientation) while authenticity is examined.

Accordingly, I analyse the issue of authenticity in each case study; authenticity in punk and heavy metal music has been defined in various ways by different scholars and writers: "Authenticity, as the term is used in punk, refers to an ideal of cultural and personal expression that is opposed to the fake, artificial, and contrived." (Sabin, 1999: 3). "Authenticity in punk rock is a quality derived from a particular performance style that is a product of specific sociohistorical circumstances." (Cooley, 2005: 82). "Authenticity in metal is a construct that arises from the genre's social and cultural history, and is inextricably linked to issues of power, identity, and musical style." (Kahn-Harris, 2007: 3). "Authenticity in metal is not just about being sincere and honest, but about being able to convincingly inhabit a particular cultural and musical identity." (Wallach, 2011: 161) "Authenticity in punk and metal is a form of social

currency that is earned through a combination of musical skill, DIY ethics, and a commitment to community values." (Cogan, 2017: 2).

Overall, authenticity in punk and metal is often seen as a quality that is tied to the genres' subcultural values, histories, and aesthetics. It is often associated with a rejection of mainstream commercialism, a commitment to underground and DIY culture, and a sense of genuine expression and identity.

The examination of the metatext will also take place in the analysis; the term "metatext" refers to a type of text that comments on or reflects upon another text. In other words, a metatext is a text that is about another text, often offering an interpretation, critique, or analysis of the original text. This examination of metatext applies on record and gig reviews, as well as interviews, such as the case of e.g., *Onslaught* and Bernard Doe, in order to dive deeper into the interpretation of specific themes.

According to literary scholar Gérard Genette (1991: 261), metatexts can take on several forms, including "paratexts" (textual elements that surround or accompany a text, such as title pages, prefaces, footnotes, and afterwords), "architexts" (texts that define or classify a genre or literary tradition), and "hypertexts" (texts that incorporate elements of other texts or media). Examples of metatexts include:

- Literary criticism that analyses and interprets a novel or poem.
- Film reviews that offer a critique of a movie's plot, characters, and themes.
- Parodies that make fun of a popular song or TV show.
- Adaptations that take an existing story and re-tell it in a new way, such as a modernized version of a classic novel.

Overall, metatexts play an important role in shaping our understanding and interpretation of cultural texts, and can offer valuable insights into the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed through language and other forms of expression.

The examination of metatext offers a wider analysis of songs and images/videos in order to identify authenticity (or commerciality e.g., in the Judas Priest case), possible musical crossovers (in combination with other methods such as Laing/Weinstein), as well as to interpret furthermore reviews and interviews.

The verbal interpretation of songs will be conducted via musical ekphrasis analysis, that refers to a literary or verbal representation of a piece of music, or a musical response to a work of art or literature. It is a form of intermediality that involves the translation of one art form into another, and it can take many different forms, from descriptions of music in literature to musical adaptations of literary works. In each theme of the second level of analysis, the musical ekphrasis analysis of the song offers us the landscape and provides us possible commonalities between heavy metal and punk.

According to literary scholar Siglind Bruhn (2000), musical ekphrasis can be divided into two broad categories: descriptive and narrative. Descriptive musical ekphrasis involves the depiction of music through language, while narrative musical ekphrasis involves the integration of music into a larger narrative structure. Examples of musical ekphrasis include:

- The descriptions of music in literature, such as the detailed descriptions of opera in Thomas Mann's novel "Doctor Faustus" or the depictions of jazz in Toni Morrison's "Jazz."
- Musical adaptations of literary works, such as *Philip Glass's* opera based on Jean Cocteau's film "La Belle et la Bête" or *Elvis Costello's* musical adaptation of "A Face in the Crowd."
- Musical responses to works of art, such as *Mussorgsky's* "Pictures at an Exhibition," which was inspired by a collection of paintings by Viktor Hartmann.
- Overall, musical ekphrasis serves as a way to bridge the gap between different art forms and to explore the connections between them.

The use of musical ekphrasis is pursued in order to offer the musical landscape in the songs analysed; this method leads to the identification of crossovers between metal and punk (of course in combination with theories such as Weinstein's theory)

For the analysis of the authenticity of the songs, two theoretical approaches are employed: first one is Simon Frith's 'discussion on popular music and Harker's evaluation of the issue of authenticity.

Simon Frith in his book "Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music" (1998) explores the distinction between folk and pop music. Frith argues that folk music is characterized by a sense of community and tradition, while pop music is driven by commercial imperatives and individualism.

According to Frith, folk music is "music of the people," created and performed within a particular community or cultural tradition. Folk music is often seen as being rooted in a particular time and place, and is passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition. Frith notes that folk music is often seen as having a greater degree of authenticity than pop music, since it is seen as being more closely connected to the people and traditions from which it emerged.

In contrast, pop music is characterized by its commercial nature and its focus on individual expression. Pop music is often created and performed by individuals or groups seeking to achieve commercial success, and is shaped by the demands of the music industry and the tastes of the mass market. Frith notes that pop music is often seen as being less authentic than folk music, since it is seen as being driven by commercial interests rather than a sense of cultural heritage.

Frith acknowledges that the distinction between folk and pop music is not always clear-cut, and that there are many examples of music that fall somewhere in between. However, he argues that the distinction remains a useful one for understanding the cultural and social dynamics of popular music.

In addition, Harker in his book "Authenticity and the Cultural Politics of Work: New Forms of Informal Control" (1990), he offers a definition of authenticity that is rooted in the concept of labour and workplace culture. Harker argues that authenticity is closely tied to the idea of "real work," which he defines as work that is seen as valuable and meaningful. He notes that in many workplaces, certain kinds of work (such as manual labour) are often seen as more authentic than others (such as office work), and that workers may strive to perform these "real" jobs in order to achieve a sense of authenticity.

Harker also notes that authenticity is often tied to a sense of identity, both for individuals and for groups. He argues that people may seek out jobs or lifestyles that they see as authentic in order to reinforce their sense of identity and connection to a particular community. Overall, Harker's definition of authenticity emphasizes the ways in which it is tied to labor and workplace culture, and how it can serve as a means of reinforcing identity and connection to a particular community.

Authenticity will also be examined from the definitions of "what is authenticity" that were aforementioned to what punks and metalheads consider as authentic and why.

Obviously, both Harker's and Frith's theories are fundamental in my case, while attempting to identify the authenticity in songs that I analyse; both used and combined with other perspectives of authenticity (that apply according to bibliography on these two genres), these are tools that offer strong allegations while researching on the authentic nature of songs, combined with the musicians' background and the reactions of fans and reviewers.

As for the analysis of the visuals, there are used two different approaches, for different reasons. First one is Erwin Panofsky's iconographic approach, which is a method of art analysis that focuses on the identification and interpretation of symbolic and allegorical meanings in works of art. Panofsky believed that the meaning of a work of art could be understood by analysing its symbols and motifs within the context of the historical and cultural environment in which it was created. Panofsky's approach will be used to analyse record covers, and involves several key steps:

Identification of motifs: The first step is to identify the motifs or symbols in a work of art. These motifs may be objects, animals, people, or other elements that recur throughout the artwork.

Interpretation of motifs: The second step is to interpret the meaning of the motifs. Panofsky believed that the meaning of a motif was not fixed or universal, but rather depended on the historical and cultural context in which it was created.

Analysis of form: The third step is to analyse the formal elements of the artwork, such as composition, style, and technique. Panofsky believed that the form of an artwork was not simply a matter of aesthetics, but was also an important factor in understanding its meaning.

Synthesis: The final step is to synthesize the analysis of motifs and form in order to arrive at an overall interpretation of the artwork.

Panofsky's iconographic approach has been widely influential in the field of art history, and has been applied to a wide range of art forms and historical periods. However, it has also been criticized for being overly reliant on the identification of symbols and motifs, and for neglecting other important aspects of art such as social and political context, which is why I will also use Dick Hebdige's visual analysis approach, as this was proposed in his groundbreaking book "Subculture: The Meaning of Style," where he employs a visual analysis of band pictures and videos as a means of understanding the subcultural practices of punk and other youth subcultures of the late 1970s. Hebdige argues that the visual codes of subcultural

style can be seen as a form of resistance to dominant cultural norms and values. Hebdige's visual analysis of band pictures and videos involves a number of key elements:

Clothing and fashion: Hebdige notes that subcultural style is often defined by distinctive clothing and fashion choices, such as leather jackets, ripped jeans, and safety pins. He argues that these fashion choices can be seen as a way of rejecting mainstream cultural values and asserting a sense of individuality.

Hairstyles and body modifications: Hebdige also analyses the hairstyles and body modifications (such as tattoos and piercings) of subcultural practitioners. He argues that these modifications are often used as a means of asserting a sense of difference and rebellion.

Performance and posture: Hebdige notes that the performance and posture of subcultural practitioners (such as the aggressive stance of punk rock musicians) can also be seen as a form of resistance to dominant cultural values.

Symbols and signs: Hebdige analyses the use of symbols and signs in subcultural style, such as the use of Nazi imagery by some punk rockers as a way of subverting dominant cultural values.

Overall, Hebdige's visual analysis of band pictures and videos is part of a larger project to understand subcultural style as a form of resistance to dominant cultural norms and values. He argues that subcultural style is a way of asserting a sense of individuality and difference, and that it can be seen as a form of opposition to the dominant cultural values of consumer capitalism.

Panofsky's approach is crucial in my research, because through the motifs and symbols, possible crossovers (in visual art) are identified; on the other hand, Hebdige's approach also includes clothing, hairstyle, body modifications and postures, also highly relevant with my research, cause through his approach I manage to identify the cases of artists/musicians crossing over to one genre or another.

The tool for the lyrical, musical, and visual definitions of punk songs/images/lyrics used, will be in accordance to the ones defined cultural theorist and writer, Dave Laing; Laing in his 2013 book 'One Chord Wonders: Power and meaning in Punk Rock' he offered the definitions below for punk (and hardcore).

Lyrical Definition: According to Laing, punk lyrics often address themes of social and political unrest, nihilism, and alienation, and are often delivered in a confrontational, unpolished, and raw style, even though in the first place, the early punk bands dealt in terms of lyrics with “with uncooperative girls or bothersome parents and social restrictions” (Laing, 2013: 21). Sabin (1999: 4) adds also that “punk rock lyrics are typically blunt and confrontational; compared to the lyrics of other popular music genres, they often focus on social and political issues”.

Musical Definition: “Punk meant an attitude towards musical performance which emphasized directness and repetition (to use more than three chords was self-indulgence) at the expense of technical virtuosity” (Laing, 2013: 22). Laing notes that punk's DIY ethos and anti-commercialism often led to a rejection of traditional music structures, resulting in songs that were short, fast, and direct, that was initially a “primitive return to the basics” (Laing, 2013: 76)

Visual Definition: In addition to its musical and lyrical characteristics, punk is also defined by its visual aesthetics. Laing notes that “punk's rejection of mainstream culture and the status quo is reflected in its fashion and style, and this ‘free-floating’ character of punk style was most evident in those aspects of the punk look where ‘tearing’ predominated. The torn or ripped T-shirts and other garments, the ear, nose or even mouth punctuated by pins took up a half-formed range of pre-punk associations... bondage trousers plus spiky hair, chains and pins came primarily to denote a punk identity.”³⁴ (Laing, 2015: 118-119). Punk also embraced provocative and confrontational imagery, such as the use of Nazi and Soviet iconography, as a means of challenging societal norms and expectations.

The tool for the lyrical, musical, and visual analysis of metal songs/images/lyrics used will be in accordance to the ones defined by sociologist Deena Weinstein; in her essays "Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology" (1991) and "Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture" (2009), Weinstein offers a visual analysis of band pictures and videos in the context of heavy metal culture. Weinstein argues that the visual imagery of heavy metal is an essential component of its culture, reflecting and reinforcing the genre's values and themes. Weinstein's visual analysis of heavy metal imagery involves a number of key elements:

³⁴ With the mohawk hairstyle later emerging as a characteristic style (Laing, 1985:109)

Clothing and fashion: Weinstein notes that heavy metal style is often defined by distinctive clothing and fashion choices, such as leather jackets, black t-shirts, and studded belts. She argues that these fashion choices are intended to convey a sense of rebellion and nonconformity.

Hairstyles and body modifications: Weinstein also analyses the hairstyles and body modifications (such as tattoos and piercings) of heavy metal musicians and fans. She argues that these modifications are often used as a means of asserting a sense of individuality and identity within the heavy metal subculture.

Performance and staging: Weinstein notes that heavy metal musicians often engage in elaborate and theatrical performances, using pyrotechnics, elaborate stage sets, and other visual effects to enhance the impact of their music. She argues that these performances reflect the larger-than-life themes and values of the heavy metal genre.

Symbols and iconography: Weinstein analyses the use of symbols and iconography in heavy metal culture, such as the use of the devil horns gesture or the pentagram symbol. She argues that these symbols reflect the genre's themes of rebellion, darkness, and danger.

Overall, Weinstein's visual analysis of heavy metal imagery emphasizes the role of visual imagery in the construction and maintenance of heavy metal culture. She argues that the visual codes of heavy metal style are an essential component of the genre's identity, reflecting and reinforcing its values and themes.

Finally, the definition of "Dionysian and Chaotic", again by Weinstein, will be the framework in order to define the style of lyrics in heavy metal, and their relation to the punk style of lyrics; in her article "Dionysian and Chaotic: Heavy Metal Music and the Politics of Alienation" (1991) Weinstein offers a lyrical analysis of heavy metal music that focuses on its themes of Dionysian excess, nihilism, and rebellion. According to Weinstein, heavy metal's lyrics often reflect a sense of alienation from society, a rejection of authority, and a celebration of the "dark side" of human experience. Weinstein argues that the lyrics of heavy metal music are often characterized by a sense of Dionysian excess, which she defines as a celebration of the irrational and the uncontrollable. She notes that heavy metal's emphasis on themes of excess, transgression, and boundary-crossing reflect its roots in the countercultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as its rejection of the social norms and conventions of mainstream culture. At the same time, Weinstein notes that heavy metal's lyrics are also

characterized by a sense of nihilism, which she defines as a rejection of meaning and value. She argues that heavy metal's focus on themes of death, destruction, and chaos reflects a sense of despair and hopelessness about the state of the world, and a rejection of traditional sources of authority and meaning.

Despite its themes of nihilism and despair, Weinstein argues that heavy metal's lyrics are also marked by a sense of rebellion and resistance. She notes that heavy metal often celebrates outsiders and outcasts, and that its lyrics often reflect a desire to challenge the status quo and assert individual autonomy. Overall, Weinstein's analysis suggests that heavy metal's lyrics reflect a complex and nuanced set of attitudes and emotions, including a celebration of excess, a rejection of authority and meaning, and a desire for rebellion and resistance.

Both Laing's and Weinstein's definitions set the background for my research, in order to identify possible musical, lyrical and visual crossovers; those definitions are used in combination with other tools only to provide the ground for a satisfactory analysis of when and where crossover exists (in each case studied), and then to lead to the analysis of authenticity.

Alongside, video analysis in two cases (*Judas Priest* and *The Clash*) takes place with visual analysis method of Iedema (2001b) in order to show how the lyrics, music and visual codes co-operate.

Finally, open-ended questionnaires will be distributed to musicians from the bands of the themes analysed; Open-ended questionnaires can be a valuable qualitative research tool when exploring the experiences, perspectives, and memories of band members, and via structured questions. Open-ended questions allow band members to provide detailed and nuanced responses about their experiences in the music scenes during the 1980s. This depth of information can offer rich insights into the cultural, social, and musical dynamics of the time, as well as unique narratives, anecdotes, and stories that provide a more comprehensive understanding of crossover of the heavy metal and punk scenes in all terms. Alongside, responses can shed light on the influences, collaborations, and conflicts between these genres, contributing to a deeper understanding, and may provide insights into controversies, debates, or conflicts within the heavy metal and punk scenes, as well as the evolution via the crossover, that led to a smoother co-existence.

PART III-Findings

Chapter 7. Crossover and conflict of heavy metal and punk in the 1980s

In this section, cases of visual crossover in terms of gig line-ups and flyers are presented, whereas these cases include bands from USA, Canada and UK. However, this section progresses into focussing on Thatcher's era of governance, and the reaction of punk and heavy metal genres in the UK; there are presented lyrics as well as record covers by punk and heavy metal bands (of different styles or even different political orientation) that expressed their opposition towards Thatcher's politics, their criticism or plainly a mockery.

7.1 Examples of holistic crossover

The crossover in the case of punk and heavy metal in the 1980s in the UK was far more than a mixing of both music genres. The crossover also took place in lyrics, in its imagery and visually (in the cases of record sleeves and gig flyers).

In terms of gigs and gig flyers, the crossover of punk and heavy metal is apparent not only in the UK, but worldwide; this is proved by some gig flyers that appear below that are either retrieved from my archived digitized personal collection (the original flyers were purchased via Ebay) or retrieved from the official websites of the bands or other internet resources. The four gig flyers presented apply to the period of my research (1979-1990).

The first one is a flyer from a gig in the Struts Club, Phoenix, Arizona, United States, (21/04/1985) featuring *Venom* (NWOBHM), *Slayer* (US thrash metal), *Raw Power* (Italian hardcore/punk) and *Harvest* (no data available for this band) on the same billing. Even though the gig's headliners (*Venom*) are referred to as "Real metal", there is also the case of a hardcore/punk band like *Raw Power* appearing on the same bill.

TELL YOUR WIMP FRIENDS TO LISTEN
TO SOME REAL METAL . . . VENOM!

FROM ENGLAND. THEIR FIRST US TOUR

MINORS WELCOME!

VENOM

WITH SPECIAL GUESTS

SLAYER

WITH
FROM ITALY

RAW POWER

THE VALLEY'S

HARVEST

Limited Number of Tickets!

SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1985;

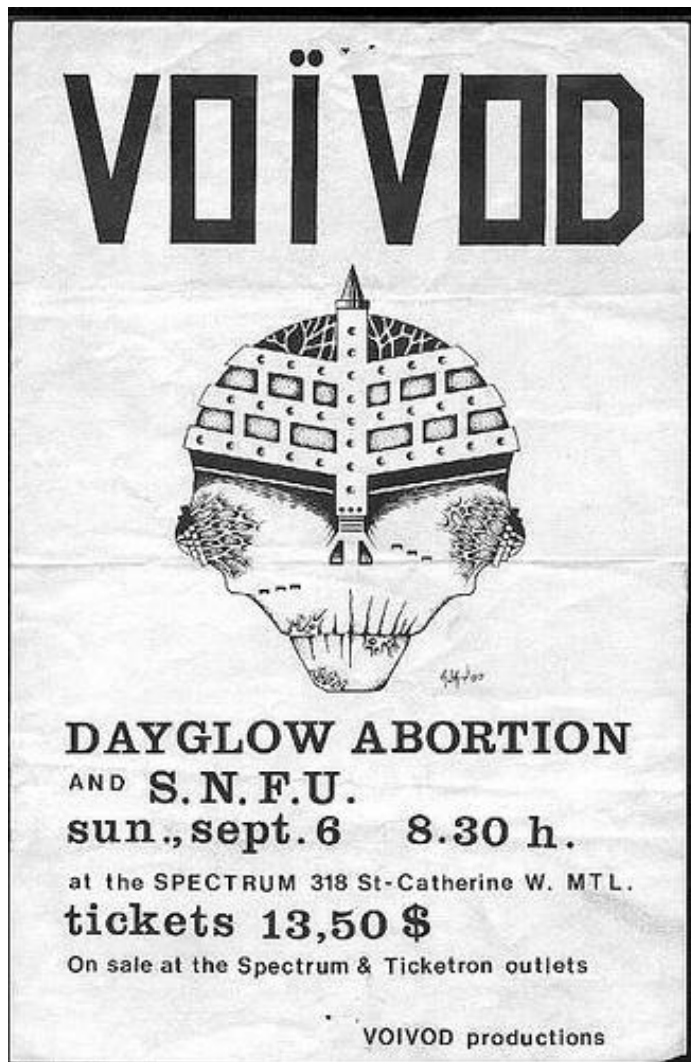
TICKETS \$10.00 advance/\$11.00 day of show
AVAILABLE at all Zia locations and Trax n Wax
and VANS California Days. CALL: 263-5190

7:30pm

STRUTSCLUB 3811W. Indian School

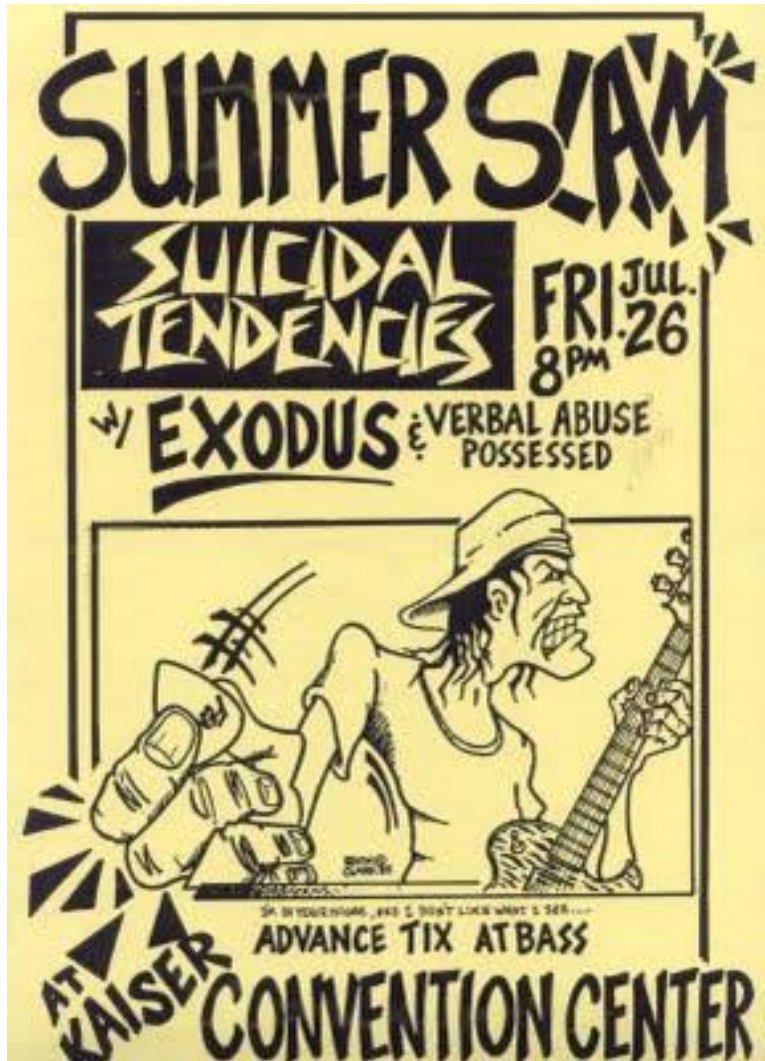
(Image 19. Venom, Slayer, Raw Power and Harvest gig flyer of Struts Club, Phoenix, Arizona, United States, 21/04/1985. Photo retrieved from <http://www.metallipromo.com>)

The second flyer is from a gig in Canada at Spectrum in Montreal (9/06/1987) and the bill only includes Canadian bands: Voivod (thrash metal), Dayglo Abortions (hardcore/punk) and S.N.F.U. (*Society's No Fuckin Use*-hardcore/punk).



(Image 20. Voivod, Dayglo Abortions and S.N.F.U. gig flyer of Spectrum in Montreal show on 9-06-1987. Retrieved from <http://hardcoreshowflyers.net>)

The third flyer records an all-American bill of a gig at The Henry J. Kaiser Centre, Oakland, California, USA (26/07/1985). The interesting fact in this bill is that different styles of heavy metal and punk are represented in the bands playing: *Suicidal Tendencies* (skate-punk/hardcore), *Verbal Abuse* (hardcore/punk), *Exodus* (thrash metal), and *Possessed* (thrash/death metal).



(Image 21. Gig flyer of Suicidal Tendencies, Exodus, Verbal Abuse, Possessed at The Henry J. Kaiser Centre, Oakland, California, USA on 26/07/1985. Retrieved from my personal collection)

Finally, the last flyer is the one of a show at Riverside Club, Newcastle (25/12/1987) where the billing includes all-UK bands such as *G.B.H.* (UK82 punk), *Concrete Sox* (crust/hardcore), *Napalm Death* (grindcore), *Hellbastard* (crust/metal), *Extreme Noise Terror* (crust/hardcore), *Electro Hippies* (hardcore) and *Energetic Krusher* (thrash metal).

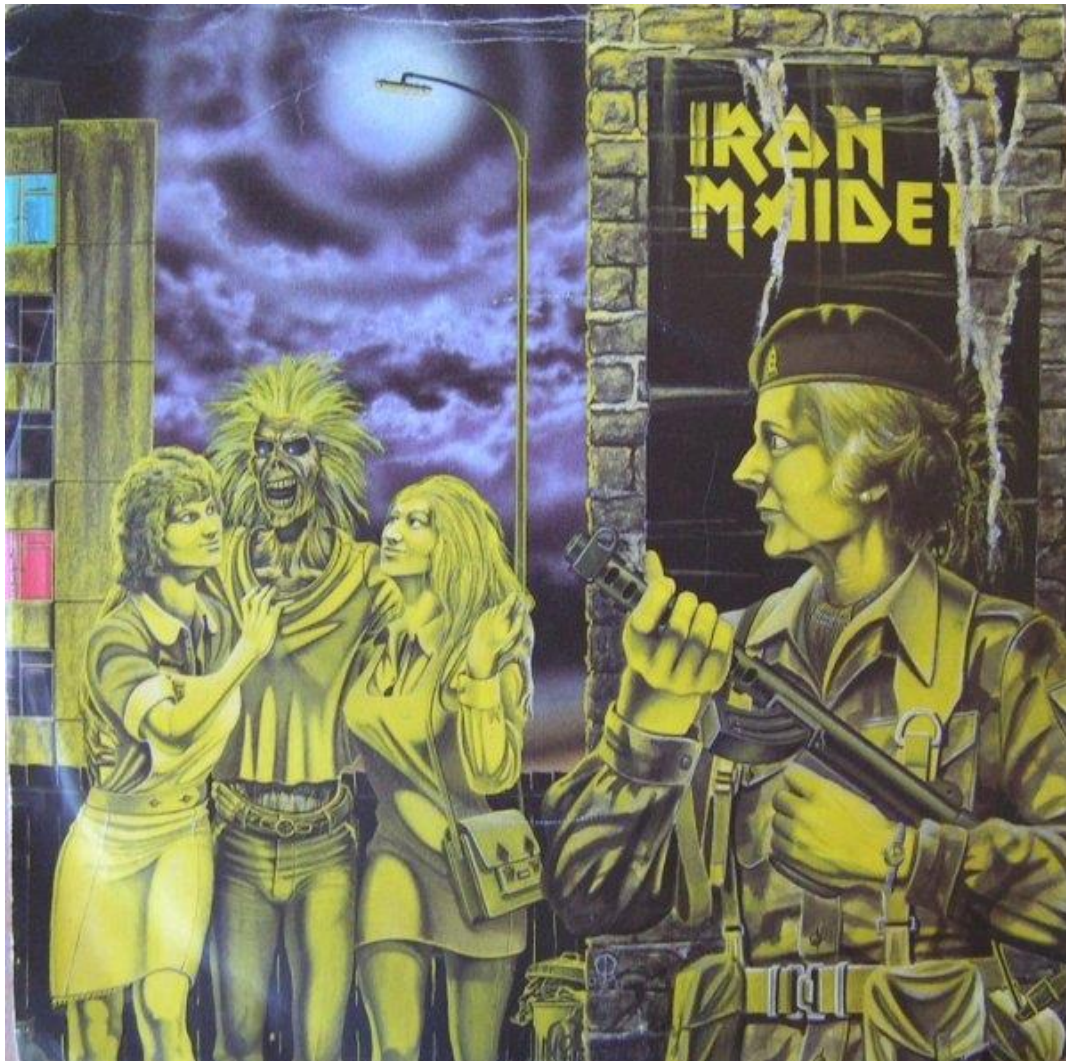


(Image 22. Gig flyer at Riverside Club, Newcastle, on 25/12/1987 with GBH, Concrete Sox, Napalm Death, Hellbastard, Extreme Noise Terror, Electro Hippies and Energetic Krusher. Retrieved from my personal collection)

Moreover though, the crossover is not limited only in the line-up of those gigs. The crossover is manifest in those gig posters in terms of colour; the use of black-and-white Xeroxed posters belongs to the tradition of punk (specifically, anarcho-punk). The black and white approach in the case of the *Venom/Slayer/Raw Power/Harvest* poster gives an aspect of punk, whereas the whole set-up of the poster, where *Venom* are described as “Real metal” with an emphasis, offers the heavy metal aspect of the gig poster. However, the typeface of some band logos (e.g., *Concrete Sox*, *Extreme Noise Terror*) is in the heavy metal tradition of oblique angles, without squared off ends. Accordingly, the usage of a comic caricature in the *Suicidal Tendencies/Exodus/Verbal Abuse/ Possessed* poster fits in both the heavy metal and punk visual tradition. Also, the minimalism in the *Voivod/Dayglo Abortions/S.N.F.U.* poster

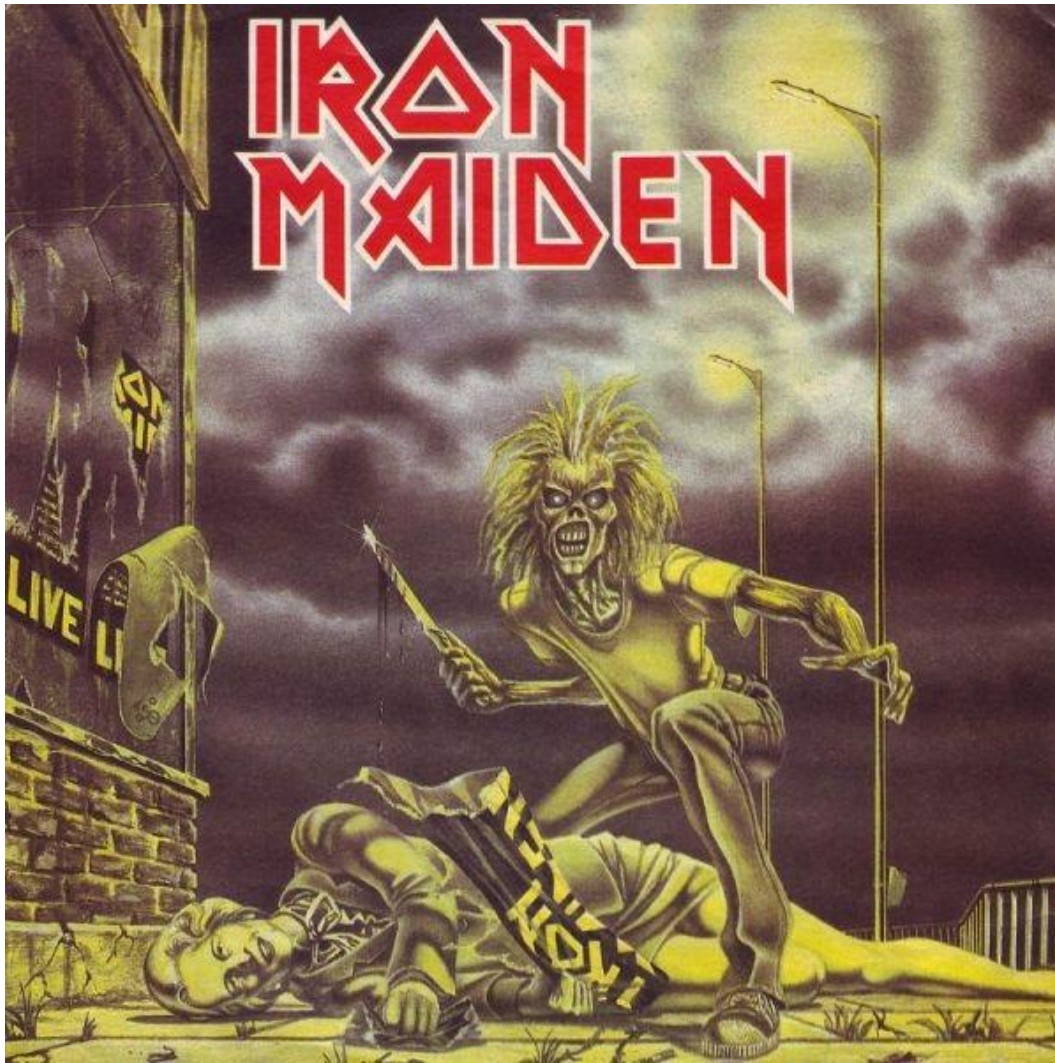
combined with the ominous extra-terrestrial figure is a paradigm of punk and heavy metal visual crossover.

In heavy metal and punk genres the criticism of Thatcher's politics took place in song lyrics, in gig flyers and on album covers. This criticism in many cases exceeded the limits of political correctness. Heavy metal band's *Iron Maiden* 7-inch single *Women in Uniform* (1980, EMI, EMI 5105) depicted the mascot of the band, Eddie, with two women, while in the corner an armed female soldier stood, reminiscent of Margaret Thatcher, as represented on the record cover illustrated below. Attempting an iconographic analysis of *Women in Uniform* via Imdahl's iconic meaning theory, it could be said that the figure of Eddie The Head, while embracing two females, appears to be superior and inferior at the same time. Eddie The Head has two females that appear to glorify him, looking at him with awe, and not having a problem in sharing him. At the same time, though, a cartoon depiction of an armed Margaret Thatcher, waiting in the corner with a cold stare and a gun, seems to be the dominant personality in the picture. The meaning of the picture could be interpreted as depicting the control and power of Margaret Thatcher; the fact that she stands in the corner could be interpreted symbolically to mean that British society might think that it is careless, but in fact there is someone always ready to control and dominate it.



(Image 23. Cover of Iron Maiden's *Women in Uniform* 1980 7-inch single. Courtesy of EMI Records)

Iron Maiden, however, in their next 7" single the same year (1980) *Sanctuary*, used a cover artwork that was even more brutal. *Sanctuary* depicted Eddie, in a menacing pose, after having killed Margaret Thatcher with a knife. The artist of most of *Iron Maiden*'s artwork, Derek Riggs, said that he was very fascinated at the time by the punk subculture idea of "No future" nihilism and the brain-damaged and vicious punk generation (Wall, 2004: 133).



(Image 24. Cover of Iron Maiden's *Sanctuary* 1980 7-inch. Courtesy of EMI Records)

However, the case of *Iron Maiden* was one of UK heavy metal's genre imagery exceptions. The norm for heavy metal imagery (interpreted by Weinstein, 1991: 29) that includes "heroic fantasies, technological science fiction imagery, impressions of studded, black leather-clad biker types, depicting ominous images that border on the grotesque" as well as "Christian and Satan Symbolism" (Waksman, 2009: 192) prevailed in UK heavy metal of the era. This is evident in the following three long play album covers. In the first case, *Diamond Head* on their 1982 12" long play record *Living on... Borrowed Time* used the depiction of a heroic fantasy cover by fantasy artist Rodney Matthews. Secondly, *Demon* used the depiction of Christian Symbolism (albeit desecrated in the form of a bloody cross being ripped by two hands) on the cover of their 1981 12" long play record *Night of the Demon*, while *Savage* used the depiction

(created by Garry Sharpe-Young) of a post-apocalyptic biker in leather, on the cover of their 1983 12" long play record *Loose and Lethal*.



(Image 25. Cover artwork of Diamond Head's 12-inch record *Living on...Borrowed Time*. Courtesy of MCA Records, DH 1001)



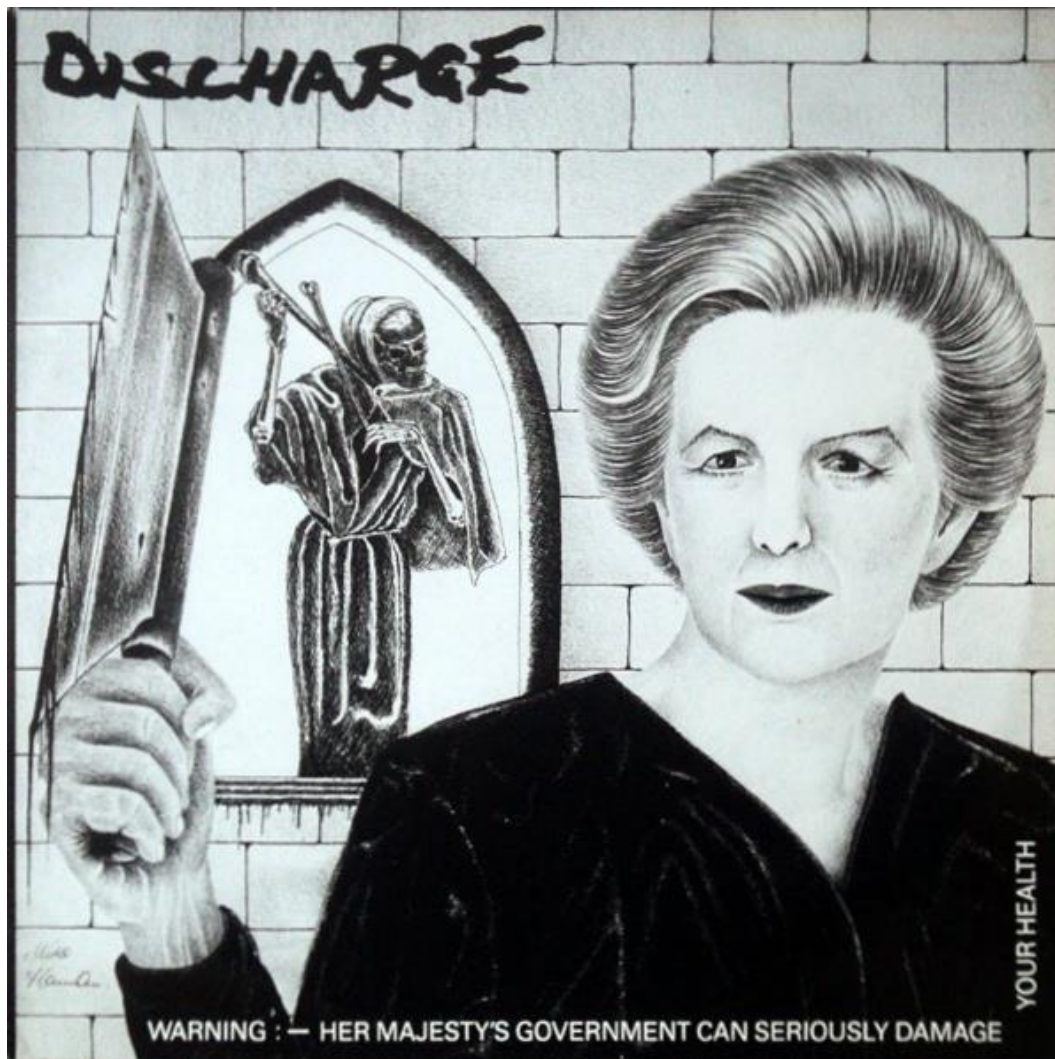
(Image 26. Cover artwork of *Demon's* 12-inch record *Night of the Demon*. Courtesy of Carrere Records. CAL 126)



(Image 27. Cover artwork of Savage's 12-inch long play record Loose 'n Lethal. Courtesy of Ebony Records. EBON 12)

In UK punk subculture of that era, the bands that depicted in their covers caricatures and mockery of Margaret Thatcher (or her policies) are too numerous to mention. For instance, Stoke-on-Trent band *Discharge* in their 1983 12" extended play record *Warning: Her Majesty's Government Can Seriously Damage Your Health* (Clay Records, Plate 5) depict a black-and-white Margaret Thatcher holding a bloodied cleaver, while in the background there is a window where the Grim Reaper appears. Aside from the obvious criticism of Thatcher's politics in the records title (a paraphrase of the famous warning sign on cigarette packets), the record cover itself presents a calm and glassy expression in Margaret Thatcher's face that shows how serious the band is in their statement. *Discharge's* *Warning* cover (by artist Mike Hannah) does not

mock Margaret Thatcher; it rather presents the band's opinion of Margaret Thatcher, whom they consider to be a cold-blooded killer because of her politics.



(Image 28. Discharge's Warning 12-inch extended play record cover. Courtesy of Clay Records)

Scottish 1980s band *The Exploited* referred to the Falklands War in their 1983 long play record *Let's have a war...said Maggie one day* (1983, Pax Records, Pax 18). On the back sleeve of the record there is a picture of Margaret Thatcher laughing, and the homonymous song criticises the war that the UK entered as a method used by its government in order to distract people from their real problems, e.g., unemployment.

"Let's start a war said Maggie one day, with the unemployed masses we'll just do away, they won't mind, like sheep they'll go, they won't suss us, they'll never know"



(Image 29. Album cover of The Exploited's 1983 Let's start a war...said Maggie one day long play record. Courtesy of Pax Records)



(Image 30. Back cover of Exploited's 1983 Let's start a war...said Maggie one day long play record. Courtesy of Pax Records)

There was a reaction against Margaret Thatcher's politics among the different subcultures of punk, from Oi! to anarcho-punk, and this could be identified in different styled bands of the era. London's Oi!³⁵ band *Last Resort*, in their song "We rule O.K" from their 1982 long play 12" record *A Way of life: Skinhead Anthems* (1982, *The Last Resort*, TLR 001, LR 1), not only criticize in a brutal manner the politics of Margaret Thatcher but call on all those who disagree to react against those policies:

³⁵ "Oi!" was a musical term coined by the music journalist Gary Bushell in 1980, describing the new wave of Punk (or better, Street Punk) bands with sing-a-long choruses, and simplified Punk music that opposed to the artistic tendencies of many Punk bands (Brown, 2004: 161)

“The government policies are out of hand, they ain't got a clue how to run this land, Margaret Thatcher the stupid old bitch, she takes from the poor and gives to the rich. Be a rebel with a cause, fight against the stupid laws, stop old Maggie once and for all, [be]cause on the streets it's us who rule”

An interesting detail here is that *Last Resort* had a definite patriotic/pro-England³⁶ stance that is illustrated both in their *A Way of life: Skinhead Anthems* long play cover, and in the lyrics of songs such as “Red, White and Blue” where *Last Resort* glorify England (“All that true is the red, white, and blue, England, England is my land, It's the only life I understand”) and where they declare that they are even ready to go on a war if needed (“Call us hooligans, call us yobs, in the war it's us who do the job”), but nevertheless share the same anti-Thatcher sentiment with anarchist bands like *Crass* and left-wing bands such as the *Angelic Upstarts*.

³⁶ Timothy Brown however states that early 1980s Oi! bands such as *Last Resort* and *4 Skins* had lyrical content of Oi! with potentially right-wing implications, and that the skinhead subculture that endorsed Oi! music had a potential lean towards the right wing since the reincarnation of the subculture in the late 1970s. (Brown, 2004: 162)



(Image 31. 1982 album cover of Last Resort's A way of life: Skinhead Anthems. Courtesy of the Last Resort)

Crass, on the other hand, were a late 1970s punk band that advocated Anarchism (Rimbaud, 1999; 69) and criticised Margaret Thatcher's politics in many of their songs, while their *Yes Sir, I Will 12"* long play record (1983, *Crass Records*, 121984/2) was a direct verbal attack on Thatcher's Falklands War:

"Proud to be British" said Margaret Thatcher, as she wiped the Falklands blood from her hands."

The album's title was taken from part of the short conversation between Charles, Prince of Wales and a badly burned soldier who fought in the Falklands, Simon Weston, and whose picture was printed on the front page of *The Sun* newspaper (2 December, 1982). *Crass* also used this picture on the inner sleeve of their *Yes Sir, I Will 12"* long play record, along with a faux "strictly confidential file" that included a previous criminal history of Margaret Thatcher

(with her picture), accusing her of criminal acts like “mass murder in the Falklands,” and attributing her actions to mental illnesses such as “Guilt Psychosis”, “Paranoia” and “Megalomania.”



(Image 32. Inner sleeve photo of Crass' Yes Sir, I Will. The 1982 picture of the conversation between Charles, Prince of Wales and Simon Weston. Courtesy of Crass Records)

	Name THATCHER, Margaret, Hilda.		
	True Name Margaret Thatcher		
	Interviewed: Date: ... By: ...		
	Alias: The Iron Lady.		
	Count: ... County: ...		
	Offense: Murder on the high sea. Murder etc		
	Date of Birth: 13th Oct 1925 Age: 57		
	Race: White.		
	Nationality: Grantham.		
	Citizenship: Great Britain.		
Marital Status: Married.		Min Exp: ... Max Exp: ...	
Residence (Legal): 10 Downing St. London		NOT AS YET DETAINED.	
Co-Defendants: HESLITINE, Michael. PYMM, Francis.			
PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY: This woman, having been personally responsible for the deaths of several hundred young men aboard the Argentinian ship 'General Belgrano', now appears to be suffering from severe 'GUILT PSYCHOSIS', 'PARANOIA' and 'MEGALOMANIA'. It is evident however that, although in milder forms, these conditions existed prior to her act of MASS MURDER. Murderers will, to appease their consciences and to justify to themselves the rationality of their actions, use force far in excess to that required simply to kill. They are also invariably motivated by their sense of guilt to commit further murders. Taking this into account, it is almost certain that given the opportunity this woman will kill again. Her obsession with a 'Russian Threat' indicates classic symptoms of 'PARANOIA'. She firmly believes that 'THEY' are out to 'GET HER'. This condition makes her bellicose, volatile and exceedingly dangerous, as does her 'CHURCHILLIAN MEGALOMANIA'. She is known to quote Churchill at times of stress in much the way that the 'Yorkshire Ripper' quoted GOD. She appears to be suffering delusions of grandeur concerning both herself and her 'nation'. She is surrounded by a GROUP of PERSONS known to be suffering from similar complaints and who have shown themselves WILLING to COMMIT SIMILAR CRIMES. SHE IS HEAVILY ARMED AT ALL TIMES and will strike out under the slightest pressure. She is desperately in NEED OF HELP and MUST BE STOPPED before she becomes RESPONSIBLE for a GROSS CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY that by her own PUBLIC CONFESSION she is both capable of and willing to commit....THE DEATH OF MILLIONS. FORM 99/479			

(Image 33. Inner sleeve photo of Crass's 1983 Yes Sir, I Will. The faux "strictly confidential file" that criticises Margaret Thatcher on the war on Falkands. Courtesy of Crass)

Late 1970s punk band *Angelic Upstarts* are characterized by John Savage as "bona fide socialists" (Savage, 1992: 597). *Angelic Upstarts* were also connected with Rock Against Racism (RAR), an organization that was established in mid 1970s in order to confront the rise of neo-fascism and racism in the UK (Dawson, 2005: 1). In their 1983 12" long play record *Why?* (1983, *Anagram Records*, GRAM 004) and in their song "Woman in disguise" they criticize Margaret Thatcher, calling on people not to believe her, and pointing out her false promises:

"She spoke of blossoms that were to bloom /And the country whistled to her tune, But the flowers were full of discontent /As the youth were raped of anything they had left /Man and woman, child and youth /It must be now you know the truth /She's the one who tells the lies."

Finally, a case of a 1980s band that even used Thatcher's name in order to mock it is the Somerset anarcho-punk band *Thatcher On Acid* (Glasper, 2009: 225). Ben Corrigan, the singer in *Thatcher On Acid*, reflected that the band's name was representative of the political era and of his use of LSD while writing anti-Thatcher lyrics (ibid). Illustrated below is the

cover of *Thatcher On Acid*'s first long play 1987 12" record, *Curdled* (1987, *All The Madmen Records*, MADLP 007).



(Image 34. Album cover of *Thatcher On Acid*'s 1987 *Curdled* 12" long play record. Courtesy of *All The Madmen Records*)

7.2 Crossover's perspectives across specific themes and the discussion on authentic or inauthentic, commercially or artistically driven

In the section that follows, the four specific themes that were chosen, will be analysed via cases/bands, ordered chronologically (1979-1990) in the UK. The cases of the bands differ in terms of musical style, background in the music business (mainstream and underground), as

well as politics (anarchistic, apolitical, right wing). The four chosen themes lead to a holistic (visual, musical, lyrics and imagery) crossover, and the cases examined offer us significant findings regarding the authentic or inauthentic nature of the bands, as well as the driving force behind their crossover (commerciality or artistic-driven).

7.2.1 Theme A: Unemployment, anomie and alienation in 1980s UK. Motifs of musical opposition in *Judas Priest* and *Amebix* (1980-1985)

In this sub-chapter I present and analyse *Judas Priest*'s and *Amebix* bands in reference to the explosion of unemployment, anomie and alienation in the early years of Thatcher's governance through the analysis of their lyrics, music and visual status, that also includes strong elements of crossover between punk and heavy metal.

7.2.1.1 *Judas Priest*

- *A historical narration of the band and its style*

According to Martin Popoff (2007: 14), Birmingham was a heavy metal music hometown. *Black Sabbath*, *Trapeze* and *Judas Priest* are evident examples of this, and I will analyse furthermore *Judas Priest*'s close connection with heavy metal music culture; the reason for this, is to exhibit later how significant was *Judas Priest*'s crossover with punk, because *Judas Priest* are considered to be one of the one of the most noted heavy metal bands.

Judas Priest emerged in 1969 in Birmingham – for Martin Popoff (ibid) a city that bred many metal bands – and they continue today, making them one of the longest running heavy metal bands of all times. Their lyrics are characterized by Weinstein's definitional Dionysian or chaotic themes, exemplified by 'Rock Forever' from their 1978 LP *Killing Machine*. The lyrics utilise a first person narration of relaxing after an ordinary day with Heavy Metal music and alcohol: "When the day is over / I'd like to ease my mind / crank the hi-fi, with a beat of heavy kind / smack a bottle open ", transforming them to a totally different state of mind ("I'm in-a seventh heaven / I can touch the sky") and he declares his eternal love and devotion to Rock n' Roll that is, in this case, represented by Heavy Metal ("I'm in love, so in love and I can't stop talking about my rock forever"). 'Ride Hard, Ride Free' (from 1984's *Defenders of*

the Faith) and ‘Hot Rockin’ (from 1981’s *Point of Entry*) similarly glamorise the Dionysian. At the same time, the band had songs in the chaotic tradition, exemplified by ‘Ripper’ from 1976’s *Sad Wings of Destiny*. In “Ripper”, *Judas Priest* describes the story of the protagonist Jack The Ripper, the unidentified serial killer active in the area of Whitechapel in London in the late 19th century (Begg, 2003: 11). *Judas Priest* narrates in the first person the acts of violence of Jack the Ripper (“When you least expect me / and you turn your back / I’ll attack”), the psychological condition of the serial killer before he strikes his victims (“I’m sly and I’m shameless / Nocturnal and nameless”), as well as his warnings to his future victims (“hear my warning / never turn your back / on the Ripper”). The “Ripper” falls into the lyric category of chaotic Heavy Metal because it depicts death and violence by human architects. However, though throughout their career *Judas Priest* had songs that were representative of the themes of chaos, these songs included some complex perspectives. The 1977 song “Sinner” from the *Sin after sin 12*” long play record, for example, employs religion-themed lyrics (“Sinner rider, rides in with the storm / The devil rides beside him”).

Weinstein included another two categories within the theme of chaos, one where heavy metal bands glorify rebellion and disorder, and one where they refer to personal/internal disorder (like mental illnesses) and alienation. Within these categories there is a crossover with the punk lyric style. *Judas Priest*, in their 1980 song “Breaking the law”³⁷ employed lyrics that are reminiscent of UK punk bands of the time. *Judas Priest* describe a person who is unemployed, feeling that he is wasting his life, frustrated and alienated at the same time (“There I was completely wasting, out of work and down, all inside it’s so frustrating/feel as though nobody cares if I live or die”) who decided to make his life more active by endorsing anomie (“so I might as well begin to put some action in my life /breaking the law”). This person is bored and feels that the only escape from his daily (miserable) life would derive from illegal acts; those acts, at least, will provide him with the action that he seeks.

- *Judas Priest’s lyric realism in 1980: “Breaking the law” and the music crossover with Punk. A visual analysis of the official videoclip.*

³⁷ From the 12” long play record *British Steel*.

The 1980 *Judas Priest* song “Breaking the law” stands as an example of the band’s attempt to crossover with lyrics that were reminiscent of the UK punk genre’s style of lyrics. Below, I analyse the lyrics status of “Breaking the law” in order to support this argument. Moreover, I analyse the music of “Breaking the law” because it also stands as a prime example of musical crossover with punk’s music status. Even though the lyrics’ style of *Judas Priest* (in general) is in line with the heavy metal lyrics style, “Breaking the law” offers a different vision that is much closer to the folk concerns (as formulated by Simon Frith), a style that is more reminiscent of the punk tradition of lyrics.

Following Frith (1989: 83) and Harker (1985: 89), “Breaking the law” lyrics’ style is different from the “norm” of heavy metal lyrics’ style and rather reflects realism and “folk” concerns³⁸. “Breaking the law” depicts the side of a conjoined folk realism that introduces both hope and facts; a hope for the unemployed young man to be able to start a better life (even through anomie), while being angry and dissatisfied with his current everyday life that is plagued with sadness and unemployment (“out of work and down”) that turns into anger and frustration (“all inside it's so frustrating/there's anger in my heart”). In this way, *Judas Priest*’s lyrical approach focuses on a world that needs to be changed through anomic actions.

“Breaking the law” is much more than a simple statement, using a straightforward approach to realism, even though the singer’s sentiments are expressed on a personal level and he attempts to “share” his problems with the audience (“If you did you'd find yourselves doing the same thing too”). Frith (1988: 120) mentions that “songs are more like plays than poems; songs work as speech and speech acts, bearing meaning not just semantically, but also as structure of sound that are direct signs of emotion and markers of character”, and goes on to stress that analysing forms of composition is not sufficient in order to understand popular music (see Wall, 2013: 181). The elements that contribute to the meaning of popular music are much more complex and a full analysis of those elements is required; this wider sense has been named “metatext” by Timothy D. Taylor (1995, cited in Wall, 2013: 194). The music industry in popular music (regardless of the commercial status of the band, independent or not) is created across a set of commodities such as radio airplay, promotional videos and DVDs, live shows,

³⁸ “Breaking the law” is a song in the punk tradition in terms of lyrics. Pete Dale in his PhD thesis “Anyone Can Do It: Traditions of Punk and the Politics of Empowerment” analysed the similarities and differences between punk and folk music. Whereas folk’s tendencies for socialism and punk’s anarchistic ideals differ, and despite the huge differences in their music and cultural style, folk and punk shared similarities in terms of the Do-it-Yourself attitude, as well as the style of talking about everyday life issues and struggles.

television and radio appearances, magazine interviews, photographs, advertisements and websites, which become the texts that are consumed by the music's audience (Wall, 2013: 194).

The meaning of metatext is very important in order to understand the construction of popular music, and in my research, I attempt to present the holistic metatext of each song analysed.

"Breaking the law" adopts a simplistic, direct approach thus resembling the simplified and minimal approach of various UK punk bands (e.g., *The Clash's* 1978 version of *Bobby Fuller's* song "I Fought the law"³⁹) that will be analysed later. It has to be mentioned though, that the lyric crossover that *Judas Priest* attempted with "Breaking the law" is significant, even though it appears to be in-authentic, from my point of view; until "Breaking the law", *Judas Priest* were a band that were mostly concerned with the usual heavy metal genre lyric topics, never to refer to social or political issues; this lyric crossover with punk genre therefore was significant, because for the first time in their career, *Judas Priest* referred to the social issue of unemployment that was plaguing UK that day and time. Moreover, adding to the direct approach of the lyrics was the musical style of "Breaking the law". Here *Judas Priest* adopted a new music approach that, even though it fitted into the heavy metal category, could also fit in to the punk category too. First of all, "Breaking the law" lasts less than 3 minutes (specifically, 02:36), something unusual for a heavy metal song (and more like the length of punk songs).

Alongside, in terms of authenticity, according to Laing's definition (2015: 26), *Judas Priest's* crossover in "Breaking the law" is rather weak. First of all, *Judas Priest* on their *British Steel* album were contracted to CBS records, a major company that was focussing on the expansion of sales. Alongside, as will be clarified later, *Judas Priest* did not express any affinity for punk⁴⁰ music culture and this seems odd, given "Breaking the law"'s musical and lyric crossover with punk. The fact that there was also a professional video, produced in order to get airplay, contributes to the conclusion that the song was commercially driven. "Breaking the law"'s intentions seem to be pretentious, an attempt to crossover and to appeal to punks too, along with heavy metal fans, with the backing of the commercial forces of a major label as well as its marketing strategies.

³⁹From the 1979 7" single record *I fought the law*.

⁴⁰ Check references that follow

In music terms, “Breaking the law” offers a different perspective than the majority of *Judas Priest* songs; whereas *Judas Priest* songs (in terms of music structure, length) are in line with the heavy metal music genre tradition, “Breaking the law” follows a different formula, more akin of punk music genre.

“Breaking the law” starts with a simple guitar chord that has an introductory, rather than a driving role, lasting only 12 seconds, which then lets the guitars have a secondary role until 0:35, where a repetitive heavy metal power chord is introduced in order to support the chorus. The same guitar style is repeated until 1:24, in the middle of the song, where the guitar playing style changes in favour of a chord reminiscent of punk that ends at 01:44, where the basic introductory power chord is played repeatedly until the end of the song. “Breaking the law” lacks a very significant normal component of heavy metal music: the guitar solo. *Judas Priest* prefer to incorporate sounds of broken beer glasses and police sirens in the middle of the song rather than a guitar solo, thus using a technique that is reminiscent of punk (the same approach could be found in UK punk band *Sham 69*’s song “Borstal Breakout”⁴¹ at 01:17 minute, where broken glass sound effects and sounds of people rioting are incorporated, rather than a guitar solo). The drumming style of “Breaking the law” follows a mid-tempo, and is rather minimalistic, having a role in keeping a steady pace rather than trying to impress with its complexity. It avoids the 2-bass drumming of heavy metal and is more reminiscent of the punk tradition of the same drumming approach that can be found in songs such as *The Undertones*’s “Teenage Kicks,”⁴² albeit at a slower tempo). In terms of bass playing, the bass guitar follows a repetitive rhythm and the tone is easily distinguishable but not tuned in low keys, reminiscent of the bass guitar sound and playing of punk band *The Saints* song “Orstralia”⁴³. Rob Halford’s singing style is in the heavy metal tradition, adopting a more operatic, high-pitched tonal style in order to express the feelings of anger and frustration. However, it could be said that in music terms “Breaking the law” displays a paradoxical set of effects, because it combines the musical precision of heavy metal genre, albeit executed in a non-virtuosic, nearly minimalistic manner that resembles punk genre.

The music ekphrasis of “Breaking the law” reflects a direct speech by a frustrated youngster; however, this youngster sounds very convincing and determined. The landscape within which this speech takes place could be that of a boisterous and fully-crowded university

⁴¹ Taken from the *There's Gonna Be A Borstal Break-Out* 1978 7” single record, Polydor – 2058 966.

⁴² Taken from the *Teenage Kicks* 1978 7” single record, Sire – SIR 4007.

⁴³ Taken from the *Eternally Yours* 1978 12” long play record, Harvest – SHSP 4078.

hall. Everything is under control there, but at the same time this youngster's speech sounds like a declaration of war against society.

Adding to the resemblance of "Breaking the law"'s musical style to UK punk music genre is the review of *British Steel*'s long-play record in US magazine *Rolling Stone Encyclopaedia* (Romanowski et al., 2001). The review states that *British Steel* includes succinct songs such as "Living after midnight" and "Breaking the law" that mix heavy metal's aggression with new wave⁴⁴ melodicism".

The interesting fact about "Breaking the law" is that although it is not a typical heavy metal song, it remains as one of their most familiar songs among fans, and this is reflected in Youtube views of its official video⁴⁵ (exceeding 13 million views). Another interesting fact is that the recording of "Breaking the law" took place in *The Beatles'* Ringo Starr's Startling Studios, with Tom Allom, (a rock rather than heavy metal producer at the time) producing the record. "Breaking the law" with its musical simplicity and lyrics disregards authority in favour of a better future. This sentiment expresses a frustrating emotional impasse that can only be vanquished via the abolition of the penal code and, in terms of lyrics and music combined, the climax of this sentiment is in the middle of the song where the singer screams (rather than sings) "You don't know what it's like" along to the sonic background of the song, with its police sirens and broken glass.

The crossover of "Breaking the law" with punk's subculture is not limited in the music and the lyrics; it also shares a common ground with punk in terms of video clip style. What is depicted in the official music video of "Breaking the law" includes a semiotics that belong to the heavy metal tradition, as well as other semiotics that appeal most to punk, and specifically "Breaking the law" appears similarities with *The Clash's* "I fought the law" official videoclip.

An analysis of visual representation in "Breaking the law's" official video⁴⁶ follows now, using the visual analysis method of Iedema (2001b) in order to show how the lyrics, music and visual codes co-operate. The video was directed by Julien Temple, and the interesting fact is that Temple started his career by directing small video clips of UK punk band *The Sex Pistols*,

⁴⁴ Even though *Rolling Stone* does not state this directly, punk is a component in "Breaking the law". New Wave is a musical style of late 1970s that had close ties with Punk Rock, "New wave initially circulated as a synonym for the punk rock movement that emerged in the mid-1970s" (Cateforis, 2011: 9); even though new wave was more radio-friendly, it shared with punk both the energy and rebellious attitude.

⁴⁵ The official video of the song can be found on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L397TWLwrUU> , Accessed on 12/01/2019

⁴⁶ Available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L397TWLwrUU> and accessed on 13/01/2019

while he also directed this band's 1977 music video "God Save the Queen". Among others, his earliest documentaries were also about punk bands, specifically *The Sex Pistols* "The Greatest Rock n' Roll Swindle" and the *UK Subs* documentary "UK Subs: Punks can take it," both issued in 1979⁴⁷. In accordance with its musical simplicity, "Breaking the law" appears to have a visual familiarity with punk bands' videos of the time as I will explain. "Breaking the law" depicts the story of a successful armed robbery and there are visual elements in the video clip that could be related to punk subculture. The video starts by showing two people dressed as priests with guitar cases, sitting in a park and feeding the pigeons. In the next scene, a CCTV camera appears (0:02), and that scene could be explained as presenting this camera as a method for securing and controlling an area: the image of a CCTV camera is an image representing the Law. In the next scene (0:05), there is an image of a security guard in a bank, falling asleep while on duty; this image represents Temple's mockery of the authorities (a component that can be found in punk bands), presenting them as lazy and unprepared. The video continues with Rob Halford, the vocalist of *Judas Priest*, singing the first verse while in an open-top moving car. His expressions while singing present his despair (0:16, where he holds his head in a manner expressing desperation singing "There I was completely wasting, out of work and down"), his frustration (0:22 where he sings "all inside it's so frustrating" and clenches his fist), and people's ignorance about his situation (0:27 where he sings "feel as though nobody cares if I live or die" when he waves his hand in rejection). On 0:40 of the video, Rob Halford enters the bank, after meeting the two priests-in-disguise (who happen to be the two guitarists of the band). While their entry to the bank takes place, it is notable that the video juxtaposes conflict between the rich and the poor, attributing age as a characteristic of this. The younger people (*Judas Priest*) are the poor, invading the bank, whereas the older people (with the exception of the young desk bank secretary) represent wealth (both for the customers and the bank employees), all set in an urban UK, presenting the early 1980s situation of British youth living in cities. At 0:47 bank customers appear, holding their ears in disgust, while *Judas Priest* use loud guitars instead of guns to immobilise them. This glorification of anomie is justified; nearly all western countries saw an explosion of juvenile delinquency in the early 1980s, and this period in the UK is regarded as "the golden age of juvenile delinquency" (Andrea Cornia and Danziger, 1997; 58).

⁴⁷ *The Daily Telegraph* article on Julien Temple, accessed on 13/01/2019 and retrieved from <http://my.telegraph.co.uk/expat/sebastiandoggart/10141931/juno-temple-portrait-of-an-expat-starlet/>

The loudness of the guitars is symbolic, as Weinstein (1991: 23) proposes that the central sonic element of heavy metal is its sheer volume. *Judas Priest* therefore use the loudness of heavy metal music culture in order to scare and force everybody to fall on their knees in the bank, in order to succeed in their nefarious goal. At 0:55 Rob Halford's body position presents a dominant attitude towards the customers and bank employees, while he stands above them, and sings his revenge, via the lyrics "So much for the golden future, I can't even start / I've had every promise broken, there's anger in my heart". Rob Halford's feelings are so strong that he touches his heart in order to show where all this anger derives from (0:59). The security guard, at once scared and disgusted, appears to smile at 01:24 of the video, whereas *Judas Priest*, again with the sonic power of their guitars, unlock the vault, thus suggesting that heavy metal's loudness does not only have an effect on humans but on objects too.

At 01:30, Rob Halford bends the iron bars of the internal vault, and this action could symbolize either that his youthful passion and anger towards society has turned him into a super-human with inconceivable powers, or that he also feeds from the sonic power of heavy metal music culture that transforms him (or both). These two narrative possibilities exude pure extravagance, which is a basic heavy metal subculture component (in lyrics, music and visual/imagery). At 01:35 Rob Halford holds in his hands a gold record of the (back then) new long-play record "British Steel" by *Judas Priest* and screams "You don't know what it's like", presenting both his satisfaction at his illegal action and his satisfaction of holding a gold record by his band. The CCTV camera then explodes, in sheer hyperbole, after Rob Halford turns the gold record towards it, implying that their record is so strong that nobody can stand in front of *Judas Priest*'s way. Later on, *Judas Priest* leave the bank quickly, in order not to get caught, but the video's conclusion shows that the band has no reason to be afraid of the authorities, as the bank security guard got fascinated with *Judas Priest* and their aural assault, neglecting his duties and instead playing "air-guitar"⁴⁸ with a faux paper guitar (02:00) until the end of the song.

The metatext of the video of "Breaking the law" is in line with the lyrics and the music of the song; it presents a band that consists of frustrated young people, exercising themselves in acts of anomie. However, the video also implies a message in a metaphoric way. *Judas Priest* don't need guns in order to rob a bank as their music power is so intense that it can even replace

⁴⁸ The gesture of "air-guitar" is an exaggerated miming that rock fans do while they are trying to imitate their guitar rock star heroes (Frith et al, 2001; 14).

that of guns, and can even turn the security guard of a bank (the initial “enemy”) into a fan of the band’s music. This short but sharp video works as a vehicle for promoting “Breaking the law”; however, the video does not only include anger, frustration and alienation, but also a very powerful appearance of the band (dressed in black leather), presenting their unstoppable nature as well as the fact that they are actually enjoying this lifestyle – projecting a perspective of the “party atmosphere” that is created through their music.

The “Breaking the law” video shared similarities with *The Clash*’s video version of “I fought the law”⁴⁹, issued a year before (1979). In this⁵⁰ *The Clash* band members also appear as successful bank robbers, running with their faces covered in order to avoid getting arrested (0:32), though they end up getting caught and jailed, but seem to enjoy it (‘breaking the law’) by dancing on the bulwark of the prison, under the surveillance of prison guards (02:11). Whereas “I fought the law” depicts a small story in its 2:39 minutes, it is not focussed on this only as it depicts various representatives of “the law” or the established social order, embodied in symbols such as Prince Charles (0:49), military weapons e.g., missiles (1:27), police cars (1:45), traffic policemen (1:53), police violence against a woman (2:20), and war images of Tehran, Afghanistan and Nicaragua (2:30). In the case of *The Clash*, the “law” doesn’t only symbolise the enforcement of law by the police, it also represents symbols of authority (such as Prince Charles), mutually assured destruction weapons (such as missiles), and violent acts of small and large scale (violence against a woman by the police and war crimes respectively). Also, “I fought the law” does not share the common ground of hyperbole that made the video of “Breaking the law” extravagant. “I fought the law” was more to do with sheer realism, presenting the violation of the law realistically. That is, in the case of *The Clash* video the violent acts are presented as real, not imaginary or fantastic. “Breaking the law” also concentrated on Great Britain, and on specific symbols of the law (the bank, the police, CCTV), whereas “I fought the law” had an international sense of the various forms of “law” and lawlessness (e.g., the then on-going wars in Nicaragua).

The metatext of “I fought the law” is highly connected to the lyrics’ style and the music of the song. Short and simple, it conveys messages through the quick interplay of pictures and clips of symbols of authority, only to strengthen the anti-authoritarian sentiment of the song. The band appears to be powerful too, and the interchange of action is very fast, appealing to

⁴⁹ Taken from the 1979 7” *The cost of living e.p.* extended play record, CBS – S CBS 7324.

⁵⁰ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AL8chWFuM-s> accessed on 25/01/2022.

the band's music. The band's appearance on stage is serious, implying the band's solemnity, although they also put forward the perspective of fun by dancing in the bulwark while being jailed. "I fought the law" conveys a quick message of teenage frustration, alienation, promoting anomie and presenting a non-caring attitude about the consequences of breaking the law.

In terms of band stylistics, *Judas Priest* adopted a style that was reminiscent of the biker style, even though they included elements of other subcultures; *Judas Priest* dressing style though could be found into Punk bands of the time too.

Judas Priest's dress code in the "Breaking the law" video accords with the biker style of 1960s, with metal-studded leather jackets and leather pants, having connections with the S&M subculture (Young, 1984). Laurie Greenan, heavy metal costume designer for *KISS* and *Judas Priest*, had declared that "S&M was heavy metal before heavy metal ever existed" (Kegan, 2015; 388). However, this dressing style could be found in UK punk subculture too, such as in the case of the band *Anti-Nowhere League* that I will refer to later. A photo below shows a cover of the US magazine *Creem* for its October 1980 issue, with Rob Halford dressed in the aforementioned mix of biker style with S&M subculture style, endorsing leather, studs, handcuffs and lockers. This was a photo taken after the recording and release of *British Steel* long-play record earlier, in April 1980.

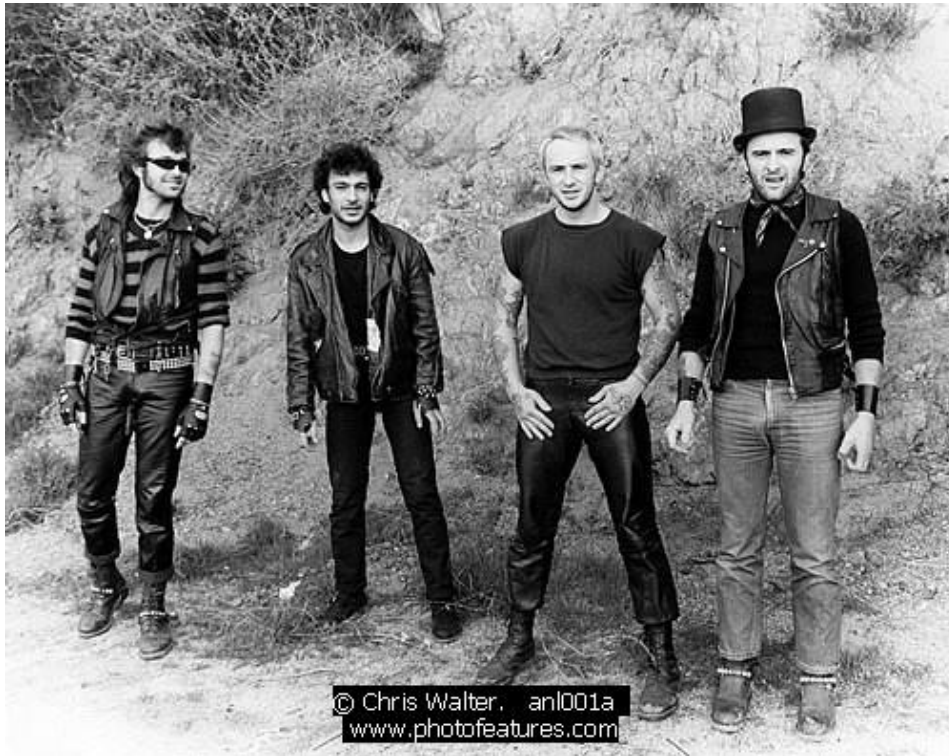


(Image 35. Creem cover magazine, October 1980 with Rob Halford on the cover)

The metatext of this cover implies both the hard-line nature of *Judas Priest* as expressed by Rob Halford; this mix of biker style with S&M subculture style that Halford proposes had an appeal to the gay community too (Halford is an avowed homosexual, declaring his sexual preferences in the mid-1990s), but the message implied is of an extreme frontman/singer, whose music is undoubtedly hard and powerful, like his appearance. This photo leaves nothing to the imagination in terms of what to expect if you are not familiar with the music of *Judas Priest*; it is the face of heavy metal personified in Rob Halford, serious, extravagant, hard and dangerous.

Similarities, however, could be spotted with the dressing style and image of some UK punk bands of the time. The case of the *Anti-Nowhere League* stands as a fine example of this. In the picture below, the band is depicted, from a 1981 photo shoot of the band. The similarities with *Judas Priest* clothing style are apparent, since *Anti-Nowhere League* members also adopt

the “biker” style, with leather jackets, cut-off leather gloves, leather pants and boots, tattoos, and also add the elements of punk band stylistics (striped sweatshirt, locker jewel) and heavy metal (bullet belts).



(Image 36. *Anti-Nowhere League* band picture. Courtesy of Chris Walter)

The *Anti-Nowhere League*’s clothing style and image is not typical of punk band stylistics, since it combines different styles both in clothing and in hairstyle. The singer of the band (Nick Culmer – first one from the left) resembles in terms of image *Motorhead*’s drummer, Philthy Animal Taylor ⁵¹. Philthy Animal Taylor is regarded as a true innovator in terms of image, combining punk and metal hairstyle. Drummer Tony “Bones” Shaw (second from the left) adopts a biker style in terms of clothing and a rocker style in terms of hairstyle, whereas guitarist Magoo (Chris Exall) and bass player Clive Blake (third and fourth from left

⁵¹ This was mentioned in the Official *Motorhead* Facebook page the day that Philthy Animal Taylor passed away in the 12th of November 2015: “‘Lil’ Philthy ... he who once shouted ‘stop wincing about’ on an album ... he who fuelled many a young boy’s punk/metal hairstyles ... he who played the drums with fury and intent ... he who liked to call people ‘wazzocks’ once in a while ... friend, Roman, Derbyshireman ... rest in peace ... with much love.” Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/nov/12/former-motorhead-drummer-phil-taylor-dies-aged-61> Accessed on 21/01/2019.

respectively) adopt a style that mixes biker style (black boots, leather) with punk stylistics (tattoos, *Clockwork Orange*⁵²-styled hat).



(Image 37. Philthy Animal Taylor picture. Courtesy of Cleopatra records)

- *Shock value, symbolism and crossover in Judas Priest's British Steel cover*

Judas Priest's crossover tendencies with punk were also evident in the record cover of *British Steel*. *British Steel's* record cover followed patterns that were much different of *Judas Priest's* past; *British Steel* could fit to the visual style of punk too, and not exclusively into the artistic patterns of heavy metal. In order to support this argument, an analysis of the visual style of *British Steel* follows, presenting how *Judas Priest* also included punk components in the aforementioned record cover.

Judas Priest's British Steel long-play record album's cover contains a picture of the photographer Bob Elsdale⁵³. Even though *British Steel* is a heavy metal album, its cover is not

⁵² *Clockwork Orange* dressing style was adopted by early 1980s UK Punk bands such as The Adicts and Major Accident (Collins, 2005: 167).

⁵³ Data retrieved from Metal Archives database http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Judas_Priest/British_Steel/437 accessed on 15/01/2019.

in the heavy metal tradition, and Bob Elsdale is not a traditional heavy metal photographer. Even though his photos have been used by some hard rock and heavy metal bands for their covers (e.g., *Thin Lizzy's Cold sweat* 7" inch single record cover), he had also worked for new wave and ska bands (such as *The Photos's* 1980 *Life in a Day* 7" inch single record cover and *Bad Manners's* 1985 *Mental notes* long play record cover)⁵⁴. Responsible for the design of *British Steel* was Roslav Szaybo, a Polish art director and designer. *British Steel's* record cover was initially criticized in some countries because it was considered to be offensive, and *Judas Priest* decided that the new version of the cover should not include the slicing of the fingers. This, according to *Judas Priest* guitarist K.K. Downing, brought a new meaning to the cover, that "although *Judas Priest's* music cuts like a razor, it is harmless to listen to" (Daniels, 2007: 184).

⁵⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.discogs.com/artist/2269868-Bob-Elsdale> accessed on 16/01/2019



(Image 38. Judas Priest's British Steel record cover⁵⁵)

Roslav Szaybo had worked as a cover designer for some *Judas Priest* albums previously (1977's *Sin after Sin*, 1978's *Stained Class*, and 1978's *Killing Machine/Hell bent for leather* long play records⁵⁶), but it was the first time that he decided to incorporate a punk subcultural symbol in a heavy metal record cover (Daniels, 2007: 184); The razor blade is one of the symbols of 1970s punk fashion, symbolising the rebellious lifestyle of "living on the razor's edge", according to Bolton (2013: 12). Following Panofsky's⁵⁷ approach in order to interpret the picture cover of *British Steel* I will try to tell a multidimensional story intertwining western

⁵⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.discogs.com/Judas-Priest-British-Steel/release/4048604> accessed on 15/01/2019.

⁵⁶ According to Metal-Archives database, retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Roslav_Szaybo/259033 accessed on 15/01/2019.

⁵⁷ Mitchell, W.J.T (1994) *Picture Theory*, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 16-19.

religions, scientific and philosophical thought, along with what is pictured (what is visible) on the record sleeve.



(Image 39. Pub/punk rocker Ian Dury wearing a razor earring in 1977⁵⁸. Courtesy of Colin Thomas)

The record cover of *British Steel* depicts a hand holding a razor. The name of the band is written diagonally on the razor (with a specific typeface, in a black font) and the name of the record is written on the up right and on the downright sides of the razor. The razor is held by a hand that appears to have been cut by the razor. Larsson (1999a: 9) refers to the razor as, amongst other things, a symbol that arrived in Scandinavia from the East and that has come to mean ‘power’ and ‘authority’. Following this, it could be said that *British Steel*’s metatext on the cover symbolizes power; however, this is not the power of any political or religious elite, but the power of *Judas Priest*’s music, that is first and foremost, British. The cover implies that *British Steel* exhibits the (musical) power that Britain has and that this is displayed by the music of *Judas Priest*. Accordingly, the metatext of the image used creates a first impression of *Judas Priest*’s music: sharp, dangerous, definitely dark (the cover’s main background colour helps this), but basic too, as the “Breaking the law” song is.

⁵⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.paulgormanis.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Ian-with-razor-blade-earrin.jpg> accessed on 17/01/2019 Outtake from session which produced the *Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll* cover. Photographer: Colin Thomas.

As mentioned, the razor has stood as a symbol of punk subculture since its beginnings. UK band *The Razor Cuts*⁵⁹ exemplifies its totemic significance while The New Mills punk/Oi! band *Blitz*, on their 1982 7" single record *Never Surrender/Razors in the night*,⁶⁰ depicted the power of the razor both lyrically and visually. On the back cover of the record a flashing razor is illustrated and the song "Razors in the night" parodies *Frank Sinatra's* "Strangers in the night"⁶¹ in terms of title but also in terms of content (since *Sinatra's* song is a love song), presenting the gang violence that was apparent in early 1980s UK ("Backstreet boys wear boots and braces, Razor blades and angry faces").



(Image 40. *Blitz* *Never Surrender/Razors in the night* 7" single record. Courtesy of No Future records, Oi 6)

⁵⁹ Data retrieved from <http://www.discogs.com/Various-Tracks-From-The-Station/release/3101122> Accessed on 22/01/2019.

⁶⁰ Taken from the *Never Surrender/Razors in the night* 1982 7-inch single record, courtesy of No Future Records, Oi 6.

⁶¹ Taken from the *Strangers in the night* 1966 12-inch-long play record, courtesy of Reprise Records, R 1017.

However, this wasn't the only connection that Roslav Szaybo had with the punk subculture. Szaybo was responsible for the design of the cover artwork of *The Clash*'s first long play record in 1977. On this record cover Szaybo used a black and white picture of the band, as if it was torn, placed in a green background, with the name of the band placed diagonally on the right-end side of the picture. The image of the record cover appeared as a poster that had been torn from a (green) wall and Szaybo's technique was representative – if not one of the first – in the visual culture of punk.



(Image 41. *The Clash* 1977 first long play record album cover. Courtesy of CBS, CBS 82000)

Bearing in mind *Judas Priest*'s "Breaking the law", similarities could be found in the style of the lyrics of punk bands of the time. The *Anti-Nowhere League* had their 1982 "Let's

break the law” song,⁶² an ode to anomie, although it is more often seen as a fun-loving version of breaking the law just for the joy of it rather than something motivated by political or social issues (“I’m out on the streets and I’m feeling high/Let’s break the law here tonight, alright”). *The Clash*’s 1978 version of *Bobby Fuller*’s song “I Fought the law”⁶³ presents the case of a man who broke the law because he had no money (“I needed money 'cause I had none/Robbin’ people with a six-gun”) but, contrary to *Judas Priest*’s song, it also presents the consequences of such an action, both legally and personally (“Breakin’ rocks in the hot sun/I fought the law and the law won/I left my baby and it feels so bad”). In terms of lyrics, the *Judas Priest* song is in line with Negus’s observation (1999: 183) which adopts Frith’s idea about music genres and the combination of social and musical character: thus, “Breaking the law” represents not only a musical act whereby *Judas Priest* simply incorporated different music styles into one song, but it stands for a social act too, since it “bridged” two different music worlds. Though *Judas Priest* cannot be considered to be a “crossover” band, their attempt in “Breaking the law” could be regarded as a crossing over to a different music genre.

- *Incorporation of other musical genre techniques; the case of Judas Priest’s “United”*

Accordingly, it wasn’t only “Breaking the law” the song that shared similarities with punk music genre off the *British Steel*. Being more precise, *British Steel* included another one song that incorporated both musical techniques and the style of lyrics of punk, even though in a different manner that “Breaking the law” did.

“United” is a song with a realist, rather than escapist approach. Following Mooney’s view that every pop song represents the emotional needs of the time (Mooney, 1954: 226 on Frith, 1989: 85), it can be stated that “United” is representative of its time and age, the early 1980s UK. Given the social and political conditions, singer Rob Halford treats the song as an *auteur*, in terms of the exceptional use of his vocal abilities and the band’s music. The lyric approach in “United” could be described as inauthentic from my critical point of view, because even though it appears to reject’s heavy metal escapist lyrical style, it doesn’t have a particular ideological position. *Judas Priest* call on the British people or the youth to unite and hold their ground against oppression (by the authorities? by government?), and though there is a political

⁶² From the 12-inch long play record *We are the League*

⁶³ From the 1978 12-inch long play record *Give em enough rope*

stance in the lyrics of “United”, there is no articulate orientation – who are those who should unite, under what political ideology, and against what? – the lyric content of “United” does not indicate the ideology of Judas Priest.

In the song⁶⁴ *Judas Priest* call for unity in order to stand up for your rights (“Hold your ground/they’ll never get near”) and state that there is no way to lose if people stick together (“United we stand/we never shall fall”). Alongside then with “Breaking the law”, “United” proposes a new lyric direction for *Judas Priest*, in line with punk bands of the era that will be examined later; as aforementioned, even though this lyric crossover in the case of *Judas Priest* could be regarded as inauthentic (as aforementioned, from my personal critical point of view), still it is a departure from the cliché and politically/socially ignorant lyric tradition of heavy metal music genre.

This message for unity was common in the UK punk subculture, and punk band *Sham 69* had their own pleading for unity in their song “If the kids are united”⁶⁵, proposing to the youth that everybody can share a common ground (“for you are him, and he is you”) and that the factor of unity among them could make them so strong that no division would ever take place (“If the kids are united/they will never be divided”). *Sham 69*’s song could be interpreted in many ways, and not as absolutely political (e.g., it could appeal to football fans), but it still contains the same message of unity like *Judas Priest*’s song⁶⁶. However, this message of unity could be interpreted in another way, as in UK Oi!/punk band *The Business*’s song “Real enemy”⁶⁷. *The Business* call here for unity among the UK youth: not to fight each other in the first place (“Fighting each other, it just ain’t clever”) and call for unity in order to attack the real enemy – which in the case of *The Business* could be Thatcherite England (“we must unite/fight the real enemy”). The enemy in the case of *The Business* therefore was the UK conservative establishment reflected in Thatcher’s neoliberal policies.

“United” in music terms follows a different formula from ordinary heavy metal, being more akin with the punk music genre, and this is also analysed below.

⁶⁴ From the 1980 12-inch-long play record *British Steel*

⁶⁵ From the 1978 7-inch single record *If the kids are united*

⁶⁶ However, both *Judas Priest*’s “United” as well as *Sham 69*’s “If the kids are united” share something else too in common; they both reflect some elements of Folk tradition, since they both proclaim a collectivist claim in their lyrics.

⁶⁷ From the 1983 12-inch long play record *Suburban Rebels*

“United” starts with the drummer setting a rhythm that is rather reminiscent of a march, military style. At 0:16 the song’s basic guitar chord is introduced and it is in the heavy metal tradition of power chord riff style. This power chord is repeated through the song’s verse, while the bridge of the song lasts for 4 seconds (0:44-0:48) leading to the basic chorus of “United” (0:50-1:17). The same approach is repeated one more time, until the 2:09 minute, where the chorus is repeated until the end of the song (03:30) when it fades away. However, the chorus singing style from 2:35 reminds us of football chanting, where there is an extensive use of multiple vocal harmonies. “United” may be based on a traditional heavy metal power chord, but its structure is more reminiscent of the Oi! and punk musical style of the time. The Oi! reference is accredited to the fact that the song has a chorus that is reminiscent of football chants (Bushell, Sounds Magazine, 1981: 30), whereas the punk reference is attributed to the musical simplicity of the song. “United” does not incorporate many heavy metal components such as guitar solos or 2-bass drumming, and even the vocal style of Rob Halford is rather anthemic, rather than emphasizing power. However, in accordance with Frith’s theory (1987: 145) for understanding rock vocals, the tone of the voice of Rob Halford is more important; Halford’s vocals have a “strong emotional component”, and this is apparent in his wails and yowls in “United”. Therefore, the “tone of his voice is more important” than the actual “articulation of particular lyrics”.

The musical approach of “United” avoids virtuosity and is based on the simplicity that will lead to the creation of a memorable song that could be a sing-along favourite of the fans.

The metatext of “United” exists as part of the stylistic simplicity of the *British Steel* record cover; it also conveys a sentiment of unity that derives from the chorus back-up vocals. The music formula used in “United” might focus on sonic power (this is evident in the heavy drumming style, as well as in Halford’s vocal expression), but it also contends a more “commercial” feel; “United’s” metatext creates the sense of a more “popular-styled” song destined to gain airplay at commercial radio stations – a fact that is rather controversial when set aside the band’s connection with folk’s collectivist attitude.

“United” suggests Sham 69’s 1978 “If the kids are united”. Sham 69 was an interesting case, since the band, along with Skrewdriver, attracted skinheads along with punks, during the mid-to-late 1970s (Pearce, 2013: 137). Sham 69 vocalist Jimmy Pursey proclaimed that Sham 69 were a “real punk” band (Sounds magazine, 1978) and are considered to be the precursors of the so-called “street punk” and “Oi!” subgenre (Glasper, 2004: 246). The musical approach

of “If the kids are united” is in the tradition of punk, even though it employs a lead guitar solo that lasts 14 seconds (1:39-1:53). The similarities with *Judas Priest*’s “United” are apparent, even if there are differences too; “If the kids are united” is 3:42 minutes long and it begins with a guitar chord that is repeated throughout all the verses of the song. The vocal style of Jimmy Pursey throughout is in the punk music genre tradition (Wells, 2004: 41), incorporating nasal atonality. The chorus of the song is sung via multiple vocal harmonies, reminding us of football chants, and is followed by a drumming style that is reminiscent of clapping hands, repeated throughout the song many times. The song ends with a singing of the chorus for one final time, before ending in a chant of the word “United” followed by clapping hands, in a manner that reminds us of a football chant. Even though the approach that *Judas Priest* and *Sham 69* use differs, there are similarities and thus it could be said that there is an element of musical crossover in *Judas Priest*’s approach.

- *Identification of Crossover in Judas Priest’s music; Reviewers’ approach*

Even though *Judas Priest* in their interviews (in the era examined) expressed distaste for punk music genre, music journalists and reviewers shared a common belief that *Judas Priest* actually shared similarities with punk genre, even though in a negative (artless) way.

Judas Priest guitarist K.K. Downing, while interviewed by J. Kordosh for the *Creem* magazine in August 1981, expressed his general distaste for punk and new wave music genres, stating that most of the bands that went on to become punk/new wave were just rock bands that failed⁶⁸ and that the only good thing that was left from the whole punk and new wave “trend” were some bands that were original; afterwards he went on to be ironic towards UK punk band names⁶⁹. In the same interview, guitarist Glenn Tipton states that he does not listen to any

⁶⁸ “I’ll tell you, all the ‘new wave’ bands — we know, we live in England and we’ve seen it — a large majority are failed rock musicians. We know guys who supported us on tour in England, all right? — mentioning no names — they did a support tour. They were a good rock act but they couldn’t get a recording contract; they couldn’t get off in any way. And somebody came along and said, ‘You should turn punk, it’s the big thing.’ And for a while they had a very small amount of success — more success than they’d had as a rock band — but when people found out that they were really a rock band before, it just killed them dead.”

⁶⁹ “The good thing that did come out of the new wave or the punk thing — more so the new wave — were artists who did have something to give to the world on a musical basis. Y’ know bands, off the top of my head — on a commercial basis, because new wave was very commercial to me — were the bands like the *Police*, *Blondie*, I suppose *Elvis Costello*...bands that came out with something so that when it [new wave] died, it left the bands that did have something to offer. So many bands fell by the wayside. In England, it’s untrue. I would say probably 150 bands. You know, the *Snivelling Shits*, the *Slits* — real outrageous names,” he laughs.

music at all and that he doesn't receive any external musical signals because he is only focussed on writing and playing music for *Judas Priest*⁷⁰. Their answers, though, indicate a controversy, since they wrote the aforementioned songs that in terms of music and lyrics include other musical components along with heavy metal.

The metatext of this interview gives the impression that Judas Priest seem to reject the music output of punk and new wave, mentioning that punk and new wave were mostly “unoriginal”. In this way, they stress how “original” their own music is while it forms part of rock n' roll's tradition and doesn't stand against it. They chose therefore to appeal to rock fans that did not adopt or accept the music style of punk and new wave. Their goal is to reach the music fans that are more rooted in the pre-punk/new wave rock music style, the ones that remained loyal to the more “traditional” rock music of the 1970s as well as the newcomers, the fans of New Wave Of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM).

Critics such as Max Bell of *The New Musical Express* (22 September 1979) approached *Judas Priest*'s music in the same manner that they approached punk bands such as *The Sex Pistols*. Bell, in an extremely disheartening review of *Judas Priest*'s 12” long play record *Unleashed in the East* described the band as “so artless that it gets embarrassing [...] Maybe Rob Halford et al don't respect their audience any less than John Lydon and crew, perhaps their antics are no more reprehensible than the majority of punk or mod that constitutes the public diet — but that isn't the point”, giving *Judas Priest* a negative review and comparing their artistic approach with punk (and mod).

Paulo Hewitt was also critical of the music of *Judas Priest* at the time. In his 1980 review of the *Judas Priest* and *Iron Maiden* shows at The Rainbow Club in London, he criticized the lack of musical harmony in *Judas Priest* stating that “They use their guitars not as musical instruments, but to create great slabs of vulgar, crass noise, a continuous bombardment that is crude and pointless” (*Melody Maker*, April 12 1980: 13).

Paulo Hewitt's negative critique of *Judas Priest*'s music was reminiscent of the judgement that reviewers used to offer for a variety of punk bands, regarding their music as “tuneless noise barrage”. Such is the case in Neil Spencer's review of *The Adverts/ Slaughter*

⁷⁰ “I don't really listen to anyone. That's absolutely true. To me — after recording, writing, rehearsing, playing on the road — when I get home, I just want peace and quiet for a while.

and the Dogs live appearance at the Roxy, London, in January 1977. Spencer, while referring to the musical approach of *The Adverts*, averred that:

“And *The Adverts*? Frankly, they were chronic, a parody of inept tuneless buzzsaw guitar and powerhouse “Sturm Und Drang” drumming. There wasn’t a hook line or riff in sight as the singer ranted unhearable lyrics.” (*New Musical Express*, 1977, Jan 29: 35)

However, even *Judas Priest*’s company, CBS, thought that *British Steel* was something else (or more) than strict heavy metal in terms of genre. On the photo of the advertisement for *British Steel* (*Melody Maker*, 26 April 1980; 7), CBS refers to heavy metal as a musical term that cannot describe the “raw power” of *Judas Priest*’s new long play record, thus declaring it too narrow (or soft) to define it. This is underlined in the slogan “Forget heavy metal – Judas Priest is British Steel”.



(Image 42. Judas Priest advertisement of *British Steel*. Melody Maker, 26 April 1980)

The metatext of the *British Steel* advertisement creates the same feelings as the cover of the record, adding even greater importance to *Judas Priest* and their new music output; the words used (“triumphant”, “smash hit”, “raw power”, “Forget heavy metal”) as well as the injunction to “Forget heavy metal...Judas Priest is British Steel!”, conveys a message that CBS wants to transmit – that *Judas Priest* is the best of all in the league of heavy metal genre, that in fact they are in a category of their own. The message is very powerful, since all the words used in this advertisement strike the reader as something very strong, that *Judas Priest* justify their importance via their sold-out tour, proclaiming the power of their music and even making

the comparison with the whole of the heavy metal genre, dismissing it in favour of the singularity of *Judas Priest*.

7.2.1.2 *Amebix*

- *Description of a crust punk band's style and history. The incorporation of heavy metal lyrical style of the Chaotic metal lyrical approach*

Amebix were a UK crust punk⁷¹ band from Tavistock, formed in 1978 and are considered to be the first anarcho-punk band that mixed with heavy metal genre (Jandreus, 2008: 11). Glasper (2006: 198) states that *Amebix* owe the uniqueness of their sound to both punk and heavy metal⁷². In terms of lifestyle, *Amebix* were punks; this is depicted in the documentary “UK/DK: A Film about punks and skinheads”⁷³ where, at 42:21 there is a scene in a Bristol squat in 1982 over which appears the title “Bristol squat, the home of hardcore punks *Disorder*”. However, it wasn’t only the presence of *Disorder* in that squat; *Amebix* were living there too, and at 42:47 the vocalist and bass player of *Amebix*, Rob “The Baron” Miller, is interviewed and other members of *Amebix* appear too. Chris “Stig” Miller, *Amebix* guitarist, also stated in the interview I conducted with him that “I still regard *Amebix* as mostly a punk band [...] born of that attitude “you can do it despite what they say, teach yourself your own style.”

⁷¹ Indeed, *Amebix* were considered to be the first crust punk band (Glasper, 2006). However, the term “crust punk” was firstly coined by the UK band *Hellbastard* in their 1986 demo “Ripper Crust” (Glasper, 2006: 185), and in music terms is a form of hardcore punk and anarcho-punk, mixed with heavy metal styled guitar chords, whereas in terms of lyrics crust punk songs dealt with anarchist politics as well as mysticism (Glasper, 2006, 198).

⁷² According to the official *Amebix* website “*Amebix* are an English crust punk/heavy metal band. One of the first bands to blend anarcho-punk and heavy metal music” Retrieved from <http://www.amebix.net/> accessed on 24/01/2019.

⁷³ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Y7xM-H4psA> accessed on 28/01/2020.



(Image 43. Rob “The Baron” Miller, in “UK/DK” documentary interview)

However, Stig also mentions in our interview that “I was a fan of both heavy metal and punk in the 1970’s... my background was mainly what they used to call ‘Rock Music’. I was a big fan of music like *Hawkwind* /*Bowie*/*Sabbath* and when I first heard *Raw Power* by *The Stooges* in 1974 that was like a revelation. However, there was animosity between metalheads and punks, musicians and fans. For us punks, early 1970s metal music was ‘establishment’ music with stupid lyrics...luckily it got better later on. There was also the horrible attitudes towards women and fake macho bullshit/ casual racism etc, but like I say, we woke them up and changed the world just a little (or so I hope). And there was a musical animosity too; In the early punk days we were trying to demystify the whole process of starting a band, and a lot of these Rock acts were full of virtuoso type of musicians that obviously went to Music School. We wanted to make music ‘now’, not learning how to play “chord structures and scales” and play 20-minute-long boring guitar solos. I guess without being too much of a bighead we (*Amebix*) were one of the first to take things in that (crossover with metal) direction but no doubt there were others ...I doubt we were alone in this, but it certainly felt like it at the time”.

Amebix were one of punk bands that incorporated heavy metal subcultural elements, whether this was in their music, their lyrics and their visual status/imagery. In music terms songs like “Axeman” included elements from both punk music genre and heavy metal. Even though *Amebix* were considered to be a band that fitted with the crust punk subculture (that is, a part of punk subculture), in music terms they shared similarities with both music genres.

Even though this subsection is concerned with an analysis of the lyrics to the song “Axeman” by *Amebix*, it would be very helpful to analyse the song in music terms too, in order to view its metatext. First of all, “Axeman” lasts 03:33 minutes, a song length that is rather in the tradition of heavy metal music. The music style could be regarded as a crossover of *Manowar* (US heavy metal band, especially the basic power-chord guitar style), *Killing Joke* (UK post-punk band, when the interchanges that lead to the basic guitar chord take place) and *Venom* (UK thrash metal/NWOBHM, in terms of Rob Miller’s singing style). The song starts with a basic power chord guitar playing which is reminiscent of heavy metal music; upon this chord the whole of the song is structured, only to lead to the change that follows the song’s chorus (“Slaughter/he is coming” at 00:49), reminiscent of the eerie guitar playing style of post-punk, with open chord melodies. This structure is repeated one more time, until 02:00. At this point the tempo changes from mid-tempo to fast tempo, with fast guitar power chord playing, for 21 seconds, and then the initial structure of the song is repeated with slight interventions of a lead guitar melody (in the tradition of post-punk) that co-exists with the basic power chord guitar. The tempo of the drums is interchanged from mid-tempo (00:00 to 02:00) to fast-tempo (02:21) to mid-tempo again until the end of the song, and is more in the post-punk tradition, minimalistic without any display of musical proficiency, akin to *Killing Joke*’s style. The bass guitar is slightly discernible and in terms of sound is reminiscent of *Motorhead*, while the vocal style of bassist/vocalist Rob Miller is reminiscent of Conrad Lant from NWOBHM band *Venom*. His tone and musical expression reveal no technical proficiency and his ekphrasis is rather eerie, rather than ironic. *Amebix*’s musical style is therefore a crossover between punk and heavy metal, but this is not a new discovery, since I analysed the term “crust punk” earlier and *Amebix* are considered to be its founders.

The music ekphrasis of “Axeman” brings to mind something very eerie and dark at the same time; it resembles a walk into a very dark prehistoric cave, where you can hear your echo but the feeling you get is terrifying too. The noisy and messed up lo-fi production brings to mind a post-apocalyptic war landscape, where one can view the remnants of a catastrophe. The crossover of *Amebix*’s music style with heavy metal might not include heavy metal’s virtuosity

and technical proficiency, but it certainly creates a musical output that is unique; this is why the music crossover in the case of *Amebix* is so significant, because *Amebix* created something entirely new and fresh, incorporating totally opposing music style into their punk, creating a new punk subgenre (“crust punk”) with thousands of bands being exponents of this music style even today (2024).

“Axeman” was a song that shared similarities with heavy metal tradition of lyrics too, unlike the majority of *Amebix*’s lyrics that focussed on the punk style of lyrics. In the case of “Axeman”, its lyrics could be interpreted as a mix of heavy metal theme(s) and punk’s lyrics tradition.

Amebix’s approach in their lyrics belongs to the punk subculture (specifically, in the anarcho-punk subculture), following the description offered by Sabin (1999: 4). However, *Amebix* also have songs with lyrical themes that could crossover to heavy metal’s chaotic and Dionysian themes. Such is the case in their 1985 song “Axeman”⁷⁴. Here *Amebix* describes the mayhem caused by a human messenger of chaos, the Axeman. The song’s approach is highly suggestive of the chaotic category, but the interesting fact is that *Amebix* manage to insert a social message in the song, definitely a punk component. The Axeman is a mentally ill and relentless murderer (“Twisted inside/An axe in his hand, no glint in his eye”) and *Amebix* advise people to hide their children from him (“lock up your children/the Axeman is coming”). The social commentary injected into the song can be found in the second verse of the song, where *Amebix* wonder if this man was at some time a member of the British Army or the Special Forces, since he is a skilled killer (“Is he from the army or the S.A.S/The skills he acquired are put to the test”) and describes for us the feelings of that man alienated from his peers after he was discharged from his duties (“Rejected and shunned, left out on his own”).

Guy Debord (Harris, 2013: 44) described the feeling of alienation as the effect of capitalism’s forces affecting people; in fact, he considers capitalism to be responsible for all forms of alienation, and that life in capitalism is transformed into a “spectacle”. The theory of “spectacle” was of major importance for the Situationists and their theory of alienation is a continuation of Marx’s theory of alienation in capitalism, mentioned in his 1844 *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. The “Axeman” is alienated from his human natures and abilities, since he has become a cruel and emotionless human being, ending up using his skills on innocent people that he has acquired in the S.A.S. His mental condition is also a result of his

⁷⁴ Taken from the 1985 12” long play record *Arise!*

loss of human nature (“twisted inside”) and moreover he is being separated from other people too. Continuing with Debord’s concept, *Amebix* as an anarcho-punk band stood against capitalism and its beliefs. Capitalism, according to Harris (2013: 45) is the system that establishes true alienation (since it provokes exhausting competition) and *Amebix* criticized the effects of capitalism on a trained soldier’s quest to gain his salary via one of capitalism’s tools of power, the armed forces. According to Marx’s theory, the soldier sold his “labour-power” (in this case, to the UK Conservative Government), receiving a wage in return. However, the soldier appears to be alienated from his “species-being”; the ideal of human flourishing is extinct in his case and thus his alienation from both his human nature and his social interactions is not a result of him having had a career in armed forces; it is rather the effect of capitalism on him.

It could be said that in “Axeman” two crossovers exist between heavy metal and punk genres lyrics; the first is the inner crossover, the co-existence of both heavy metal and punk styles lyrics. The other is the external crossover, with a typical heavy metal song that describes the actions of a murderer. In our case, the 1984 song “Sentinel”⁷⁵ by *Judas Priest* is an example that describes the act of taking revenge (“Sworn to avenge”). This sentinel is alienated but cold-blooded, professional at the same time (“expressionless/impassive and alone/the seeds of death he’s sown”). “Sentinel” differs from “Axeman” though, in the sense that it refers to a post-apocalyptic world (“Along deserted avenues/Amidst the upturned burned-out cars”), whereas “Axeman” refers to actual society. “Sentinel” represents a figure that, like in the case of *Mad Max*, is getting his revenge in a post-apocalyptic world. The fact that “Sentinel” is alienated from both his human natures and abilities (“The figure stands expressionless/impassive and alone/Unmoved by this victory”) only adds to the fact that there is a resemblance to *Amebix*’s “Axeman”. However, in “Sentinel” there is no explanation of the figure’s alienation, how this happened and under what conditions. Finally, simile is a literary effect that is used in the case of “Sentinel” (“The knives fly out like bullets”) but not in the case of *Amebix*’s “Axeman”.

The issue of the authenticity of the crossover of *Amebix*’s “Axeman” can be analysed through many perspectives. Firstly, *Amebix* never recorded a record with a major label company. “Axeman” is taken from the 1985 *Arise! 12”* long play record that was issued by a small independent punk label, Alternative Tentacles⁷⁶ records. In this way, *Amebix* proved their

⁷⁵ Taken from the 1984 12” long play record *Defenders of the faith*

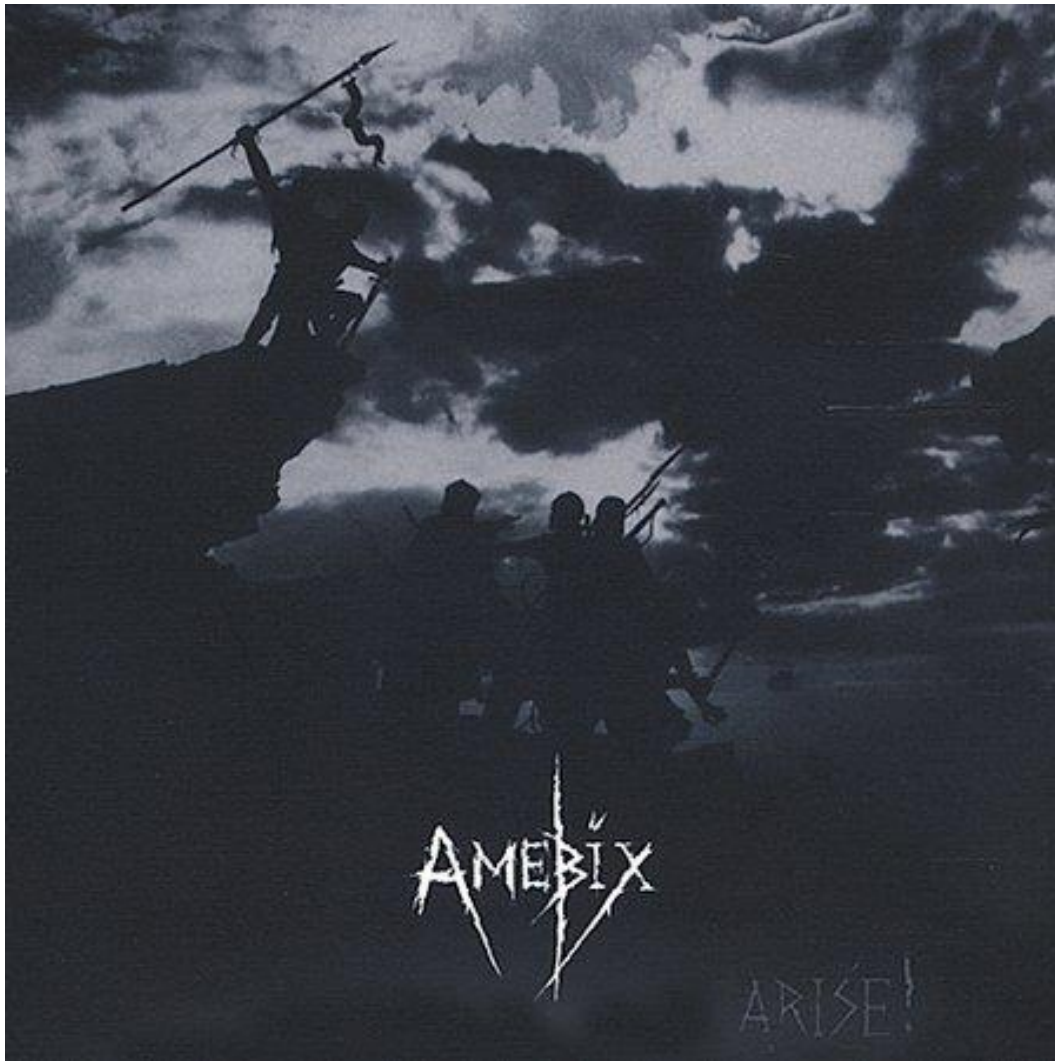
⁷⁶ Data retrieved from <http://www.alternativetentacles.com/> accessed on 08/09/2020

commitment to the punk scene – even when they signed with small-sized UK label Heavy Metal Records⁷⁷. Their musical crossover was an outcome of their diverse musical tastes, ranging from *Black Sabbath* to *Joy Division* and *Killing Joke*, and there was no intention to make commercially driven music. Their lifestyle was also a sign of authenticity (using the term from my critical point of view); *Amebix* lived in absolute poverty⁷⁸ in a squatted house in Bristol along with the UK punk bands *Disorder* and *Chaos UK*. The vocal style of Rob Miller was convincing, expressing authentic sentiments. The raw, DIY production of their records was also another sign of authenticity. *Amebix*'s crossover with heavy metal is therefore in the tradition of rock experimentation; it is rather a form of artistic rather than commercial choice. However, there is a lack of evidence, in terms of *Amebix*'s social class; therefore, Harker's definition of authenticity cannot be used in this case.

The metatext of *Amebix*'s cover for *Arise!*, the 12" long play record from which "Axeman" is taken, is strongly connected with the music and the lyrics of the song too. It conveys the message that *Amebix*'s music is dark and eerie and the musical landscape is far from any melodic popular music genre; this record cover indicates that it could either appeal to punks or heavy metal fans.

⁷⁷ Data retrieved from <http://revolverrecords.com/catalogue/heavy-metal-records/> accessed on 08/09/2020.

⁷⁸ Glasper, 2006: 201 and also evident at the UK/DK documentary.



(Image 44. Record cover of Amebix's 1985 Arise! 12" long play record. Courtesy of Alternative Tentacles)

The metatext of the UK scene report in *Maximum Rock n' Roll* (#22, 1985: 38) by Calvin Piper (of *Heresy*, the UK hardcore/punk band) presents this heavy metal side of *Amebix* that I've analysed. Piper mentions that "Speaking of *Amebix* [...] I've heard that their new material is grungy bass metal, similar to *Manowar* or something", thus giving the reader the impression that *Amebix*'s new material (presented on *Arise!*) will also have a heavy metal orientation in music terms. Alongside comes the metatext of Brian "Pushead" Schroeder's record review of *Arise!* in *Maximum Rock n' Roll* (#28, 1985: 70). Schroeder describes *Arise!* as a "soundtrack for an ultra-bizarre horror treat, *Amebix* scorches down with a deep haunting sound while the guitar and bass churn out some cauldronistic spells of eerie havoc. Vocals are booming and strong, pushing with character and *Arise!* is superbly recorded and shows the improvement of the *Amebix* sound still as powerful as ever. One of the best of 1985. Get it!", thus emphasizing the eerie musical nature of the band and giving a detailed impression of

Amebix's special music landscape. Unfortunately, no *Amebix* interview of that period was available in order to discuss this metatext, nor any music video.

- *The musical, lyrics, visual and imagery crossover of Amebix*

Amebix were one of the bands that crossed over from punk to heavy metal, in terms of music style, and this is also evident in the reviews of the heavy metal Press and it is proven by the review of *Arise!* presented and analysed below.

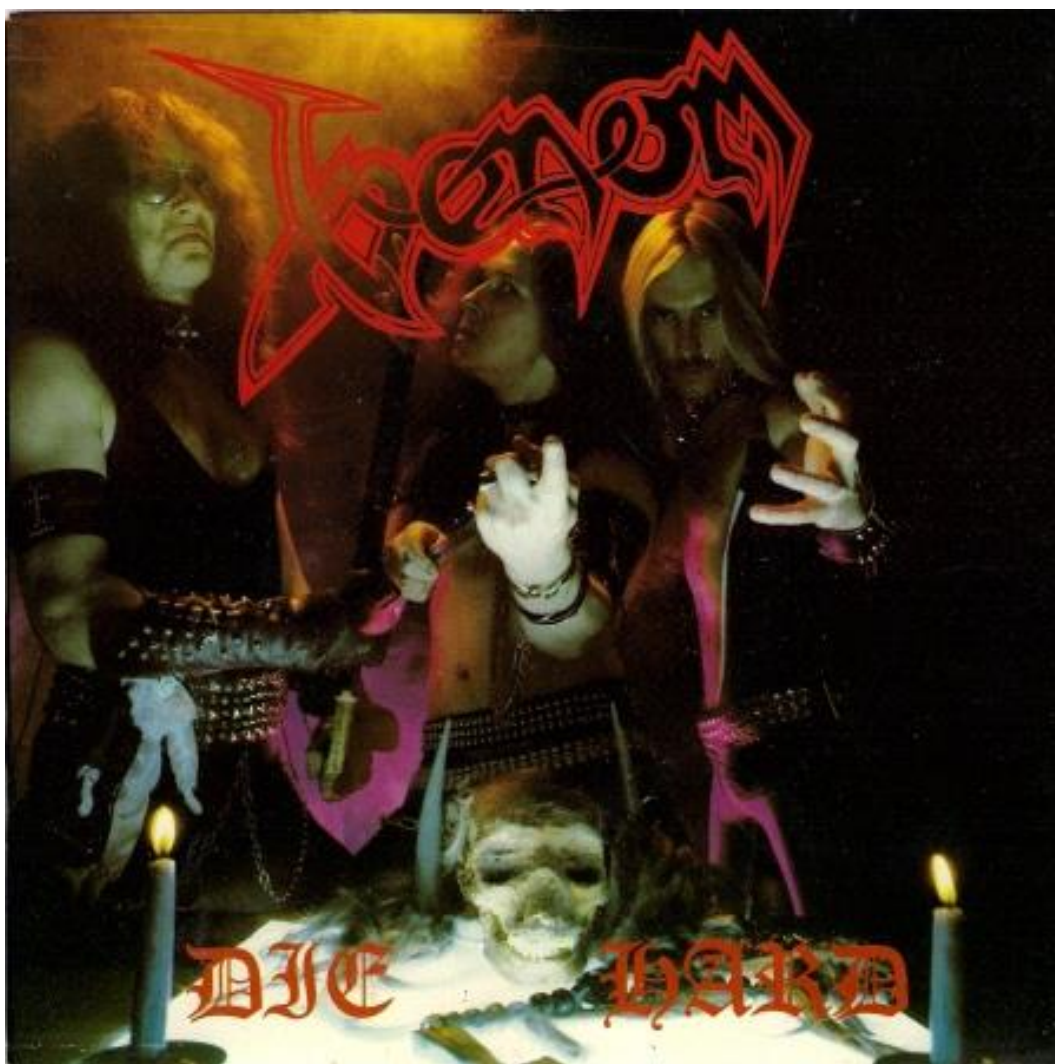
Regarding therefore the music style, the fuse of punk and heavy metal genre elements in *Amebix*'s *Arise!* 12" long play record is mentioned by journalist Bernard Doe in his review of the record for the magazine *Metal Forces* (1985, no. 13). Doe describes *Arise!* as an "attempt to attract wider audiences [...] one listens to *Arise!* and immediate comparisons can be made to *Venom* [...] but despite the *Venom* comparisons *Amebix* are far from being classed as black or thrash metal [...] Anarchist metal with punk production is probably the best way to describe the album, with a noticeable absence of any worthy guitar soloing".

Bernard Doe's review of *Arise!* compared *Amebix* musically with the NWOBHM band *Venom*. Rob Miller stated (Glasper, 2006: 205) that *Amebix* were formed at an earlier time than *Venom* and that they were unaware of them when *Amebix* had already formulated their sound⁷⁹. Adding to the controversy, Rob Miller is depicted in the photograph below excitedly brandishing a copy of *Venom*'s 7" single record *Die Hard*.

⁷⁹ However, in the same interview Rob Miller admits that he incorporated elements from the music of heavy metal bands such as *Motorhead* and *Black Sabbath* into *Amebix*'s sound.



(Image 45. Rob Miller holding Venom's Die hard 7'' single record. Courtesy of Shane Dabinett, 1984)



(Image 46. *Venom's Die Hard 7" inch single record. Courtesy of Neat Records, Neat 27)*

Amebix accordingly shared visual similarities with heavy metal bands. This is evident in the *Amebix's* logo, were *Amebix* also give their perspective about religion(s), not unlike some heavy metal bands.

Adding to the range of interconnections between *Amebix* and *Venom* is *Amebix's* logo named "Splat Head". "Splat Head" first appeared on their 7" single *Who's the enemy*, issued in 1982. "Splat Head" depicted a grotesque image of a man's head and it was designed by Rob Miller⁸⁰, coloured in black and white. "Splat-Head"'s image, however, reminds us of

⁸⁰ Rob Miller stated that he designed the graphics for the first two 7" singles and *No Sanctuary* 12" extended play record. "I designed the two singles and the back of the 12"" (*Maximum Rock n' Roll*, no. 13, 1984: 23). However, Rob Miller stated that (Glasper, 2006: 200) the person that drew "Splat-Head" was Austin Osman Spare, an occultist involved with Neo-Rosicrucian groups, Alistair Crowley, and they mention that the keyword was

Baphomet, the satanic “Sabbatic Goat”. Following Panofsky’s iconographical approach, we can propose that “Splat-Head” represents an image reminiscent of the Exiled Archangel, although in this case this image appears to be crushed. *Amebix*, with the use of this image, don’t show their preference either for God (good) or the Devil (evil). The message of “No Gods, No Masters” is simple and describes their abhorrence of any kind of religion, though the word “Master” could mean a political, social or religious leader. This is apparent in the crushed image of the Baphomet-styled “Splat-Head”, since Rob Miller in this way demythologizes a religious image. “Splat-Head”’s image resembles *Venom*’s Baphomet image in terms of design, but the message is completely different; *Amebix* reject any kind of religion, whereas *Venom* accept and embrace Baphomet as a symbol of satanic religion power.

Atavism; *Amebix* tried to get full advantage of the most basic tools in order to get as much power and energy as they could.



(Image 47. Amebix's *Arise* 12" record back cover, with *Splat Head* designed. Courtesy of Alternative Tentacles, VIRUS 46)

Venom's Black Metal 12" long play record was issued the same year that Amebix firstly presented their "Splat Head" logo in 1982. The cover of *Black Metal* that was designed by the bass player of *Venom*, Conrad Lant, featured a figure of Satan grinning and it was also coloured in black and white. *Venom's Black Metal* cover is in the tradition of heavy metal subculture that uses ominous and grotesque images proposing chaos (Weinstein, 1991: 29). Following Panofsky's iconographical analysis in order to interpret the cover of *Black Metal*, I note that *Venom* use the image of Baphomet as created by Eliphas Levi at *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie* in 1861. The interrelation of the presence of Baphomet's image, on a record called *Black Metal*, leads to the conclusion that *Venom* use Baphomet's image in order to express their (true or faux) faith in Satan. The word "Black," after all, according to Miller (2001) could define

“death, darkness, unknown, sadness, fear” and *Venom* gives their own perspective on a different form of heavy metal that gains power from the occult. This is also the view that the singer/bassist of *Venom* stated in a *Kerrang!* magazine interview (1982, no.29: 34) with journalist Dante Bonutto, saying “Satan is power and *Venom* is power, so we write songs about Satan”.

Venom’s involvement in “Satanism” is metaphoric; as Walser (1993: 151) mentions, “in heavy metal, in the majority of cases, the Devil is used to signify and evoke in particular social contexts. He is not simply conjured up to be worshipped [...] Satan stands for the powers of the unknown [...] and Satanism in heavy metal has sophisticated allegorical or figurative meaning” that can either signify opposition towards Christianity or an unknown power that is very strong. In the case of *Venom*, they incorporate “Satanism” as a metaphor of their musical power; they use “Satanism” in order to stress how powerful and abyssal their sound is.

A very interesting fact, however, is that *Venom* admitted that their musical approach and attitude had connotations with punk music genre, in the words of Conrad Lant, again at *Kerrang!* (1985, no.94: 34)⁸¹. Also, punk bands expressed their appreciation for *Venom*’s musical approach; the case of UK punk band *Attak* in their interview with Gary Bushell (*Sounds* magazine, 9 October 1982) is a paradigm of that. *Attak* stated that there's “not much difference between new metal bands and basic punk bands” and they named *Iron Maiden* and *Venom* among the heavy metal bands that they rate.

⁸¹ *Venom* went even further in the subsequent years, recording the song “Long Haired Punks” (taken from their 2015 12” long play record *From the very depths*). Conrad Lant, also in an interview for *The Guardian*, stated that “I injected punk rock into the metal, putting the aggression, the snot and the shit and the piss back into rock'n'roll.” Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2008/jun/27/filmandmusic1.filmandmusic8> Accessed on 29/01/2019.



(Image 48. *Venom's Black Metal record cover. Courtesy of Neat Records, Neat 1005*)

Amebix did not strictly follow the punk formula of lyrics' themes; they also incorporated patterns that were akin to heavy metal too. *Amebix* combined a punk theme (the one of alienation) with heavy metal (that is the theme of death) into one song, and even though the music style of the song was more akin to punk music genre, the lyrics followed a path that could be interpreted in both punk and heavy metal lyrics traditions.

Musically, *Amebix's* "Winter" does not follow the path of traditional punk patterns. Lasting 5:33 minutes, "Winter" begins with a power chord guitar riff that is repeated throughout the song. The tempo is neither fast, nor slow, but the drumming style and rhythm (repeated throughout the whole song) resembles heavy metal drumming, with the constant use of a 2-bass drum. The production of the record is harsh, to the point that the bass is indiscernible throughout the whole song, and this low-budget production is a component of punk recording

style, according to Laing (1985: 118). The singing style of Rob Miller could be described as a desperate cry, but at the same time his atonal and screaming approach gives an eerie feeling to “Winter”, and his vocal approach is reminiscent of, e.g., *Venom*’s Conrad Lant’s singing style in songs such as “Live like an angel, die like a devil” in terms of the otherworldly, eerie feeling that his performance gives to the song. At the same time, Rob Miller’s singing style is reminiscent of the caustic tone of post-punk band *Killing Joke*’s singer, Jaz Coleman, in songs such as “The Wait”⁸². The tribal pounding rhythm of the drums is also reminiscent of *Killing Joke*, and specifically in songs such as “Wardance”. The case of *Killing Joke* is interesting, because even if they were a post-punk band, early on in their career they found their music to be appealing to punks and heavy metal fans, since they incorporated into their sound elements of heavy metal (Hightower and De Remer, 2001: 30).

“Winter”’s musical ekphrasis brings to mind an eerie landscape that is reminiscent of an awful nightmare; it sounds like the soundtrack of an after-life condition in a bleak and brooding environment, where the joys of life as well as any colour except black and white are absent. The rhythmic tempo of the song brings to mind the sound of war-drums, and the general feeling created is desolation.

The feeling of alienation is not only described in “Axeman” by *Amebix*. Their song “Winter”⁸³ also refers to the state of alienation (“Alone without a friend suffer as night becomes the death of day”), though in this case it refers to a prisoner who awaits his death to come (“No sanctuary behind four walls”). The period of Winter is used as a connotative term in order to describe dormancy, silent life, death, despair, loneliness, and emptiness (Miller, 2001). Winter, as used in *Amebix*’s song, has a literal meaning of alienation and death, as stated before, as well as of despair (“The winter tears the earth apart, let’s hope we see it through”).

Winter is mentioned in a variety of heavy metal songs too, as a lyric theme that belongs to the chaotic heavy metal category. Such is the case with *Judas Priest*’s song “Winter”⁸⁴. In “Winter” *Judas Priest* describes the thoughts and the condition of a poor and homeless person (“Got no silver for my pocket/Got no pillow for my head”). “Winter” stands for death (“Got

⁸² The source of the fascination of *Amebix* with *Killing Joke* could be found in Rob Miller’s interview with Ian Glasper, stating “*Killing Joke* were absolutely incredible [...] we tried to imitate their sound because they were the most realistic interpretation I’d heard of what we were trying to get with *Amebix*” (Glasper, 2006: 202-223).

⁸³ Taken from the 1983 7” single record *Winter*. Spiderleg Records, SDL 10.

⁸⁴ Taken from their 1974 12-inch-long play record *Rocka Rolla*. Gull records, Gulp 1005.

this feeling deep inside/and I wonder if I'm dying”), despair (“I’ll go out of my mind”) and therefore there is a resemblance with *Amebix*’s use of “winter” in their song.

“Winter”’s metatext in lyric terms is in line with the music ekphrasis of the song; the sentiments conveyed are the ones of alienation, desperation and a lack of any hope for the future. The feelings of a person with a bleak future are revealed and the song leaves the impression that *Amebix* is a depressive though powerful band.

The sentiments conveyed by “Winter” were not unknown to the British youth of the era; the job losses that are linked to the closedown of many manufacturing industries all over the UK led to the depression of whole areas, and even in prosperous areas the percentage of unemployed youth grew extensively (Brake, 1984: 194). Brand (2015: 360) notes that the outcome of chronic unemployment on someone’s psychology included higher levels of “depression/depressive symptoms as well as the loss of psychological assets such as morale”. As mentioned, the UK in Thatcher’s first period of governance went through dramatic changes where the public sector suffered from Thatcher’s privatization policies, leading thousands of workers to strike and an explosion in unemployment rates; this social and racial disaffection fuelled riots such as the one in Brixton in 1981. The feelings of desperation and lack of hope for a better future were transformed into anger and fury that led to physical confrontations of thousands of people with Thatcher’s state and its representatives, the police.

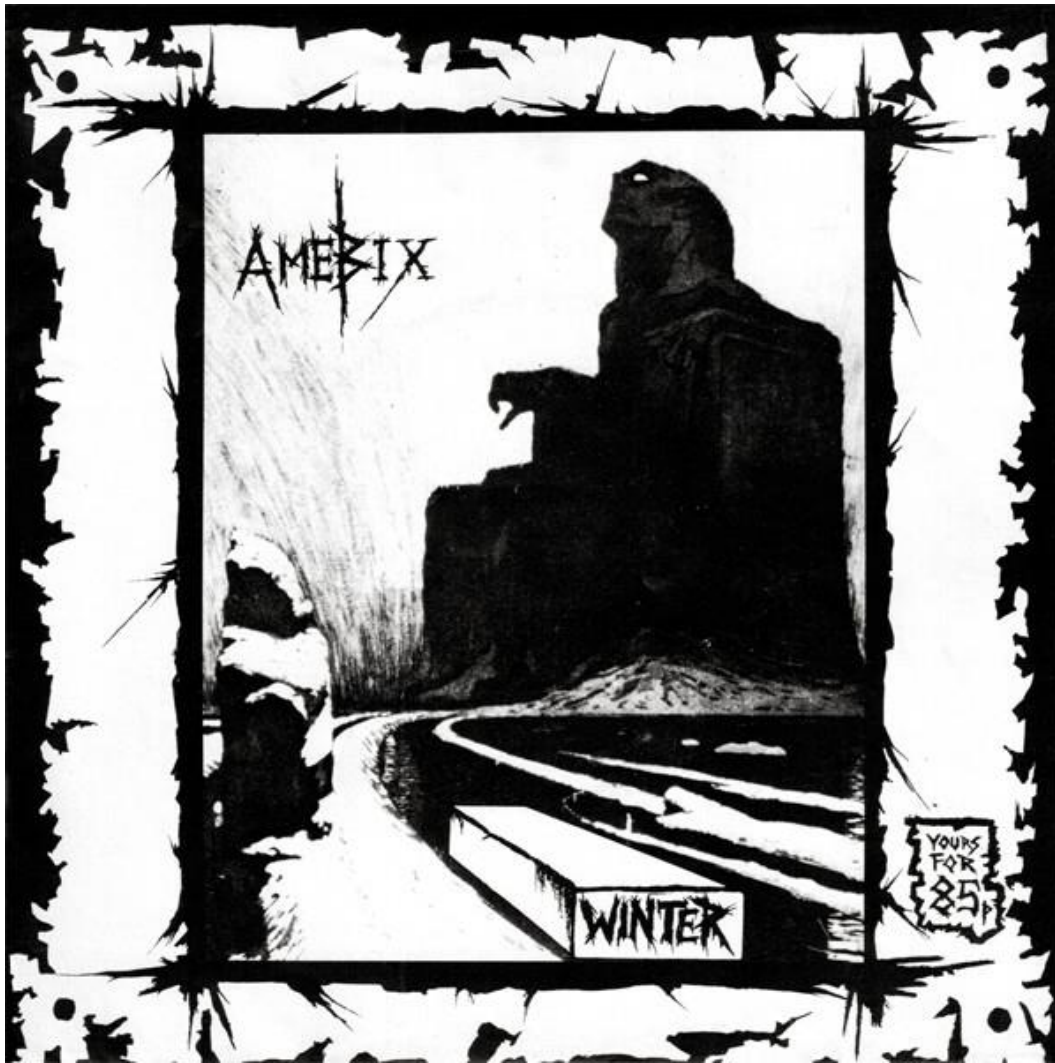
The picture that was used for the cover of the *Winter 7*” record was the 1903 *The Black Idol (Resistance)* painting by the Czech painter and graphic artist Frantisek Kupka⁸⁵, though *Amebix* used a variation of Kupka’s work. Their variation was more basic, with even more lack of detail than Kupka’s original work, and it replaced the colour variations with black and white. Kupka, an Expressionist, tried to express the meaning of an emotional experience rather than reality (Tejera, 1966: 85). Attempting to interpret *The Black Idol (Resistance)*, the lack of detail creates a more natural element for the image but at the same time the contrast of black and white (and their variations) enforces the images’ power.

The metatext that is conveyed by *Amebix*’s *Winter* cover is as important as the music; in fact, the cover invokes fear, awe and alienation at the same time, in line with the music and the lyrics of “Winter”.

⁸⁵ Data retrieved from <https://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Amebix/Winter/29520> accessed on 28/07/2019.



(Image 49. Frantisek Kupka's 1903's work painting of The Black Idol (Resistance). Image retrieved from Centre Pompidou's website, on www.centrepompidou.fr)



(Image 50. Amebix's cover of 'Winter 1982 7" extended play record. Courtesy of Spiderleg records, Sdl10)

"Winter" is taken from the 1982 homonymous 7" extended play record on Spiderleg Records (Sdl10). The review of the 7" single by Tim Yohannan in *Maximum Rock n' Roll* (#02, 1982: 32) offers an account of the song's metatext. Yohannan mentions the singular nature of Amebix's music, proclaiming them such a very special band that has broken the norms of the "typical" hardcore/punk or UK82 sound. He also promotes to the reader Amebix's heavier sound as well as its dissonant nature that is congruent with my analysis of its lyrics and music ("Four songs – one hardcore shorty and three more post-punky sounds, none of which are lightweight at all. Very raw, choppy guitars, raspy vocals; slightly dissonant. Along with *Chaotic Dischord*, one of the few new U.K. bands to break the mold").

In terms of visual image, early in their career Amebix followed the traditional punk band stylistics. This is apparent in the picture below, where Amebix are reprising the Japanese

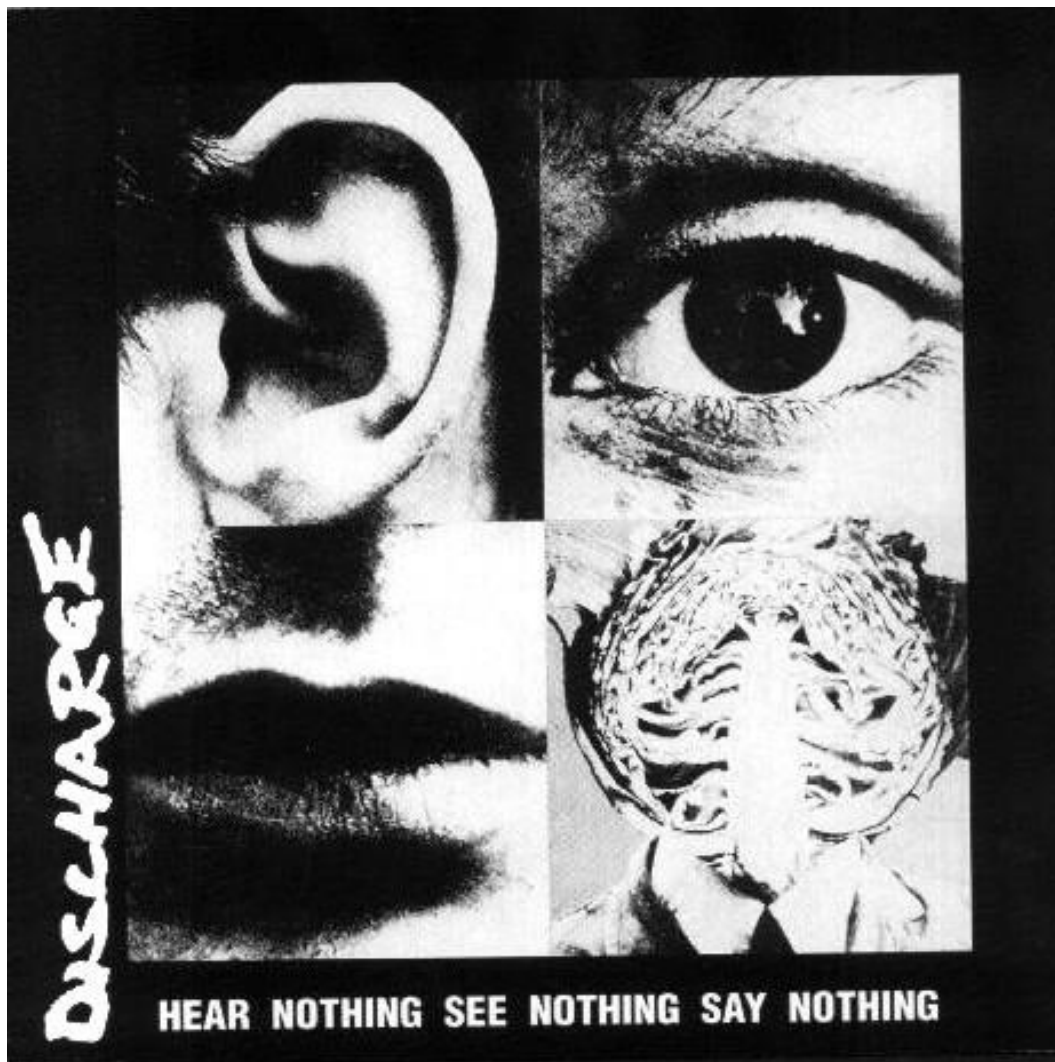
pictorial maxim of the “three wise monkeys” with the meaning of “see no, hear no and say no evil”. (Joly, 1908: 10)



(Image 51. Amebix 1982 band picture. Courtesy of Chris Miller)

The pictorial maxim of the “three wise monkeys” is also referred to in heavy metal lyrics, in the case of NWOBHM band *Witchfynde*. Although the homonymous song of *Witchfynde* wasn’t released during my period of research (it was from 2008), the band was active from the mid-1970s and this is the reason I am referring to them. Their song “Three wise monkeys” refers to the aforementioned pictorial maxim in the chorus “I hear no evil/See no evil/Speak no evil”⁸⁶. At the same time, there is another reference to the “three wise monkeys” pictorial maxim’s story, in UK punk band’s *Discharge*, specifically on the cover of their 1982 12” long play record *Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing* and in the homonymous song.

⁸⁶ Taken from the 2008 *Play it to death* full length CD, Witchfynde Holdings, WO14.



(Image 52. Discharge's cover of 12" long play Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing. Courtesy of Clay Records, Clay lp 3)

Later, during the 1980s, *Amebix* adopted an image that was akin to the stylistic approach that was championed by heavy metal bands of the time. In the picture below that dates from the *Arise!* era (1985), *Amebix* have (in terms of image) more common ground with heavy metal imagery than with punk. Dressed in leather jackets, leather pants, with long hairs and mullets, *Amebix* resemble some UK heavy metal bands of the time. Chris Miller stated that the correlation with heavy metal imagery was unintentional, and it “was all in accordance to the punk ethic of being and looking ‘original’ that was the point and still is as far as I’m concerned. Except these days to look totally ‘original’ you might need some kind of surgery to graft on extra limbs or something since ‘there’s nothing really new under the sun’”.



(Image 53. Amebix band photo circa 1985. Courtesy of Chris Miller)

The metatext of the photo above (used by *Amebix* in order to promote *Arise!*) conforms with my analysis of the music, lyrics and record cover of *Arise!*. *Amebix* appear to be a band whose stylistic choices could appeal both to punk and heavy metal subcultures, and the “dark and eerie” image of the band is evident through their decision to adopt a total black dressing style (in the anarcho-punk tradition of *Crass*), though in leather (in the heavy metal tradition).

One could find a similar stylistic approach in 1980s UK heavy metal bands such as *Sabbat*, depicted in the photo below. Their style is in the heavy metal tradition, with leather pants, leather jackets, long hair, and an all-out black colour preference. However, the picture is taken at Stonehenge and this has to do with the neo-pagan revival by modern druids in the twentieth century who used Stonehenge as a place of pilgrimage (Hutton, 2009: 323); *Sabbat*’s 1989 second full-length long play record *Dreamweaver* was a concept album based on the 1983

book *Way of the Wyrð*, by the author of books on Anglo-Saxon shamanism, Brian Bates⁸⁷. The singer and main lyricist of *Sabbat*, Martin Walkyer, confirmed in UK *Metal Hammer* magazine the band's interest in paganism, mentioning that his pagan-oriented lyrics were not an issue in the band's first break-up in 1991 ("There are stories that I quit *Sabbat* because the rest of the band didn't like my pagan lyrics. That's not true. All of us shared an interest in paganism")⁸⁸.



(Image 54. Sabbath band photo circa 1988. Courtesy of A History of a time to come)

7.2.1.3 Conclusions

In the first theme I've examined the cases of *Judas Priest* and *Amebix*. Even though the commercial motivations of those two bands were antithetical (*Judas Priest* recorded for big label CBS, *Amebix* for small independent punk label Spiderleg), it is apparent that the issues of alienation and unemployment in Thatcher's early years as prime minister concerned both bands. Holistic crossover between punk and heavy metal subcultures in these cases, in this early period, hinged on the fact that *Judas Priest* dared to approach the issue of unemployment

⁸⁷ Data retrieved from Sabbath's *Dreamweaver* 12" full length record inner sleeve inner sleeve, and also from <https://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Sabbat/Dreamweaver/491> and <https://www.discogs.com/Sabbat-Dreamweaver/release/2183482> accessed on 10/07/2019.

⁸⁸ Data Retrieved from the UK version of *Metal Hammer* magazine, January 2007 issue.

– even apparently proposing anomic illegal as a kind of magical solution. It has to be mentioned, however, that it was extremely rare, then, for heavy metal bands to proceed into social/political commentary⁸⁹, especially doing it in a straightforward way without allegory. In the case of *Judas Priest*, one of the top-selling heavy metal bands at the time, with worldwide recognition and considered to be leaders of heavy metal (alongside *Black Sabbath*), the lyrics crossover with punk in the case of “Breaking the law” was massively important. Not only indicating that *Judas Priest* were aware of the social situation of the UK in that era, *Judas Priest* were able to spread the message of the “frustrated and disaffected youth of UK” to much more people than their punk equivalents by 1980. The receiver of this message belonged to a much bigger market pool than punk music genre in that era and the promotion through a big company (CBS) not only targeted the maximization of profits via record sales, but helped reach far more people than any independent label.

The key to *Judas Priest*’s importance in the socio-cultural moment of the early 1980s in UK via their lyrics crossover with punk subculture was their access to major publicity. The fact that heavy metal was, then, a more commercial movement than punk (relying on big labels, expensive and expansive promotion and coverage via the popular press, the adoption of expensive recording techniques, and major distribution of records) adds to the significance of the crossover in the case of *Judas Priest*⁹⁰. The music of “Breaking the law” too was more in the punk music genre tradition: simple and short with a very strong and addictive chorus, and fuelled by the video promotion of the song. *Judas Priest* attempted to reject the typical heavy metal style of lyrics (that is, apolitical) in favour of a song that could appeal to the disillusioned youth. Whether the song and band are ‘authentic’ or not, what should concern us in this case is the spread of the message; the social conditions of that era were so tense that even one of the biggest heavy metal bands approached them thematically in one of their most famous recordings.

In the case of *Amebix*, the crossover in music terms happened due to the fact that many UK punk bands became much better musicians and subsequently adopted some heavy metal music elements in order to enrich their sound. Some bands, in addition (such as *Charged*

⁸⁹ There are only few exceptions such as *Black Sabbath*’s 1970 song “War Pigs”

⁹⁰ The crossover in the case of *Judas Priest* takes place because *Judas Priest* wanted to “refresh” their sound too, like *Black Sabbath* did on their *Heaven and Hell* and *Mob Rules 12*” records. *Judas Priest* didn’t want to be tagged with the characterisation “Dinosaur Rock” so they chose to refresh their sound, adding newer rock (punk) elements to their sound.

G.B.H., *Discharge*, etc.), enjoyed a part of their fan base in heavy metal, so they adopted elements of this sound in order to have an even bigger appeal in the market of heavy metal (which was bigger than punk). The significance in the case of *Amebix* is that this band belonged to the anarcho-punk scene, a scene that (pace the earlier discussion of the cases of *Crass* and *Conflict*) was totally hostile to all the elements of heavy metal subculture. They considered heavy metal subculture shallow and moronic, promoting sexism, machismo and apathy towards social/political issues. However, in the case of *Amebix*, there is still authenticity (as evident both in the words of Rob Miller, as well as from my point of view) in their crossover approach with heavy metal music culture; they never denied that some of their favourite bands were outright heavy metal (such as *Black Sabbath*), nor did they express any hostility towards heavy metal as a music genre. Their crossover came as a natural selection and they didn't focus on rejecting their punk nature, it rather came as an injection of new elements into their sound and partially in their lyrics. *Amebix's* crossover with heavy metal subculture is crucial because it reflects a different approach from the hostility towards heavy metal expressed by many anarcho-punk bands; *Amebix* were open to accepting heavy metal fans among their ranks in order to spread their message too. It is very important not to forget that this is a kind of gesture of "unity" from working-class youngsters (punks) to other working-class youngsters (heavy metal fans). The promotion of punk ideals and ethos to heavy metal fans could only have had a good effect on them, even more if they came to reject the stereotypes (male supremacy and machismo, apolitical stance, anarchic partying attitude) of heavy metal in favour of a more politically/social conscious focus. Even though in latter chapters I will indicate some really bad consequences of the crossovers of heavy metal and punk subcultures, I have to mention here that the "unity" among subcultures through the crossover was crucial in an era when the UK was plagued with major social and political problems that affected the youth.

In this sub-chapter I have presented the early era of holistic crossover between punk and heavy metal in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The next one will extend the historical analysis of my research when the musical crossover between punk and heavy metal went to become widespread not only in the UK but universally. The significance of the theme is worldwide: the renewed fear of a nuclear war. The discussion will include one band with a definite punk background (*Discharge*), one with a mixed punk/metal background (*Onslaught*), and one with a definite heavy metal background (*Raven*).

7.2.2 Theme B: The renewed threat of Nuclear War: Response and opposition from *Discharge*, *Onslaught* and *Raven*, 1982-1985

Crossover of heavy metal and punk: a rising musical phenomenon worldwide

The period that this chapter deals with (1982 to 1985) saw a significant rise in the musical crossover between punk and heavy metal genres, not only in the United Kingdom, but worldwide. In the United States, during that period, it has been claimed “more heavy metal bands started crossing over to hardcore/punk, and more hardcore/punk bands started crossing over to heavy metal” (Ian, 2006: 1:00:12). According to Brian Slagel, founder and CEO of *Metal Blade* record company it “was an interesting time [...] since the metal scene and the punk scene started merging together” and Slagel refers to the band *Suicidal Tendencies* as the first to attempt this approach (Slagel, 2006: 1:00:18).

One of the first musicians to spot the rise of the crossover between heavy metal and punk subcultures was Susan Smith Kusano (also known as “Olga De Volga”), bass player for the American punk band *The Lewd*. While interviewed in *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* (December 1982, #3: 12) by Cliff Varnell, she acknowledged that there was “a crossover rise occurring between the punk and heavy metal scenes [...] A lot of heavy metal bands are starting to simplify and be more like punk bands [...] and then you have punk bands incorporating the tricks of heavy metal, like a cool guitar part, or a cool drum part [...] Simpler punk rock progressions seem to be getting more complex”.

“Pushead” Schroeder, in his review in *Maximum Rock 'n' Roll* (1983, #7: 67), characterized the first long-play record by *Suicidal Tendencies* as “blistering rough metal thrash”. The term “thrash”, before it was used in the heavy metal scene to describe a specific subgenre that fused components of NWOBHM and hardcore/punk (Weinstein, 2010: 48) was used to describe “[u]ltra fast 2- or 3-chord rock with screamed vocals, often with political themes” (Bale, 1982: 35), thus having no connection with heavy metal. *Suicidal Tendencies* were a prime example of the diversity that existed in the whole crossover phenomenon. Originating from Venice, California, two of the band members were Mexican, and the band was into skateboard culture (Muir, 1983: 25). Bands such as *Raw Power* (from Italy) fused punk and heavy metal music styles in a manner with “thrash attacks with twin metallic guitar velocity. They toured America and showed their explosive metal/thrash stance” (Schroeder, 1985: 61). *The Execute*, from Japan, were characterized musically as a band with “[t]ight, fast

thrash beats with metallic guitar structures” (ibid). The punk/metal subcultures crossover phenomenon in that period could not be limited to one specific place, city or country, since there are many cases that appear on a worldwide scale.

However, not everyone was pleased with the crossover phenomenon. Digby Pearson, English editor for *Maximum Rock n’ Roll*, had objections. In his November 1984 column (named “Can you Dig it?”) Pearson attacked the marketing strategies that were used for and by bands that adopted the crossover. He stated “it saddens me to see once great punk-thrash world bands like *Dirty Rotten Imbeciles* and *Corrosion of Conformity* signing up to a metal label which is part (through subsidiaries) of the major EMI America Corporation”. He blamed the bands in this movement for being “sell-outs”, as well as being a part of another sub-genre rather than sponsoring an innovative merger of punk and heavy metal (“This “speedcore” approach phenomenon was supposed to unify the 2 separate factions of ‘punk’ and ‘HM’ on an equal basis, yet all we see is punk-thrash bands being co-opted, bought out, and in doing so reducing punk-thrash to the status of just a more aggressive sub-division of heavy metal. It sucks[...]”) (*Maximum Rock n’ Roll* 30, 1984: 16)⁹¹.

Schroeder (1985: 62) identifies the British *Discharge* as a key band that led the breakthrough in this musical crossover. Tim Yohannan’s review of their 1982 long play 12” record “Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing” described *Discharge*’s sound as “[t]ending to be a bit similar (repetitive riffs and some heavy metal guitar), but the delivery is so powerful, the words so convincingly committed, that it’s a winner” (*Maximum Rock n’ Roll*, 1: 38).

7.2.2.1 *Discharge: the reaction of punk*

- *Discharge, a historical narration of the band’s style and influence on punk and heavy metal*

Even though *Discharge* is (still active on 2024) a UK punk band that was rooted in the first wave (1978) of UK Punk bands, later in their career they incorporated heavy metal

⁹¹ However, a very interesting fact is that Digby Pearson founded, a few years later (1986), the British, Nottingham-based record label “Earache” that championed crossover, hardcore/punk and heavy metal bands with diverse releases spawning from hardcore/punk bands including *Heresy*, to pure heavy metal styled bands such as *Morbid Angel* (Information retrieved from Earache’s official website. http://www.earache.com/index_hb.php accessed on 10 March 2019)

subculture's elements, in every aspect (lyrics, music, imagery and visual). However, their crossover to heavy metal led *Discharge* to a point that both their fans and music journalists were alienated; *Discharge* were accused of being “posers” and their experimentation with lite metal led them to disband. However, in their prime, *Discharge* were a highly political punk band, with strong social/political messages into their lyrics and visual art. One of those concerns *Discharge* had where on the fear of a nuclear war.

Nuclear war was a topic that UK punk bands of that era were interested in. *Discharge* described the fear and effects of a nuclear war in their 1982 song “A Hell on Earth”⁹². In general *Discharge* had a simplistic lyric style that could be described as representative of realism, in the terms described by Frith (1989: 82). This is the case with “Hell on Earth” – there is a direct relationship between the fear of a nuclear war and the emotions about it expressed by *Discharge*. In terms of the issue of ideology and political authenticity (as evident from *Discharge*'s words presented below), bearing in mind the views of Marxist Dave Harker (as cited in Frith, 1989: 83), *Discharge*'s lyrics in “Hell on earth” indicate the band's perception of the fear of a nuclear war. Guitarist Tony ‘Bones’ Roberts, while interviewed for UK punk magazine *Punk! Lives*, stated the “threat of nuclear war is the most important thing in our lives [...] at least for this generation of kids,” while noting the middle-class background of the band and the fact that they were believers in anarchism (“We are all nice middle-class lads [...] we got a different type on Anarchy in our minds”) (*Punk! Lives* 1984, #3: 12).

“Hello on Earth” is a song that is in line with the punk music genre tradition. Specifically, the d-beat style in music terms, alongside with the social commentary of punk's lyrics tradition. By that time (1982) *Discharge* did not cross over with heavy metal music culture at all.

The lyric style of “Hell on Earth” was in the punk genre's tradition of depicting acts of war as a result of political decisions. *Discharge* describe the consequences of a nuclear bombing (“A glaring light an unnatural tremor/Suffocating heat”), its effect on human beings both psychologically and physically (“Men women and children groaning in agony/From the intolerable pains of their burns”), and calling the situation of a nuclear bomb attack a “Hell on Earth”. *Discharge* uses the simile of “Hell” in order to describe the seriousness of the situation. Hell, according to mythological and religious traditions, is an imaginary or real place where deceased people (or their human souls) suffer for ever as a penalty for their human actions

⁹² Taken from the 1982 12” long play record *Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing*, Clay Records, Clay LP 3.

while living on Earth (Gardiner, 1989: 43). *Discharge* compared a nuclear bombing to “Hell on Earth” in order to emphasize the disastrous effects of an attack both on human beings and on the planet. Following Martin Heidegger’s distinction (in Eagleton, 2011: 56), “Hell on Earth” is authentically meaningful (*Geschichte*), since *Discharge* “accept responsibility for their own existence, seize their own future possibilities and live in enduring awareness of their own future death”.

In musical terms, *Discharge* adopts a minimalistic approach⁹³ in “Hell on Earth”. The song starts with a simplistic 3-chord guitar melody, repeated until the chorus of the song, where it transforms into a power chord, only to return to the first 3-chord melody. While “Hell on Earth” follows the rules of short-length punk songs (lasting 1:51 minutes), it contains a lead guitar solo at 0:56 until 1:13, and then the song ends as it started, with a double repetition of the bridge and chorus. The drum tempo is fast, without changes in pace, and technically simplified. The bass guitar tone is distorted, and it follows the drum pace, with no changes.

The musical ekphrasis of “Hell on Earth” is like a riveting, huge fire, taking place in front of somebody’s eyes; it creates multiple feelings, such as leaving someone astonished while frightened at the same time. Such is the immediacy and extremity of the sound that it is reminiscent of a huge and loud truck travelling at full speed at night, ready to crash into a wall.

The reaction of musical journalists at the time towards *Discharge*’s aberrant, simplified and very extreme musical approach varied. *NME*’s editor Chris Bohn, in his review of the *Hear Nothing, See Nothing, Say nothing 12”* long play record, described *Discharge*’s approach as “a frenzy of an impassioned protest [...] their flow is horrific but compelling at the same time [...] the grating mesh of voice and musical noise is perfectly suited to their breathing hellfire about the wastes of war” (*NME*, 22 May 1982: 35), crediting *Discharge* with an ‘authenticity’ to their approach. *Discharge*, according to Bohn, might have a limited vocabulary (“gleaned from CND brochures”), but they are not discrepant, since their extreme sonic approach fits with their lyrics (which Bohn describes as “hopeless”).

On the other hand, *Melody Maker*’s reviewer Steve Sutherland was not so enthusiastic about *Discharge*’s musical approach (Jun 5, 1982). In his review he accused *Discharge* of inauthenticity both in musical terms (“*Discharge* sound like *Hawkwind* [...] fettered to the

⁹³ *Discharge*, according to Glasper (2004: 185), created a separate sub-genre in Punk, named “Dis-core” or “D-Beat”. The name “D-Beat” refers to a specific drum beat that *Discharge* were amongst the first bands to incorporate into their sound.

miserable myth that a three-chord thrash stands for middle class outrage”) as well as in terms of lyrics (“*Discharge* are the worst kind of hypocrites [...] they do not say “ban the bomb” but “a megaton bomb will burn your eyes out”), blaming them for a sensationalist approach to the war theme reminiscent of science fiction.

The metatext created by both reviews in the case of *Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing* vary. *NME*’s review promotes the impression that the record is evidence of ferocity, picturing its sound as a very loud and raging expression of punk even though the lyric vocabulary is poor. However, the verdict of the review in *Melody Maker* is downright disappointing; the review creates the impression that *Discharge* (and their record) is nothing but rehashed and boring punk, that it is not only uninspired in music, but also in lyric terms.

Discharge, as described by Glasper (2004: 185), however, were one of the few early 1980s UK bands that made a big impression, both in punk and heavy metal subcultures, worldwide. This is evident in terms of both the amount and the diversity of the musicians (and fans) that expressed their admiration for *Discharge*’s music approach in interviews. “Away”, drummer with the Canadian progressive metal band *Voivod*, admits among other things his fondness for *Discharge* (“At first it was *Motorhead*, old *Raven*, *Tank* [...] then it was bands like *Discharge*, and *GBH*”) while interviewed in *Metal Mania* magazine (1986)⁹⁴. Well-known United States’ heavy metal bands such as *Metallica* and *Anthrax* recorded covers of *Discharge* songs in subsequent years (“Free speech for the dumb”⁹⁵ and “Protest and survive”⁹⁶ respectively), and many heavy metal band members appeared in photographs supporting *Discharge* while wearing t-shirts of the band or sporting their logo.

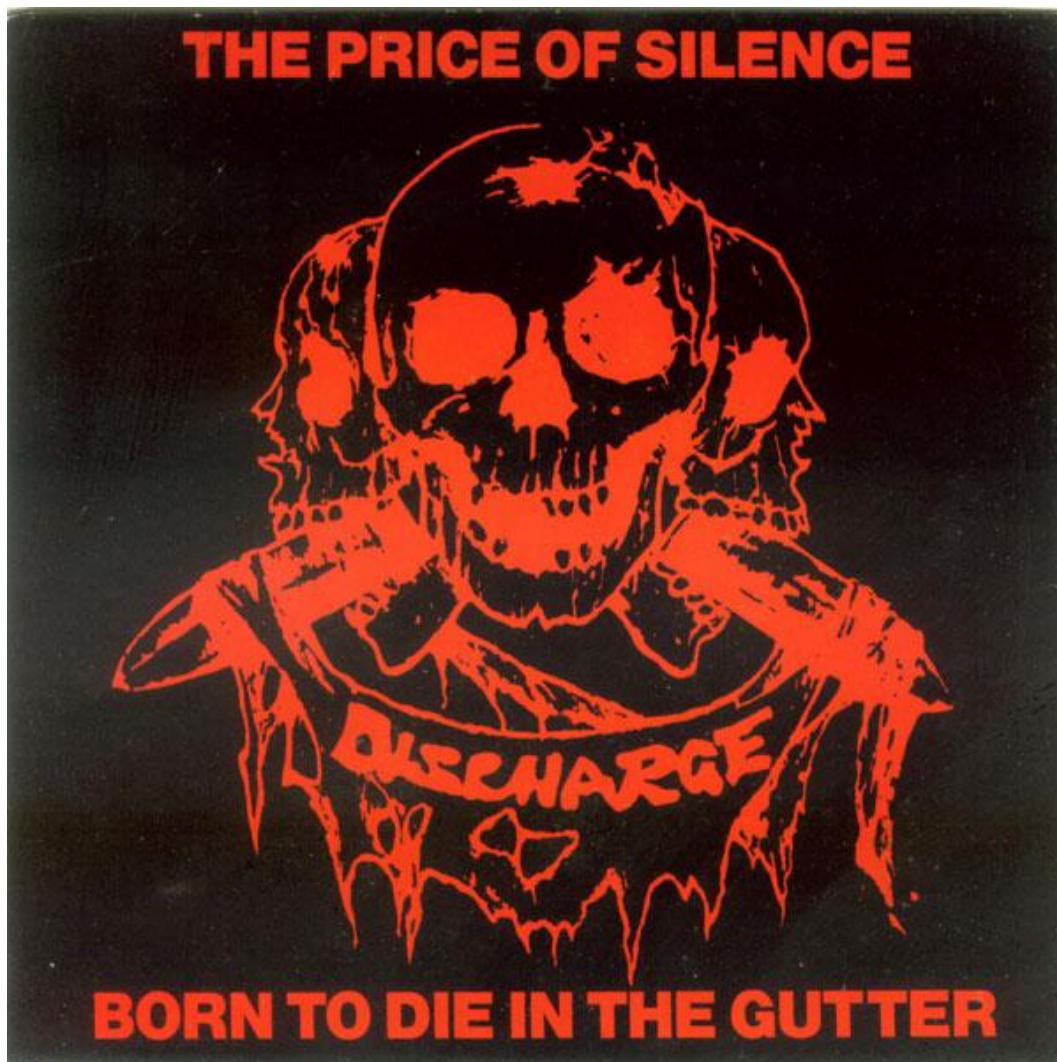
⁹⁴ Interview retrieved from the official *Voivod* website. <http://voivod.net/1986/08/01/1986-metal-mania-magazine-interview/> accessed on 02/03/2019.

⁹⁵ Taken from the 1998 *Garage Inc* double-long play record, Elektra, 62299-2.

⁹⁶ Taken from the 1991 *Attack of the killer B’s 12”* long play record, Island Records – 422-848 804-1



(Image 55. Mille Petroza, singer/guitarist for the German metal band Kreator, in a white Discharge t-shirt, circa 1988. Photo courtesy of Kreator)



(Image 56. The original artwork of Petrozza's t-shirt. The record cover of Discharge's 1983 7" extended play record The Price of Silence. Courtesy of Clay records, Clay 29)



(Image 57. Guitarist/vocalist Max Cavalera, of Brazilian heavy metal band Sepultura, sporting the logo of Discharge into his guitar, circa 1991. Courtesy unknown)

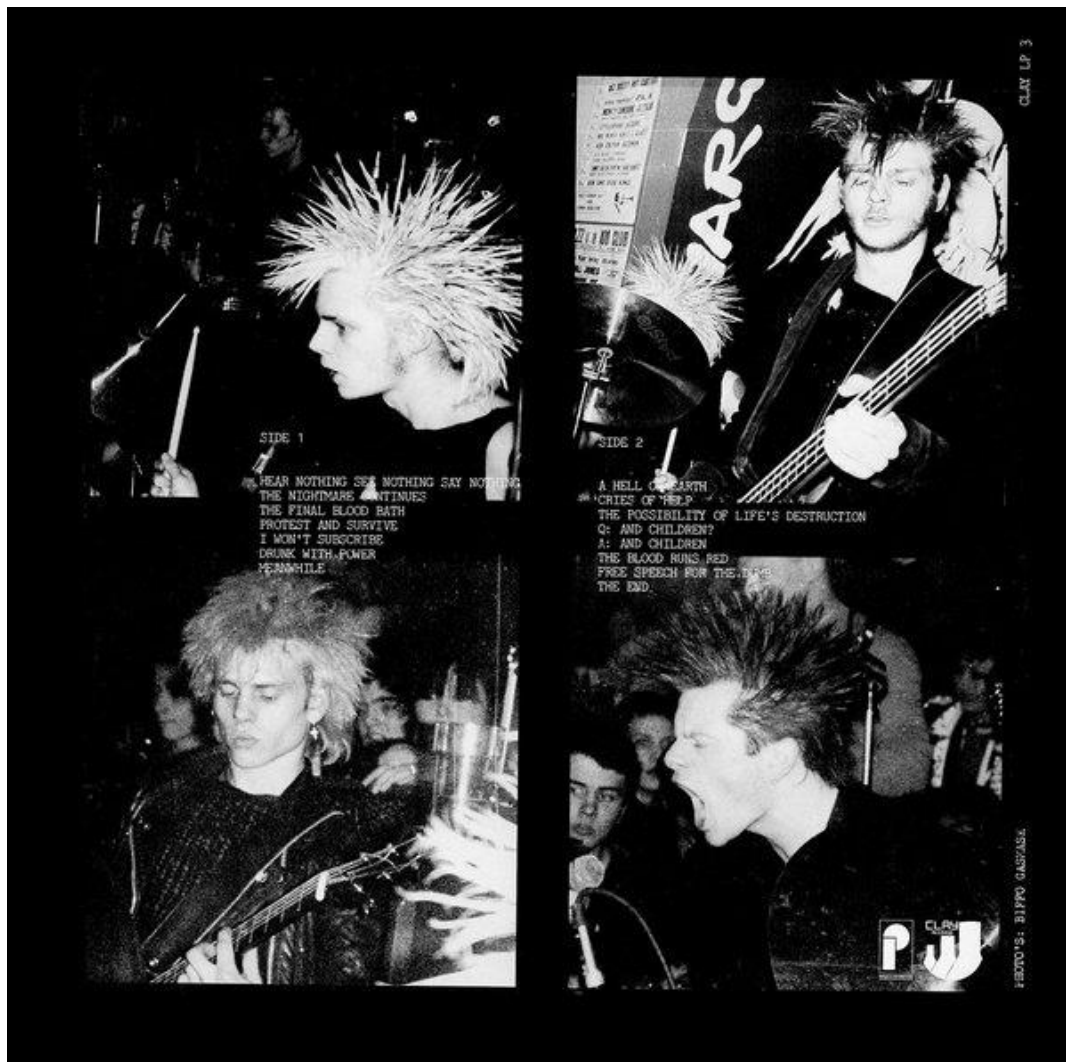
Moreover, founding members of *Discharge* (and brothers) Terry and Tony Roberts, mentioned while interviewed by me that “I was sort of a fan of both music genres; *Jimmy Hendrix*, *Black Sabbath*, *Deep Purple* as my older brother was into metal and he kept playing it did my head, then I started to like it. Then punk came along and I think that it was like a revolution everybody wanted to be a punk including me” (Tony) and “I was a fan of both punk not that much metal except *Motorhead* who bridge the gap between punk and metal” (Terry). In terms on animosity between heavy metal and punk, Tony adds that “there was always a bit of animosity between the two groups but I think that subsided over the years and now there's none...it was like the Teddy Boys and Rockers, like every genre has to hate some other”. Furthermore, Tony strongly admits that *Discharge* was the first band to crossover from punk

to metal: “It was all *Discharge*. There was nothing like *Discharge* when we started. We were the first for sure”.

In terms of image, *Discharge* had adopted the punk stylistic approach since its origins in 1977. By 1982 the band’s visual appearance included spiky and/or bleached hair, but they also adopted the anarcho-punk policy championed by *Crass* (Glasper, 2006: 15) of wearing only black on stage. *Crass* believed that black clothes could help them retain their anonymity, but all of a sudden “every young punk all over Great Britain was dressed in black” (Glasper, 2006: 17). *Discharge* also wore black leather jackets and black leather boots reminiscent of the biker style of the 1960s. All of these elements are apparent in the two photographs below, one taken from a live appearance in London in May 1982 and the second is the back sleeve of the 1982 12” long play record *Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing*.



(Image 58. Photograph of *Discharge* taken from their live appearance in London, Zig-Zag club, London 29-05-1982. Courtesy of *Discharge*)



(Image 59. Back sleeve cover of Discharge's 1982 12" long play record *Hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing*. Courtesy of Clay Records, Clay LP 3)

The metatext created by these two photographs is characteristic of the music of *Discharge*. The first, taken during a performance by the band, transmits the energetic message of *Discharge's* live show as well as its music. It is definitely a punk show, chaotic, where the band and audience co-participate (there is no barrier between the band and the audience⁹⁷); a member of the audience, a young punk, appears to be stagediving. The message conveyed also characterizes the music approach of *Discharge*; it is chaotic and raging, like their live shows. In the second photograph the message conveyed is that Discharge is a punk band and their

⁹⁷ Laing (1985) mentioned that "principles of the European vernacular tradition can be found in British punk of the late 1970s where the distance between audience and performer is reduced [...] participation and energy were the most important qualities." (from Wall, 2013: 41) This is apparent in the photo of *Discharge* where there appears to be an elimination of distance between audience and performer at the live show. This took place later in the thrash metal scene, where audience members participated in the live shows of the bands through "stagediving".

music approach is full of rage, as is the expression of the singer (Kelvin “Cal” Morris). The black and white tone creates a mood for *Discharge*’s basic music approach and the dominance of black suggests that the musical content will be, at least, “dark”. Within the metatext of these band photos the powerful and ferocious nature of *Discharge*’s musical output is inflected.

The artwork employed a black-and-white approach reflecting *Discharge*’s concern for basic political and social issues. For their 1984 12” long play compilation record *Never Again* the band chose John Heartfield’s 1960 anti-fascist collage named *Niemals wieder!* (“Never again”) depicting an impaled dove.



(Image 60. John Heartfield poster of impaled dove, 1960 version of the 1931 cover. Courtesy of John Heartfield)



(Image 61. *Discharge's Never Again 1984 12'' compilation record cover. Courtesy of Clay Records, Clay LP 12*)

The metatext of *Discharge's Never Again* record cover accords with the music of *Discharge*: a simple approach that brutally assaults the senses is apparent. The message is clear – the record cover states that it is a band with anti-war messages and the music is vicious, simple and brutal. The black-and-white (Xerox) approach in the tradition of punk, as is the band's logo that implies undoubtedly that we have to deal with a punk record. The visual message of *Never Again* is almost stronger than the music. The meaning conveyed through the striking image of the impaled dove combined with the punk subculture's typology of the band's logo appealed to numerous bands (and fans) worldwide; this is evident both with punk but also heavy metal bands. The music, of course, had a dominant role in the process of creating fans, but the acceptance and endorsement of *Never Again* in terms of clothing by bands and artists

such as *Metallica*'s⁹⁸ James Hetfield, *Death Angel* (US thrash metal band), *Carnage* (Swedish death metal band), as well as innumerable instances in the punk scene (such as the UK's *Sacrilege* in their early hardcore/punk phase⁹⁹), stands as evidence for *Never Again*'s importance.



(Image 62. *Metallica*'s James Hetfield wearing a *Never Again* t-shirt with heavy metal frontwoman Doro Pesch. 1985. Courtesy unknown)

⁹⁸ In their 1999 *Garage inc. 12"* double LP record *Metallica* covered two of their favourite *Discharge* songs, "The more I see" and "Free speech for the dumb".

⁹⁹ The case of *Sacrilege* will be analysed in the next chapter.



(Image 63. Death Angel member spotted in the centre of the picture wearing Never Again, 1986. Courtesy of Metal Archives)



(Image 64. Carnage member with Never Again t-shirt, 1990. Courtesy unknown)



(Image 65. *Sacrilege's* guitarist *Damian Thompson* wearing a *Never Again* T-shirt while the band is playing a live show, 1986. Courtesy of *Sacrilege*)

Discharge uses the impaled dove on the cover of *Never Again* as a symbol of peace violated. The symbolic meaning of doves varies. According to Frutiger (1989: 252) the Christian evangelists used the dove in order to depict the form of the Holy Ghost. However, according to Snyder (in Donfried and Richardson, 1998: 322), the early Christians adopted the symbol of the dove holding an olive branch from the ancient Greeks and in this case the dove was used as a symbol of peace. *Discharge* used the impaled dove as a symbol of peace that had been brutally killed. The record cover is black and white and if we use Miller's (2001) definitions, the white dove represents peace and hope that is tragically seized. The background black represents death and darkness. The grim reality of the loss of peace is brutally depicted in the act of the impalement. Impalement as a form of execution has its roots in ancient Eastern civilizations, as mentioned by Tetlow (2004: 35). A notorious exponent of impalement was the

Prince of Wallachia, Vlad the Third who gained his nickname (Vlad the Impaler) due to his fondness for this technique of killing (Florescu, 1999). On the cover of *Never Again* the logo of the band is also apparent, as well as the phrase “Never Again”. In this way, *Discharge* want to show their opposition towards any acts of war and the record cover stands as a warning of what happened in the past (cruel wars) that should be avoided in the future.

- *Heavy metal techniques incorporation on Discharge’s sound; the case of “The More I See”*

In my interviews with *Discharge* guitarists (brothers and founding members of the band) Anthony Roberts and Terence Roberts, the latter claimed that there was a specific crossover of punk and heavy metal in musical terms. He expressed his appreciation for both punk and heavy metal music genres as he had been a “fan of 1977 punk as well as *Motorhead* and *Black Sabbath* too” and went even further, describing *Discharge* as the first band worldwide that combined musical elements from both genres (“It was all *Discharge*, there was nothing like *Discharge* when we started, we were the first ones to bridge the gap between punk and heavy metal for sure”). He went on to express his sheer enthusiasm for the whole crossover movement in that era (“It was awesome [...] and the Americans afterwards did it so well”).

Anthony Roberts in our interview also expressed his appreciation for both UK punk and heavy metal music genres in that era, stating that his favourite bands were *Black Sabbath* and the *UK Subs*, and that the music of *Deep Purple* and *Black Sabbath* had a great role in his formative years as a guitarist – though he also claimed that the crossover had good and bad results musically (“Bad as punk musicians could not really play that well back then”). Anthony Roberts considered *Discharge* and (another UK punk band that he formed with his brother Terence) *Broken Bones* to be the leading bands that merged components of punk and heavy metal music genres (“Obviously I’m going to say *Discharge* and *Broken Bones*”), but also added UK punk bands *The Exploited* and *G.B.H.* In lyric terms, both guitarists agreed that the tradition of punk was a driving force for *Discharge* during throughout their career (“The lyrics were punk all the way”). Anthony Roberts’s beliefs about punk and heavy metal music genre crossover are also apparent in his 1984 interview in *Punk! Lives* UK magazine where he remarked “there is not much difference between heavy metal and punk, except from the fact that heavy metal musicians play a bit better, probably because they are going a lot longer (in terms of song endurance)” (*Punk! Lives*, #3: 12)

However, in subsequent years (from 1983 until 1986) *Discharge* incorporated even more burgeoning heavy metal subculture's components into their sound, their imagery, visual appearance and lyrics. This led to the alienation of their punk fan base. Jeff Bale, reviewer for *Maximum Rock n' Roll*, condemned the approach that *Discharge* had taken in their 1983 7" extended play record *The More I See*, blaming them for adopting a total heavy metal musical approach ("The More I See" of *Discharge*, the more nauseous I become. That song is unbelievably pathetic [...] both the music and the vocals have a full-out heavy metal sound [...] a complete waste of vinyl") (Bale, 1984: 35).

In music terms, *The more I see* almost eliminated the punk components that they had favoured until then. Firstly, the homonymous song's length (in the extended version) lasts 4:00 minutes, a length that is more representative of a heavy metal music genre, rather than a punk song. It begins with a fast drumbeat accompanied by bass guitar intro, for 0:45 that leads to the basic guitar power chord. This power guitar chord is reminiscent of a classic heavy metal guitar playing style and is repeated throughout the whole song. At 01:13 the bridge of the song takes place ("From where I stand I see/Pain, suffering and misery") which leads to the chorus ("The more I see/the less I believe"). This lyrics minimalism is the only fact that connects with *Discharge*'s past, since the band had adopted simplicity in terms of lyric style since their beginnings. However, Calvin Morris's vocal style is in more in the heavy metal tradition; he endorses a high-pitched tone, including yowls, as indicated by Weinstein (1991: 26) in her description of heavy metal singing. At 02:51 a lead guitar solo takes place, and even though it is not so extended in terms of length (it only lasts 10 seconds) it is reminiscent of heavy metal guitar solos. The song bridge and chorus are repeated again from 03:01 until 03:53, where another short lead guitar solo presents the finale of the song. It could be said that even though the song's simplistic structure is reminiscent of the punk past of *Discharge*, the heavy guitar tone, the clean (and powerful) production that emphasizes the power of the band¹⁰⁰, as well as the endorsement of heavy metal components in guitar playing and vocal style, makes "The more I see" a song that borrows elements from both genres, resulting in a musical crossover.

¹⁰⁰ Geoff Pesche was the mastering engineer for *The more I see*, and during that time he has worked with bands from both genres, from NWOBHM *Diamond Head* (*Sweet and Innocent* 7" single record) to UK punk band *Newtown Neurotics* (*Kick out the Tories* 7" single record).

- *The release of Grave New World in 1986, the reaction of reviewers on Discharge's crossover to a total heavy metal approach*

The music, lyrics and visual imagery in their 1986 12" long play record *Grave new world* constituted another step towards heavy metal subculture. *Discharge's* new (almost entirely heavy metal) approach was not welcomed by many critics and fans, however. Varukers' guitarist Paul Miles, interviewed in *Maximum Rock n' Roll*, in December 1986 (43; 30), stated that while his band were touring with *Discharge*, fans even attacked physically *Discharge* when they first heard their new musical approach ("actually physically threatened, while on stage there were bottles were thrown at them").

The *Grave New World* title given to their 1986 record was a variation on the title of the 1931 novel *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley. While in his novel Huxley describes the radical changes that are about to take place in the modern world (Watt, 2013: 197), *Discharge* mutate the novel's title into *Grave New World* in order to express their pessimism about the future, altering the meaning of Huxley's novel title almost diametrically. According to *Discharge*, the end of the world is inevitable, hence their bitter ironic modification.

Ian Glasper (2004: 191) described *Discharge's* new music approach as a "real nail in the coffin [...] a metamorphosis from ground breaking punk to pedestrian hard rock", presenting a negative opinion of *Grave New World*. *Discharge's* producer and owner of Clay Records, Mike Stone (Glasper, 2004: 192), mentioned the vocalist Kelvin "Cal" Morris's appreciation of pathos in *Black Sabbath* and *Led Zeppelin* at the time when *Grave New World* was recorded, and expressed his certainty that Morris's style changed due to his fondness for *Led Zeppelin's* vocalist, Robert Plant ("Cal was listening to a lot of *Black Sabbath* and *Led Zeppelin* [...] I am sure it was Robert Plant's style he was going for").

Discharge's new music direction that leaned entirely to heavy metal's music tradition is evident in *Grave New World*. The music patterns that *Discharge* incorporate into their music output are in line with the heavy metal music genre, even though they don't accept the label "heavy metal" for their music direction.

Consider the song "In love believe". The song lasts for 04:54 minutes, a length more common to heavy metal songs than punk. It starts with a power chord guitar riff that is reminiscent of heavy metal musical style, demonstrating technical proficiency. At 0:50 the

vocalist sings the first lyrics, exposing an approach much reminiscent of heavy metal. His singing style is high-pitched and he also employs screams in order to emphasize the “power and the emotionality” (Weinstein, 1991: 26) of his voice. This singing approach is repeated all through the song and at the same time the song’s tempo remains the same (mid-tempo). The introductory power chord guitar riff is replayed all through “In love believe”, only to change in favour of two complex and highly technical guitar solos, one that takes place at 02: 23 lasting 20 seconds and the other at 03:03 lasting 12 seconds. Moreover, there are small lead guitar fills throughout the song (one lasting 3 seconds from 02:44 and another lasting 3 seconds, from 02:55). The bass guitar playing lies in the background, accompanying the mid-tempo drumming style and the production of the record (made by Mike Stone¹⁰¹) permits the technical virtuosic elements of *Discharge* to stand out, in the tradition of heavy metal music production.

In terms of musical ekphrasis, “In love believe” sounds like the musical landscape of a party that is crowded with people, with all the hyperbole of extreme partying taking place – like the background of an adult club or the musical depiction of a road full of night clubs on a Saturday night. The crossover of *Discharge* with lite metal, even though it was not followed by a commercial success and a journalistic and fan acceptance, is significant, because it presents the technical proficiency evolution of *Discharge*, from the moment that they decided to cross-over with lite metal; in strictly technical terms, the instrument playing proficiency progress of *Discharge* is undeniable, even if the result was disappointing.

Discharge had objections to the musical direction of the band being labelled heavy metal. In a 1986 interview (undertaken while touring to promote *Grave New World*) *Discharge* were asked their opinion about people who thought *Grave new world* was a heavy metal record. The band denied any affiliation with heavy metal music genre (“the music [...] is just the same as *Discharge* used to be [...] all we are trying now is to play better than we did before [...] but people can’t handle the change to the band, personally I do not consider that we play heavy metal, it is just *Discharge*”¹⁰²). However, the allegation of improved technical proficiency (“We play better than we did before”) could be interpreted to indicate *Discharge*’s new direction. Heavy metal music genre’s foregrounds musical technical proficiency opposed to

¹⁰¹ Mike Stone’s heavy metal-styled production was not something new to him in the production of *Grave New World*. He had an experience of producing heavy metal records since the early 1980s with the UK heavy metal band *Demon* and their records such as the 1981 *Night of the Demon* 12” long play record and their 1985 *Heart of our Time* 12” long play record. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/261780-Mike-Stone-2> accessed on 10/03/2020

¹⁰² Interview retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-EePxHkgyg> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HI9TkESHL44> accessed on 09/03/2020

punk's simplicity (or lack of technical proficiency) and this had also mentioned by Anthony Roberts.

The metatext here is that *Discharge* attempted to justify their musical change in *Grave New World* by stating that they had become better musicians than in the past. This created an impression that *Discharge* was trying to persuade its audience that this alteration was inevitable, while the band rejected the allegation that it had become heavy metal – in an attempt, perhaps, to placate their punk fan base. However, this isn't convincing when considering *Grave New World*'s music; this long play record is only slightly connected with punk, being mostly in the tradition of hard rock/ heavy metal music genre.

Discharge presented in *Grave new world* a lyrics style that was more akin to the punk lyrics' tradition; however, their lyrics style has a more personal, a more delicate approach than their minimalistic past.

- *The lyrical realism of "In Love Believe"; Discharge's authenticity questioned*

"In love believe" is in the tradition of "realism" described by Frith (1989: 83). That is, the song is concerned to offer an optimistic view that life is worth living, in contrast to blues realism which is bitter, passive and sorrowful. *Discharge* express their personal feelings "in a very public manner" ("Don't Be Afraid/Afraid to Care/Open Wide/The Door to Your Heart"), using literary metaphors ("Extend the Kind Arm of Infinity/All over the Human Sphere") in order to let the audience know their belief that only love will enable a better, peaceful future for humanity ("Release Our Troubled Hearts/And Grant Our Children Our Children Peace"). The authenticity of the song in terms of lyrics is questionable, however; this will be discussed further.

The issue of authenticity (regarding the point of view of punk reviewers) in the shift by *Discharge* from a hardcore/punk band to a hard rock/heavy metal band is complex when examined in all its aspects. Firstly, the band remained under the umbrella of *Clay Records*, which was a small independent/punk label. In visual terms the band adopted lite metal's dressing style (big hairdos, mascara), reminiscent of commercial bands like *Def Leppard* and *Motley Crue*. Kelvin "Cal" John Morris' singing style also changed, from the furious and raw approach of early *Discharge* records to a more high-pitched, melodic, pomp style akin to the lite metal bands. The reaction of punk Press and fans was very critical, to say at least. Dolf

Hermmnstadter, in his review of the German scene in *Maximum Rock n' Roll* magazine (#45, 1987: 40), mentioned that the cancellation of *Discharge*'s appearance in Hamburg was a non-event, as "nobody missed them". Glasper (2004: 192) called *Grave New World* "a nail in the coffin that led to *Discharge*'s split later in 1987". Hardcore punk band *Bad Brains*' vocalist H.R. dumped ice on the band while they were performing on stage in New York, thus expressing his distaste for their new direction¹⁰³. There is a live recording¹⁰⁴ of *Discharge*'s live appearance at The Farm in San Francisco in September 1986 when pretty audible boos of the crowd may be heard. *Discharge* was considered a band of "poseurs" by the punk scene for selling-out the punk ethic.

Discharge's crossover to heavy metal subculture can be regarded as inauthentic, from my critical point of view; that is, it was commercially driven, designed to appeal to the same music market that major label lite metal bands were dominating, achieving millions of record sales. And it was recognition of this inauthenticity that led *Discharge* to disband; the artistic failure of *Grave new world* was accompanied with a commercial failure, because even the lite metal fans were not persuaded by *Discharge*'s new intentions¹⁰⁵. Another issue that warrants scepticism towards the authenticity of *Grave New World* was the composition of the band when the album was released – only 2 members from the original line-up appeared (vocalist Kelvin "Cal" John Morris and bass player Roy "Rainy" Wainright who left just a few weeks after its release).

In general, hardcore/punk fans, musicians and artists were very critical of the bands that crossed over to lite (glam) metal; this is evident in the photograph below of a 1989 comic strip by the artist Sean Taggart¹⁰⁶, criticizing the shift from hardcore/punk to glam metal subgenre. Everything related to *Discharge*'s *Grave New World* era seems to fit with this comic¹⁰⁷: the early angst (in music, lyrics and visual terms) is replaced by love songs and a fitting pose. The

¹⁰³ Data retrieved from

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150429152313/http://www.killfromtheheart.com/bands.php?id=2462> accessed on 01/09/2019

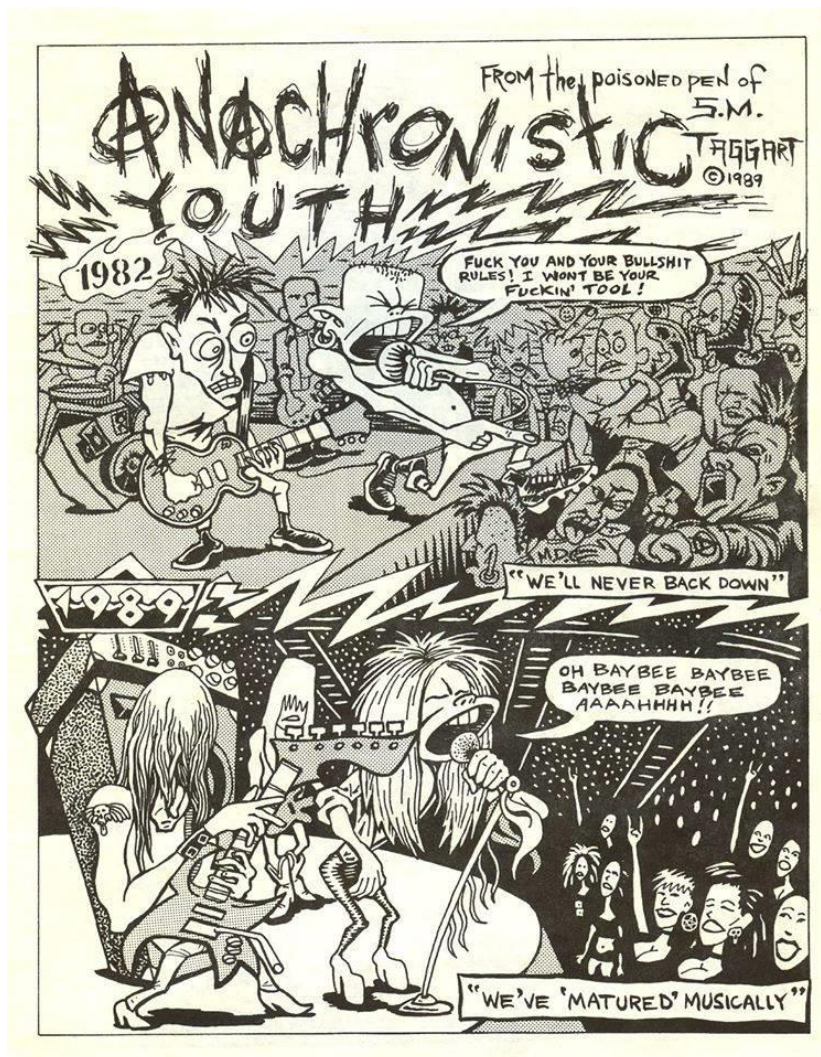
¹⁰⁴ Data retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L_Sw8U_mxzI&t=84s accessed on 01/09/2021

¹⁰⁵ *Grave New World* appeared in the UK Indie charts in the top ten, but disappeared very quickly – its success was nowhere near to the past *Discharge* records that dominated the indie charts (Glasper, 2004: 191).

¹⁰⁶ Sean Taggart is an artist who illustrated record covers for both hardcore/punk and thrash metal bands in New York in the 1980s like the *Crumbsuckers*, *Whiplash*, *Carnivore*, *Agnostic Front*, *Murphy's Law*, *Cro Mags*, *Prong* and *Armed Citizens*. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/814172-Sean-Taggart> accessed on 12/09/2021. While interviewed through Facebook about this specific comic created in 1989 and published in *Village Noise* magazine he replied that "a lot of dudes [were] jumping on the trash/glam bandwagon. Too many to mention, they know who they were".

¹⁰⁷ And it actually fits, since I asked Sean Taggart via Facebook regarding this comic strip and he told me that "*Discharge* was the first band that I had in mind while creating this" (December 2023)

crowd has changed and Taggart mocks the new glam metal direction, citing the empty words used by *Discharge* about “musical maturity”.



(Image 66. Comic strip on the musical transformation of a hardcore/punk band to lite metal, 1989. Courtesy of Sean Taggart)

“In love believe” does not belong to the heavy metal genre lyrics tradition (its more in lite metal tradition though). Its lyrics style is more attributable to the punk tradition, due to its socially aware lyrics. However, I should mention the NWOBHM band *Demon* and their 1986 song “Heart of our time”¹⁰⁸. *Demon*, as well as *Discharge*, described a form of hope for the future via their lyrics, a hope that derives from their belief in the power of human feelings (“Expressing the heart in our time/Playing for real”), with, in the case of *Discharge*, hope coupled with the feelings of love. *Demon* used the superlative of the word “dark” (“We have a

¹⁰⁸ Taken from their 1986 12” extended play record *Demon*

chance to put things right/Got to leave the darkest road”), in order to symbolize “despair” (Miller, 2001), as *Discharge* had in their song (“Peace and Love Arise/From The Darkness”). *Demon* also used the word “light” (“head into the light”) in order to symbolize an exodus from the “darkness”, as “light” is a symbol of hope, and at the same time *Discharge* had used the word “candle” (“Keep the candle burning”) as another symbol of hope.

Intriguing in the case of *Discharge*’s and *Demon*’s lyric crossover is the fact that not only were their records issued under the same independent label (*Clay Records*) or that Mike Stone was the producer of both albums. On these two records (*Grave New world* and *Demon* respectively) *Discharge* and *Demon* shared a common member too – the guitarist Les Hunt¹⁰⁹. However, this was not the only member the bands shared throughout their career, as another was guitarist Steve Brookes¹¹⁰.

There were also a number of musicians that played in *Discharge* in that specific era (1982-1986) who were connected with heavy metal bands. Drummer Gary Moloney, for example, was a member of the UK heavy metal band *Hells Belles*¹¹¹ while guitarist Peter “Pooch” Purtill was also a member of them¹¹².

- *The visual and crossover of Discharge in 1986; now, more akin to a heavy metal band*

However, it wasn’t only the music of *Grave New world* that presented *Discharge*’s shift to a more heavy metal music style. In terms of visual appearance, in 1986 *Discharge* adopted a total heavy metal stylistic approach. This can be seen in the two band photographs below (taken from the band’s official website). Here the band is endorsing a style reminiscent of the glam metal bands of the era, like UK’s *Whitesnake*. *Discharge*’s visual-stylistic approach comprises fluffy long hair, sleeveless T-shirts – an artefact of masculinity according to Rofes (1997: 90), a masculinity that is dominant in heavy metal since it represents its “power” (Weinstein, 1991: 67), a “power” evident also in the pristine male physical appearance of many heavy metal band members (Weinstein, 1991: 65). *Discharge* also endorsed some other heavy

¹⁰⁹ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Les_Hunt/47639 accessed on 13/3/2020

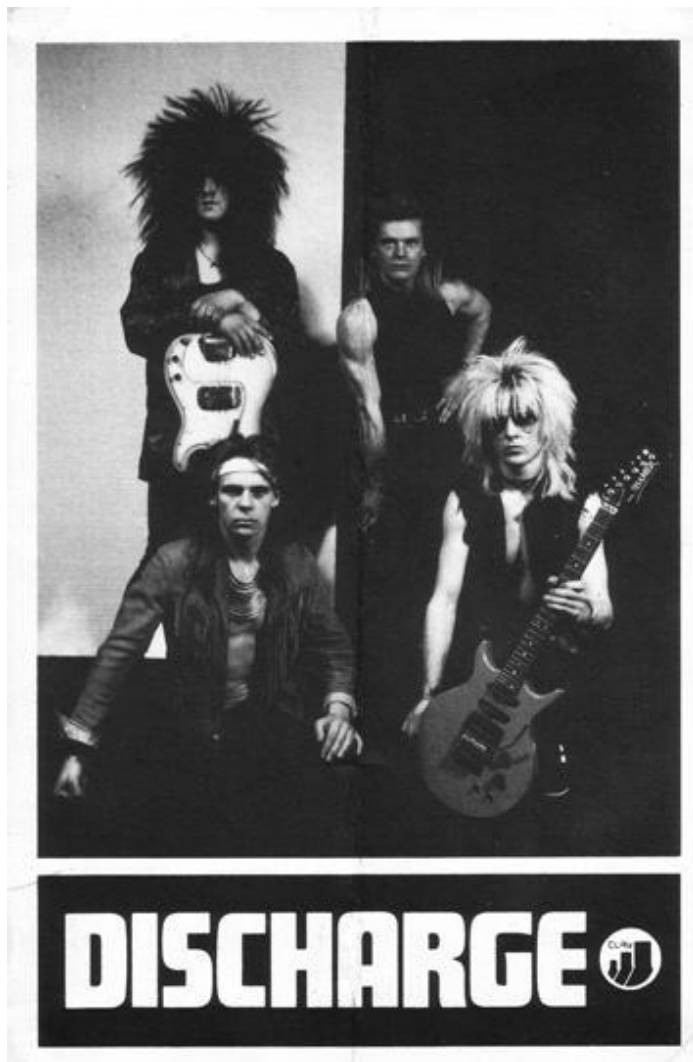
¹¹⁰ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Steve_Brookes/47628 accessed on 13/3/2020

¹¹¹ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Garry_Moloney/53386 accessed on 13/3/2020

¹¹² ¹¹² Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Peter_%22Pooch%22_Purtill/53371 accessed on 13/3/2020

metal stylistic options, including headbands and clothes with fringes. The total black approach, however, is rooted in the band's punk past, though, ambiguously, this can also be attributed to the heavy metal visual tradition. The visual similarities of *Discharge* with a glam metal band such as *Whitesnake* in that era are evident, indicating the crossover.

The metatext created by the promotional photograph that *Clay Records* used in order to promote *Discharge's* *Grave New World* record is in total harmony with the band's music style – from the masculinity of the poses of two of the band members (one with a sleeveless T-shirt, exposing his well-built muscles, the other sitting in front with his shirt unbuttoned), to the “glam metal” hairstyle of the other two members. This picture thus represents a hard rock/heavy metal band. The only thing that connects this image with the punk past of *Discharge* is the black and white colouring.



(Image 67. 1986 Discharge band promotional photo, 1986. Courtesy of Discharge and Clay Records)



(Image 68. 1986 Discharge band photo 1986. Courtesy of Discharge)



(Image 69. Whitesnake 1986 band picture. Courtesy unknown)

Discharge's imagery in the *Grave New World* era could be described as an effort to include both heavy metal and punk subculture's visual components. *Discharge* kept the black-and-white approach of punk, although they did change the typography for the band name logo, choosing a new kind of calligraphy, whereas the old logo had been created with 'ransom-note' type lettering, in the punk tradition (Jones and Sorger, 2000: 68). Following Panofsky's iconographic approach, I will analyse the cover of *Grave New World*. On the lower left of the cover there appears to be an icon of an open-winged dove, protecting the letter "D". *Discharge* use the dove as a symbol of peace that even protects the letter "D" or includes the letter "D". If it is assumed that the letter "D" stands for *Discharge*, I could interpret this symbol as a symbol of peace, wherein *Discharge* are included as proponents of peace and an inextricable element of it. Earlier, I described the meaning of the dove as a symbol, and in this case the meaning of the dove for *Discharge* has the one that early Christians gave it: as a symbol of peace (Donfried and Richardson, 1998: 322). The fact that the dove appears to be on the left of the cover could be interpreted on the basis of right/left symbolism of the Mesopotamian Division. According to Guinan (1983: 9), in the omen series of Summa Azu, left symbolism

stands for a “good omen” and right stands for a “bad omen”¹¹³. The fact that the dove appears to be on the left of the cover stands therefore as a hopeful message of peace. However, on the right of the record appears the Communist symbol of hammer and sickle around which a serpent is curled. The symbol of the serpent represents both good and evil (Malkowski, 2007: 223). Therefore, the interpretation I could give is dual: either the serpent represents Communism as an ideal political system/theory/movement, or a threat. Given my earlier analysis of left/right symbolism, and due to the fact that the symbol of the hammer and sickle with snake is on the right of the cover, I would conclude that this symbol offers a rather negative meaning for Communism and that *Discharge* thus views Communism as “evil”. In the centre of the record cover a dragon emerges out of a human image. Both the expression of the dragon, and that of the human image, appears to be angry. In general, the dragon motif has appeared in many cultures and its meanings had been connected with both “good” and “evil” (Aslan, 2014: 34). However, in this case, the dragon appears to represent a malevolent symbol, judging by its aggressive posture and the human image’s furious expression. A dual interpretation could be given in the case of *Discharge*’s *Grave New World* cover. Firstly, it combines both the political dimension of punk imagery as well as the chaotic and grotesque visual dimension of heavy metal. *Discharge* attempt to place a symbol (the dragon), that could be interpreted to be both good and evil, in the middle of two other symbols: the “good” symbol of peace (dove) and the “bad” symbol of Communism. The dragon appears to be “evil” because it turns its attention to the right, to the symbol of Communism, thus exposing hostility towards it.

¹¹³ “If a man starts out on an undertaking and a crow hovers and caws on the man’s left –he will go where he is established, he will enjoy profit. If a man starts a journey and a crow hovers on the right and caws - that man will not go where he is established, he will be unhappy.” As described in the “In the omen” series Summa Alu taken by Guinan (1983: 9).



(Image 70. Record cover of 1986 Grave New World 12" long play record. Courtesy of Clay Records. Clay LP17)

However, there is no evidence that *Discharge* were anti-Communist; this is just an interpretation of the record cover. The political opinions of the band were Anarchist and there are no interviews from the era of the band and its management where any anti-Communist stance is mentioned¹¹⁴. Further, there is also no evidence from critics of the era considering the

¹¹⁴ I interpreted this cover bearing in mind an inclination by some anarcho-punk bands of the era to be anti-Communist. Those were cases of, e.g., the Scottish band *Oi Polloi* and their 1987 song "Commies and Nazis" from their 12" long play record *Unite and Win* where the lyrics are "Commies and Nazis they're all the same, They only want to use you for their own gain, They lie deceive and try to confuse you, Commies and Nazis they only want to use you". Another case is Finland's *Kaaos* and their 1982 song "Natsit Ja Kommunistit" from the *Totaalinen Kaaos 7*" extended play record where they mention "Natsit ja kommunistit, Niille ei oo mitään eroo, Samanlaisia murhaajia, Samanlaisia teurastajia" translated as "Nazis and Communists, they do not have anything to divide, similar murderers, similar slaughterers".

cover of *Grave New World*. In strictly stylistic terms, it has to be mentioned that the *Grave New World* cover combines both punk and heavy metal visual elements.

The metatext of *Grave New World* is strongly connected with the political leanings of punk and the “fantasy cover” imagery of heavy metal. It is not representative of punk music (rather, it is almost heavy metal), though it can be said that there is a slight suggestion of punk lyric style, as some songs are included with social commentary. The metatext constructed is therefore ambiguous, as it does not accord to the music of the record and perhaps this was intentional if one judges by the statements made by Discharge while being interviewed about *Grave New World*.

7.2.2.2 Onslaught: *The reaction of heavy metal/punk crossover*

- *The role of nuclear weapons in Cold War; the beginning of Special Relationship between Thatcher and Reagan*

The role of nuclear weapons in the Cold War is so crucial that it would be very difficult for someone to exclude them. Ross (2009: 1) mentions that the commencement of the Cold War took place with the detonation of an atomic bomb by the Soviet Union on August 29th, 1949 at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in Kazakhstan. This is when U.S. monopoly and domination in nuclear weaponry ends and the Cold War begins.

The 1950s saw the beginning of the “Arms Race” when the U.S. and the Soviet Union competed with each other to increase the quality and quantity of their nuclear weapons. By 1960 both countries had an image of a future war that was very different in comparison to the image they had had in 1950 (Holloway, 2010: 387). Even though the U.S. had a much bigger nuclear arsenal than the Soviet Union, both sides conceived of a nuclear war strategy that involved an attack on their opponents’ nuclear forces, as well as on government, military, industrial and transportation targets. However, both sides took the decision not to attack; it was rather the fear of an unexpected attack that kept them both ready to react to the other (Schelling, 1960: 9). Alongside the U.S and the Soviet Union three other countries developed nuclear stockpiles: the UK (1952), France (1960) and the People’s Republic of China (1964) (Horne, 1989: 56). In 1957 the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament firstly appeared. It started from an

article in *The New Statesman* magazine by the English novelist J. B. Priestley on the 2nd of November 1957 where he declared that Britain should announce the end of any affiliation whatsoever with the H-Bomb, and reject the use of nuclear warfare in any situation (Priestley, 1957). After this essay was published *The New Statesman* was bombarded with letters from readers who advocated Priestley's view and the editor decided that it was time to launch the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with the help of Canon John Collins (Minion and Bolsover, 1983). Many years later the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament (END) was founded in April 1980 (Thompson and Smith, 1981: 399), a movement that focussed on mainland Europe and which held annual conventions for 10 years, from 1982 to 1991 (Wittner, 1993).

A key point in the Cold War was the Cuban Missile Crisis. Cuba had been supported by the Soviet Union since Fidel Castro had come to power on January 1, 1959. The U.S. took actions against Cuba including boycotting its sugar (Scott and Hughes, 2015: 17), but the Cold War came closest to an all-out nuclear war when American spies found out that the Soviet Union was intending to place nuclear missiles in Cuba which could reach the U.S mainland (Arbel and Edelist, 2003: 32). The crisis ended when U.S. president John F. Kennedy agreed to remove all nuclear missiles that were placed in Italy and Turkey and in return the leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, removed all missiles from Cuba (Hershberg, 1995).

During the decade of the 1980s the aggressively resumed Cold War took the form of the USA/UK's war against Communism represented by the USSR. Ronald Reagan denounced the Communist regime of the USSR after his first election in 1980, declaring war against what he called its "Evil Empire" (Gaddis, 2005: 40).

Margaret Thatcher aligned the UK with Ronald Reagan against the USSR and justified her action, due to fear of the USSR's allegedly expansionary and offensive strategy, in the February 16, 1983 interview she gave to the *Sunday Telegraph*, conducted by Gordon-Brook Shepherd. Thatcher believed that if she did not ally with Ronald Reagan in the war against the growing Soviet nuclear threat the USSR could sweep across the whole of Europe with the SS20s nuclear missiles that it controlled. It was critical, therefore, that the UK should ally with the United States and allow the placement of deterrent nuclear weapons on British territory.

Thatcher's support for nuclear weapons had the effect of reviving CND (Hinton, 1997: 63), and the October 1983 demonstration for nuclear disarmament that took part in London is

considered to be one of the most populous demonstrations ever, reaching the number of 300,000 protesters (Cortright, 2008).

- *Onslaught's lyrics and style*

The UK thrash metal band *Onslaught* demonstrated an interest in socio-political commentary in the 1980s particularly that concerned with the fear and threat of a nuclear war. Formed in 1982 in Bristol,¹¹⁵ their music, lyric style and visual appearance went through changes throughout the decade. I will analyse a song from their first official release, the 1985 *Power from Hell* 12" long-play record, where *Onslaught* adopted almost all the components needed to be regarded as a heavy metal (specifically, thrash metal) band¹¹⁶.

The lyrics on this album are generally in the chaotic heavy metal tradition, with references to evil and the Devil (in the songs "Power from Hell", "Lord of Evil" and "Angels of Death") and odes to the grotesque ("Witch Hunt"). However, there is one song that diverges from the dominant heavy metal lyric style of *Power from Hell* and this is "Thermonuclear devastation".

In "Thermonuclear devastation" it is evident *Onslaught's* lyrics crossover with punk subculture, a crossover though that was an outcome of the band's punk past (recordings that preceded *Power from Hell*). The analysis of "Thermonuclear devastation" in terms of lyrics and music that follows, proves the existence of *Onslaught's* crossover with punk.

This song deals with the outcome of a nuclear war and its effect on both humans and the environment. *Onslaught's* "Thermonuclear devastation" song is full of horrible images that may have inspired by ideas about the physical effects of nuclear war – but this fear is obviously related to the political climate of the era, and therefore *Onslaught's* approach is an expression of beliefs about real life affairs. In lyric terms, "Thermonuclear devastation" follows the same minimalistic approach that *Discharge* also used in their songs. *Onslaught* describe the outcome of a nuclear war using a metaphor capturing the enormity of the catastrophe on Earth ("this

¹¹⁵ According to Metal-Archives database retrieved from <http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Onslaught/782> accessed on 14/03/2019

planet stinks of death”), and this use of the word “devastation” leaves no possibility of escape or life.

Onslaught use the parallel image of “piles of rubble / where cities once stood” in order to emphasize the size of the disaster in terms of the environment. Finally, the band leaves no room for hope, as the last glimpse of the destroyed environment ends with the death of all those that escaped from the nuclear bombing, killed by diseases related to nuclear explosion and fall-out (“A last glance at the barren waste / Artificial disease strikes the visitor down”). *Onslaught* and *Discharge* both describe the outcomes of a nuclear war, rather than offer a clear political stance on nuclear disarmament. While they treat the theme of nuclear war wholly by exposing its atrocities (presenting no positive outlook or hope), the listener identifies with the frustrations of the vocalists (as in the case of *Blues*, with its sadness; Frith 1989: 85) – frustrations embodied in the raw power of the singers’ expression.

This power leads the listener to condemn nuclear war and reject the practices and policies that propel nuclear armament. The lyric style is Realist, but there is no information about the social class of *Onslaught* to enable consideration of Harker’s definition of authenticity. *Onslaught* – like *Discharge* on “Hell on earth” – fit in with what Heidegger described as *Geschichte* (“accept responsibility for their own existence, seize their own future possibilities and live in enduring awareness of their own future death”).

Their crossover with heavy metal music genre is authentic (as this is viewed from my personal point of view, as well as punk Press), in terms of the sonic element (raw, under-produced sound), the small record company (*Children of Revolution* records) and the fact that *Power from hell* was equally well-received by both the heavy metal and punk Press. However, I will return later to the issue of *Onslaught*’s authenticity.

Alongside, *Onslaught*’s “Thermonuclear devastation” music approach differs from the approach the band follows in the rest of the record; it is more reminiscent of the punk music style (specifically, d-beat punk music genre), whereas the rest of the *Power from Hell* is in line with the tradition of heavy metal music style.

“Thermonuclear devastation” lasts far less than two minutes (01:27), a length much more typical of punk music genre. It is also characterized by musical simplicity and doesn’t exhibit the basic components of heavy metal such as virtuosity and technical proficiency. The song starts with a basic 3-chord guitar melody, only to change in the chorus (0:24) into a lower-

key 2-chord melody. The same pattern recurs throughout the song: the bridge sung on the basic 3-chord guitar melody is followed by the chorus and this occurs three times. Every time this pattern occurs it lasts only 26 seconds. The musical minimalism is accompanied by lyric minimalism (the chorus line “Thermonuclear devastation of the planet earth” is sung once each time). At 0:46 a lead guitar solo takes place, lasting only ten seconds (until 0:56). The whole musical approach in “Thermonuclear devastation” is reminiscent of what *Discharge* attempted on “Hell on Earth”, and this claim could be supported by consideration of the tempo approach that *Onslaught* endorses too: the so-called ‘D-beat’ tempo that took its name from *Discharge*.

The d-beat tempo, according to Glasper (2004: 175), refers to a specific drum tempo that – although it firstly appeared in late 1970s songs such as the 1978 “You tear me up” by *The Buzzcocks* (UK punk) and others by *Diamond Head* (NWOBHM) – the UK punk band *Discharge* was the first to fully adopt in their songs by 1980. *Discharge*’s adoption of the d-beat went even further and created a new style of punk called the “discore” subgenre. The d-beat style and its variations continues to appeal to many punk, crust, black metal and thrash metal bands worldwide even today (Jandreus, 2008: 11, Ekeröth, 2008: 19).

Accordingly, the drum tempo that *Onslaught* use in “Thermonuclear devastation” is fast, without changes in pace, and has only minor changes in terms of execution; thus it is simplified, and doesn’t use any heavy metal pattern. The bass sound is indiscernible, which makes sense given production of the song by *Discharge*’s guitarist, Les Hunt ¹¹⁷ (at AVM studios in Stoke-On-Trent), someone intimately familiar with the punk music genre tradition. No single band members’ technical abilities are promoted in the production of the record. Paul Mahoney’s vocals sound “angry” and are executed more as shouting than singing, with no signs of tonal changes or demonstrations of technical proficiency. “Thermonuclear devastation” is more reminiscent musically of the UK82 punk tradition than of heavy metal, for all these reasons. However, it is the only song on the first long-play record by *Onslaught* that follows this musical approach, and all the other songs conform more or less to traditional heavy metal musicianship and musical style.

In terms of musical ekphrasis, “Thermonuclear devastation” sounds like a noisy protest in a bleak and dark background; the time within which this protest takes place is the night, and

¹¹⁷ Retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Onslaught/Power_from_Hell/5012 accessed on 09/03/2019

the chants sound rather more like battle cries than anything else. The feeling of hopelessness is prevalent and there is no positive thought about the future.

- *Onslaught's incorporation of heavy metal techniques in 1985; the new approach of Power from Hell*

Overall, *Onslaught* while promoting *Power from Hell* in their interviews, didn't deny that the direction that they chose was mostly heavy metal-driven, in all aspects of the band, and that their goal was to reach the heavy metal audience.

Lead vocalist Paul Mahoney, in an interview by Bernard Doe, for the 13th issue of *Metal Forces* magazine (1985: 9), stated that *Onslaught's* new approach was intended to attract heavy metal fans ("At the moment our audience is mostly punks, but we are starting to get more and more heavy metal fans which is a great thing because that is what we want"). He expressed the band's disaffection with punk and its embrace of heavy metal ("All of us in the band were fans of *Discharge* and the usual punk stuff, but that kind of sound started sounding boring and static. Then we started listening to heavy metal bands like Slayer and decided that this was exactly what we wanted to do [...] the only punk on the scene right now is total thrash, no tunes or anything"). Bernard Doe mentions that initially *Onslaught* were a "punk band in 1983, playing gigs with the likes of *Broken Bones*, *Varukers* and *Disorder*"). Alongside, guitarist Nige Rockett in our interview mentioned that "We were formed in 1982 by myself and some school buddies, Paul Hill and Jase Pope, predominantly as a hardcore punk band, that was also heavily influenced by *Motorhead* and *Discharge*... Initially it was all about *Discharge*; they were the reason the band was formed and we were little more than a copy of them until we learnt to play a bit better and started to come up with our own ideas. It wasn't until we heard early *Metallica* and *Slayer* that we took on a more metal sound".

Onslaught refer to punk music culture becoming "boring and static" by 1985. Even though they refer to the music, this statement has another interpretation. Worley (2013: 612) notes that punk initially "married social commentary with stylistic innovation [...] commented on the wider socio-economic and political climate of its time"). However, Worley also notes that inner tensions in punk led to an initial division between the "art punks" and "The kids of the football terraces, the social realists". Even though there were people who remained loyal to punk music culture, by the beginning of the 1980s there were so many different sub-scenes that evolved through punk (such as post-punk, goth, anarcho-punk, hardcore punk, etc.) as well as

so many different local scenes, that punk lost its consistency. The differences amongst those sub-scenes and local scenes (musically, politically) were sometimes enormous.

The overview that is presented in this interview (conducted before the release of *Power from Hell*) could be regarded as a proof for *Onslaught*'s musical, lyric and visual transition from punk to an exclusive heavy metal style; however, on the same time the musical and lyric style of "Thermonuclear devastation" included on the *Power from Hell* long-play record stands, too, as a proof of *Onslaught*'s lyric and music crossover of punk with heavy metal genre.

The metatext here is that *Onslaught* used to be a punk band but by 1985 they had turned into a heavy metal act, and they targeted the market for heavy metal. The band believed that punk in the UK had gone musically "stale" by the mid-1980s and that its dominant trend was non-commercial total "thrash", with bands playing a fast, artless and raw type of punk that did not have any appeal for *Onslaught*. As I have already said, the music style of *Onslaught* in their early punk phase was reminiscent of *Discharge* and the hardcore/punk or d-beat sound. The lack of technical proficiency that dominated within this style might have been the reason that led to *Onslaught*'s decision to alter their sound to heavy (thrash) metal, particularly as they were becoming more proficient musicians.

In fact, the appearance of "third wave UK punk" by 1984/1985 is what *Onslaught* expressed their opposition to in music terms. Glasper (2009: 8) describes this third wave as "youngsters that took the lead from the UK anarcho punk scene of the early 1980s and combined it with the more energetic, faster new takes on punk that were imported from US and Europe [...] Suddenly, first and second wave UK punk bands sounded "pedestrian" and "traditional" [...] and just like the first and second wave punk expressed the voice of angry youths, so did the third wave [...] those youngsters had enough reasons, both political/social as well as musical to express their anger [...] the second half of the 1980s was no less miserable than the first one, even though Thatcher was in decline. You had Chernobyl power station melting down, the death of Keith Blakelock during riots in Tottenham's Broadwater Farm estate, the introduction of Poll Tax/Community Charge by Thatcher, and space shuttle's Challenger blow up after take-off [...] and you also had the likes of *Def Leppard* and *Bon Jovi* dominating the charts". However, as mentioned, the third wave of UK punk subculture (now called "UK hardcore or Britcore") was musically more extreme than the former waves. That said, there were many bands that were melodic (such as *Bad Beach*, *Visions of Change*, *H.D.Q.*, *Toxic Ephex*, and *Jailcell Recipes*) but the musical extremity, speed, rawness and in many cases

serious lack of technical proficiency (e.g., early *Napalm Death*, *Doom*, *Sore Throat*¹¹⁸, *Skum Dribblurzzz*, *Electro Hippies*, early *Extreme Noise Terror*) of sound characterized most UK hardcore bands.

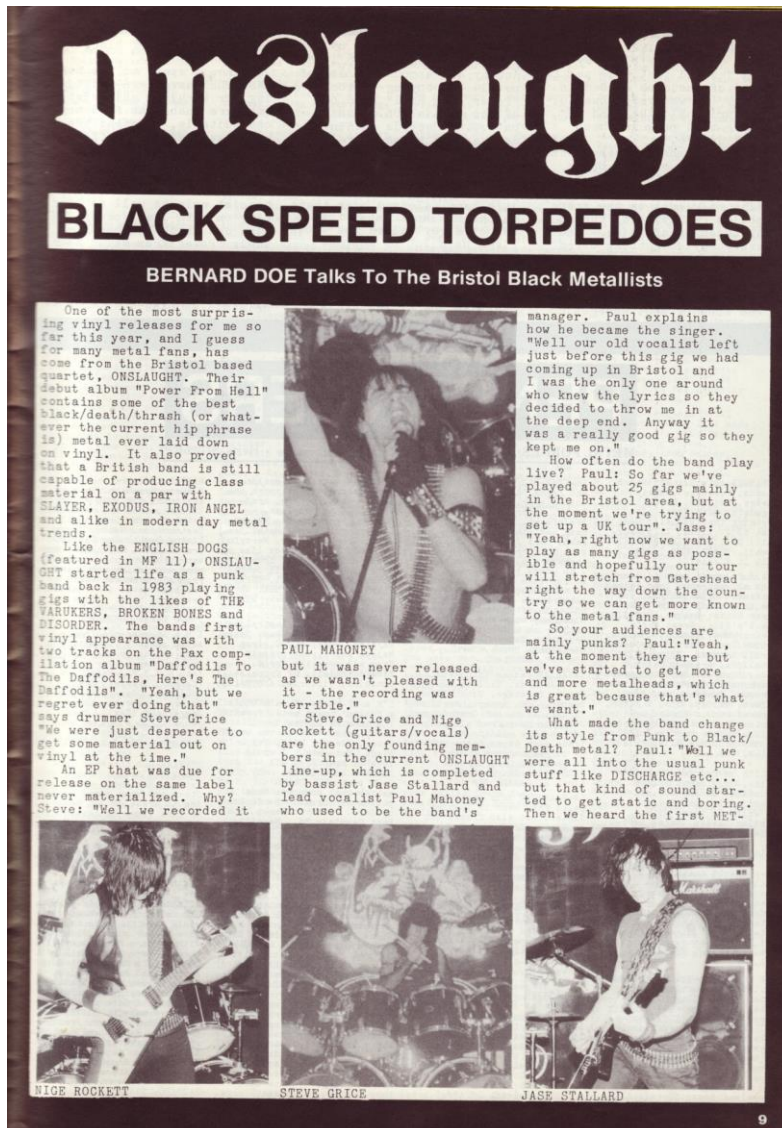
- *The reviewer's opinion (1985) on the incorporation of new techniques in Onslaught's sound*

Bernard Doe, UK magazine *Metal Forces*' editor, offered a celebratory review of *Power from Hell* (*Metal Forces*, no. 11, 1985). However, he described their sound as something different from heavy metal subgenre ("black/death" metal), but still categorizable in heavy metal territory musically ("I must admit that I've never heard of *Onslaught* before, but this four-piece from Bristol, England, have certainly come up with one of the best black / death metal albums of the year so far"). Doe also observed that this long play record was destined to become a classic among "true" heavy metal fans ("The album is packed full of intense thrashers of the highest order guaranteed to send every true metal fan into a crazed frenzy"). The term "true", however, embodies "purity", thus meaning that such "true" heavy metal fans have more difficulty in tolerating or accepting other music genre components into their standardized heavy metal. Therefore, the term "true metal" became an idiom that is common among heavy metal fans. According to Weinstein (1991: 46) there is also (among heavy metal fans) use of the description "false metal" which is deployed to denigrate the more melodic (i.e., "lyrical") sounding heavy metal bands, or bands that are more interested in visual terms of expression (e.g., posing for better photos or wearing fancy clothes) rather than the music. This, according to Weinstein, is a criterion of authenticity among heavy metal bands and fans too. Therefore, when Doe declares *Onslaught* to be essential listening for "true" heavy metal fans, at the same time he is pinpointing the authenticity of *Onslaught*, declaring it to be a real heavy metal band.

The metatext from Bernard Doe's review presents one dimension of the music output of "Power from Hell". The message conveyed is that *Onslaught* is a former punk band, now playing heavy metal in its most authentic ("true") sense. The metatext of the interview gives the impression that *Onslaught* is a truly ferocious band – the subtitle "Black Speed Torpedoes" is used to characterize them, just below their logo, and the music power of the band is depicted through the four band member photographs, where they are pictured playing at a live show.

¹¹⁸ Sore Throat went on to release a 12" long play record *Disgrace to the corpse of Sid* in 1988 for Earache records containing 99 songs that were really blasts of noise lasting only a few seconds each.

The frontman/singer's expression while singing, as well as the band's dressing style in bullet-belts, represents evidence of *Onslaught*'s dedication to the "hardest of the hard" heavy metal. Doe even attempts to tag the band with a music term that was rare in 1985: "Black metallists" and "some of the best black/death/thrash ever to laid down on vinyl".



(Image 71. Onslaught interviewed by Bernard Doe, Metal Forces 13, 1985)

Brian "Pushead" Schroeder, in his review for *Maximum Rock n' Roll* magazine (24, April 1985), described the sound of *Power from Hell* as the definitive, conclusive form of the musical co-existence of punk and heavy metal music genres, pointing out *Onslaught*'s ferocious musical approach ("Definitely the ultimate hardcore/metal crossover, *Onslaught* charge with a hard-hitting assault of ferocious rhythms that melt the hair off your scalp"). In his review Schroeder doesn't refer to any kind of musical purism when discussing *Onslaught*,

as Doe had. On the contrary, he goes as far as describing the long play record in its entirety as the epitome of the crossover sound.

The metatext of Schroeder's review of *Power from hell* is in line with the musical analysis of "Thermonuclear Devastation". The impression is given that *Power from Hell* is the definite punk/heavy metal crossover record (both in terms of the mix of music styles, as well as in terms of its music "perfection"). While the metatext in Schroeder's review differs from Doe's in terms of an account of music style, they both convey their impression to the reader of the musical ferocity of "Power from hell".

Power from Hell, in its first UK pressing, was released by *Children of Revolution* (C.O.R.) records, a small Bristol-based independent label created by Tim Bennett, which specialized in releasing punk records¹¹⁹ of many styles (such as anarcho-punk, UK82 and hardcore). Brian Schroeder released *Power from Hell* in the USA via his label, *Pusmort*,¹²⁰ which also specialized in releasing records solely from punk-styled bands. The fact that these punk subculture-oriented labels decided to release and distribute a record from a band that could be categorized as heavy metal revealed the response that *Power from Hell* had had among punk fans and which could also be connected with the demo past of *Onslaught*.

Whereas *Onslaught* only appeared once in a 1984 punk compilation (*Daffodils To The Daffodils Here's The Daffodils*, on Pax Records¹²¹) before releasing *Power from Hell* they released seven demos between 1983-1984, some of which were eventually compiled for their 2008 12" long play record *Shadow of Death*. Although there are no official reviews of these demos or the compilation, songs titles such as "Hatred toward the system" (from the homonymous 1984 demo), "Overthrow of the system" (from the 1983 1st demo) and "In Her Majesty's jail" (from the 1984 5th demo), suggest the lyric orientation of *Onslaught* towards the punk tradition.

¹¹⁹ Children of Revolution records, among others, released records by UK punk bands such as *Chaos U.K.*, *Stupids* and *Political Asylum*. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/label/33219-Children-Of-The-Revolution-Records> Accessed on 16/03/2021.

¹²⁰ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/label/33459-Pusmort> Accessed on 16/03/2021.

¹²¹ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Various-Daffodils-To-The-Daffodils-Heres-The-Daffodils/release/1844785> Accessed on 15/03/2021

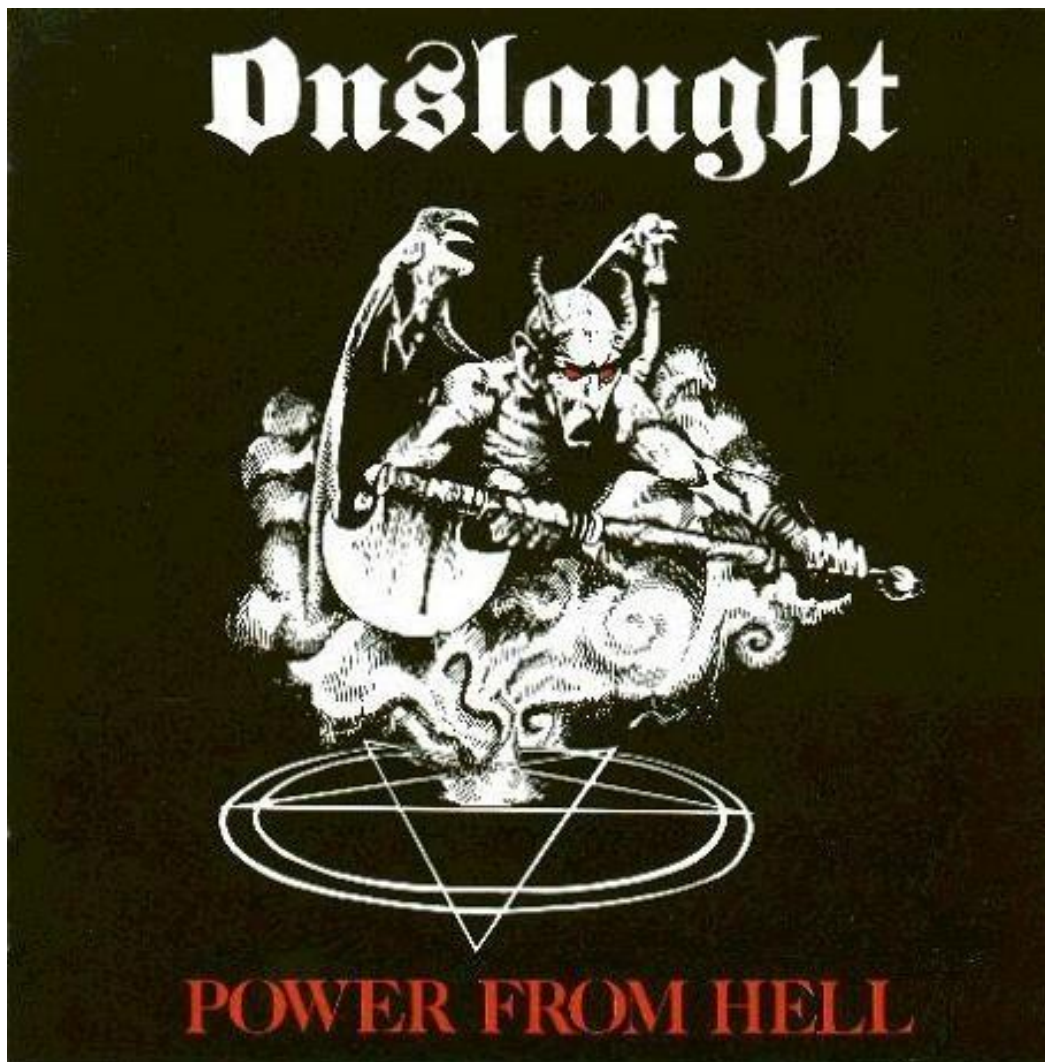
- *Onslaught's new imagery; the Chaotic approach of heavy metal on the cover of Power from Hell*

In terms of imagery, the cover of *Power from Hell* is in the heavy metal band stylistics tradition. The band's drummer, Steve Grice, conceived the cover and the artwork was created by Steve Wolley.¹²² The dominant colors of the cover are black and white, with red used to fill in the title words of the album, *Power from Hell*. According to Chih-Yu (2014: 59), the color, as a symbol of blood, could have both positive and negative associations. In the case of negative associations, red could symbolize "warning, war, destruction" among others. Following Panofsky's approach in order to interpret the cover of *Power from Hell*, on the cover appears a demonic figure with wings, holding an axe, and arising out of the symbol of the Pentagram. The demonic figure is colored in black and white, except for its eyes that are colored red and symbolize the "warning" about this figure's actions. The *Onslaught* cover image of a demon with wings is reminiscent of Duke Focalor, a demon that, according to Davies (1898: 51), appears to have human form and wings. The fact that the demon holds an axe could symbolize his tendency and will to destroy, as well as his hold on power, since the axe, according to Becker (2000: 31), symbolizes "war and destruction" and is also used to symbolize power in ritual terms and in the Bible the axe symbolizes the Last Judgment. The pentagram symbol from which the demon arises shares its roots as early as in Ancient Greece, and specifically in Neo-Platonism, which considered the symbol to represent "Health" (Allman, 1887: 183). However, the symbol of an inverted pentagram, according to Eliphas Levi, symbolizes "evil [...] attack on Heaven [...] attraction of sinister forces" (Levi, 2002: 69), thus making the pentagram a symbol that has a connotation with evil powers.

In the case of *Power from Hell*, the image of a demon rising from the reversed pentagram, holding an axe, symbolizes the "evil" and "powerful" character of *Onslaught's* music. This power is highlighted in the title of the record, *Power from Hell*. *Onslaught's* cover uses the imagery to emphasize the power of the musical content, in order to introduce the listener to their music. The cover depicts menacing and magisterial symbols: the red color used in the coloring of the long-play record title may be interpreted as a warning that what the listener is about to hear is not comparable in terms of power with earthly norms.

¹²² Data Retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Onslaught/Power_from_Hell/5012 Accessed on 10/03/2022

However, there is no evidence that *Onslaught* members were Satanists. As with the case of *Venom*, I assume that *Onslaught* used the Satanic imagery as a metaphor for their sonic power as with most bands in the heavy metal stylistic tradition. This is also evident in the lyrics of the “Power from Hell”¹²³ song, from the homonymous 12” long play record (1985).



(Image 72. *Onslaught's* 1985 *Power from Hell* record cover. Courtesy of C.O.R. Gurt 2)

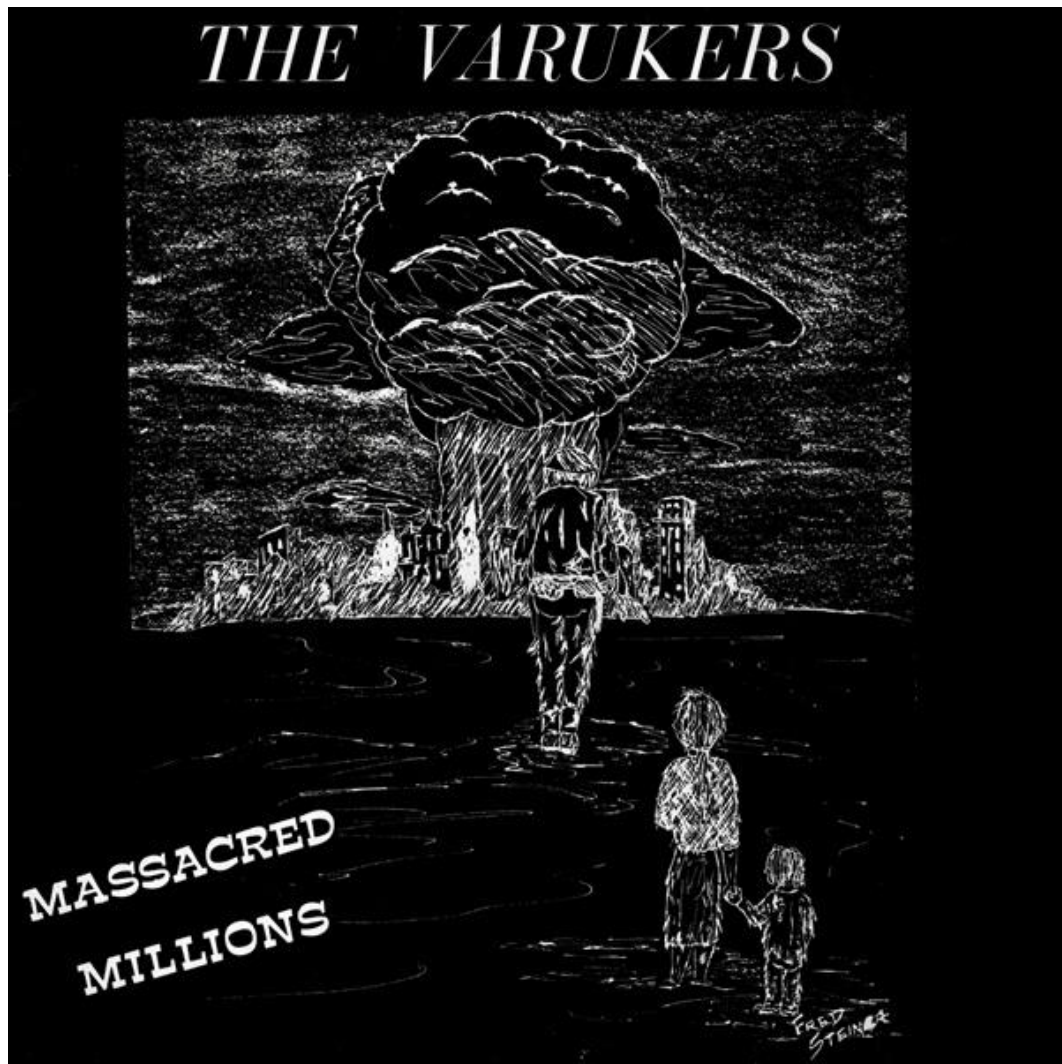
The *Power from Hell* cover conforms to the heavy metal stylistic tradition, but *Onslaught* appeared to have a different approach before 1985, in their demo days. This is

¹²³ “The gates of hell have opened wide with deadly speed the metal it strikes/Killerwatts to be unleashed we'll show no mercy bring you to your knees, hit the switch the power's free it'll blow your ears and make you scream/Onslaught, Power from hell/With the wrath of Satan in our minds we take the stage to play for our lives, when the power racks hit overdrive the banging heads they look toward the sky.”

demonstrated by the cover of their cassette-demo no. 6, which the band issued in 1984. On this cover an image of the nuclear explosion ‘mushroom’ cloud is depicted, which represents the most immediate after-effect of nuclear bombing. *Onslaught* here showcased one effect of nuclear war, adopting in terms of imagery punk social/political references, and the cover resembled others by UK punk bands such as the 1984 record cover of *Massacred Millions* by *The Varukers*. This cover depicts a city bombed by nuclear weapons, the nuclear mushroom takes its form, and the record title states the countless human lives lost as an effect of such a bombing. The nuclear war/threat theme therefore concerned *Onslaught* both in their punk and heavy metal period.



(Image 73. *Onslaught*'s 1984 demo no. 6 cover. Retrieved from Metal Archives database)



(Image 74. 1984 12" extended play record cover of *Massacred Millions* by The Varukers. Courtesy of Rot Records. ASS 16)

- *Onslaught's crossover authentic nature in Power From Hell; argument over authenticity*

Onslaught's authenticity can be questioned through many perspectives. First of all, the band chose to issue their second record through *Under One Flag* records, which was a bigger label than the *Power from Hell's Children of Revolution* records. Moreover, *Under One Flag's* records roster consisted exclusively of heavy/thrash metal bands and the label was a subsidiary of the medium-sized *Music For Nations* records. This tendency for the band to get more

commercial continued in 1989 when they signed a contract with major label *Polygram*¹²⁴. The commercial consequences of focusing exclusively on the heavy metal market are apparent in *Onslaught*'s interview with Bernard Doe on *Metal Forces* magazine (#13, 1985: 9), where they mention that they wanted to get popular with heavy metal fans, and that this was their major target. They even mention that punk was "boring" for them, distancing themselves from their past.

Onslaught's crossover was highly criticized by punk journalists. "Toot", while reviewing the UK punk scene in *Maximum Rock n Roll* (#33, 1986: 46) mentioned his worries about *Onslaught* signing to *Music For Nations* records ("Hopefully, this won't result in more cases of rockstaritis. We shall see..."). Dig Pearson, in his column in *Maximum Rock n Roll* (#34, 1986: 15) responded to *Onslaught*'s decision to taking legal action against him (because he accused them of being racists) by asking "what kind of corporate rock-star mentality is it that threatens legal action to try to hide and cover up the truth [...] it is so indicative of the generally metal-cock rock star attitude of the band". He went on to blame them for betraying the punk scene and incorporating a rock star, commercial mentality that was more reminiscent of heavy metal. He blamed them for lack of commitment to the punk scene in *Maximum Rock n Roll* (#38, 1986: 45), accusing them of crossing over to heavy metal subculture but also rejecting their punk past ("As predicted *Onslaught* have crossed over the edge into being full bloom metal acts. They signed to *Music for Nations*, a major UK metal label and its off shoots (*Rough Justice / Under One Flag*). Any poor soul still labouring under the misapprehension they are in any way still connected with the intelligent, caring UK hardcore/punk scene (if they ever were?) had better wise up quick").

- *The total transformation of Onslaught in a heavy metal band in 1986; the releases of The Force and In Search of Sanity LP's*

By the release of their second 1986 12" long play record *The Force*, *Onslaught* had incorporated a very different singing style, with high-pitched vocals, reminiscent of heavy metal music genre, with no connection to punk. *Onslaught*'s crossover to heavy metal could be regarded as an attempt to commercialise their music even more. *Onslaught*'s commitment with punk subculture was authentic (in my opinion), and the rejection of punk by them was

¹²⁴ Retrieved from Onslaught/1990/Christine Natanael/Powerline/Onslaught/11/09/2020 23:37:57 /<http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/onslaught> accessed on 14/08/2020

honest too; punk did not fit in with the commercial and music ambitions of the band, and they decided to shift towards an exclusive heavy metal style, and they honestly decided to proclaim it in their interviews too, even though they later adopted a heavy metal style that was considered to be very commercial. In the case of *Onslaught*, the crossover was significant for their commercial tendencies; they wanted to expand to another one audience (heavy metal fans) and this was a way to achieve it; also, in music terms, *Onslaught*'s crossover with heavy metal evolved their technical proficiency.

The latter is evident on their 1988 12" long play record *In search of sanity*, where the vocals are taken over by heavy metal vocalist, Steve Grimmett (formerly of the melodic heavy metal band *Grim Reaper*)¹²⁵, whose singing style is high-pitched but very melodic and commercial akin to lite metal bands such as *Def Leppard*. *Onslaught* refers to their new sound as an outcome of a professional recording process that stresses the melodic and not aggression ("Played a lot tighter and the way the production and the singing, it sounds a lot more melodic, and it takes away the sort of like, rough aggression that the old stuff had")¹²⁶; a move towards the commercial heavy metal market for sure.

In visual terms, there is little evidence that *Onslaught* had a transition phase from punk style to heavy metal stylistics during this period. A picture of *Onslaught*'s guitarist Nige Rockett from a 1984 live appearance depicts him adopting a hairstyle (with bleached and spiked hair) reminiscent of the hairstyle that UK punk bands such as G.B.H. had at the same time.

¹²⁵ Data Retrieved from https://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Steve_Grimmett/25781 accessed on 03/06/2021

¹²⁶ Data Retrieved from *Onslaught*/1990/Christine Natanael/Powerline/*Onslaught*/11/09/2021 23:37:57 <http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/onslaught> accessed on 04/07/2021



(Image 75. 1984 picture of Onslaught's guitarist Nige Rockett. Courtesy of Kill From The Heart website¹²⁷)

¹²⁷ Retrieved from <http://killfromtheheart.com/bands.php?id=2602> accessed on 07/03/2020



(Image 76. G.B.H. 1984 band picture. Courtesy of Punk! Lives magazine)

However, by 1986 *Onslaught* had adopted a heavy metal visual appearance. In the image below, taken from the back cover of their second 12" long play record *The Force*, *Onslaught* appears to be in line with the heavy metal stylistic tradition, endorsing fringes and mullet hairstyles, bullet-belts and sleeveless shirts. Here Nige Rockett has adopted the aforementioned hairstyle, abandoning the punk look that he sported in the earlier days of the band.



(Image 77. 1986 back cover of Onslaught's *The Force* 12'' long play record. Courtesy of Under One Flag, Flag 1)

The metatext, reading the back cover band photo of *Onslaught's The Force*, represents the music style of the record: the band members appear to be dressed in heavy metal style, with bullet belts, long-hair, denim jackets and tight jeans. Also, following the protocols of Machin's 2010 iconographic analysis, it is obvious that the pose of the band includes gestures that they want to use to express the power of the band (such as the drummer's demeanour, where his muscles are stressed). The gaze of the band members reveals a sense of fun, a sense of 'crazy party'. The medium shot suggests only a small amount of intimacy between the band and the viewer. The setting of this photograph might have been a professional photographic studio and the new typography of *Onslaught's* band logo reveals the heavy metal direction of the record, as it is more colourful, with much more jaunty angles. In general, it is obvious that the message conveyed from this photograph refers to a band that is totally into heavy metal music.

7.2.2.3 Raven: The reaction of “pure” heavy metal

- *Raven, a historical narration of the band and its style*

Raven is a Newcastle, UK NWOBHM band formed in 1974, long before the New Wave of British heavy metal arrived¹²⁸, but connected with this specific heavy metal movement (Waksman, 2009: 190). *Kerrang!* reviewer Neil Jeffries described the third 12” long play record of *Raven* named as *All for one* (released in 1983) as a “prime example of pure heavy metal” (Waksman, 2009: 192). Whereas *Onslaught* had affiliations with punk (at least in their early career), *Raven* was a “pure” heavy metal band, even though musicians like Chris Watson (of the 1980’s NWOBHM band *Black Rose*) consider *Raven* as a “definite crossover, though whether it was punk and rock I’m not sure but it was fast aggressive music that was very fast and very tight” in our interview conducted, and *Raven*’s guitarist (and founding member) John Gallagher exposes his definite metal background (“it was all metal for me”), leaving though some space for punk (“I liked the energy of a lot of the punk stuff... some of the social commentary stuff of *Raven* had the same roots as punk”).

However, although *Raven*¹²⁹ liked to describe their musical output as “heavy metal”, they also liked to describe their first three 12” long play records as “Athletic Rock”. This term was used by *Raven* in the homonymous 1983 song (from their *All for one* 12” long play record). According to my interview with John Gallagher, bass player and singer in *Raven*, the band used the term “Athletic Rock” to describe the speed of their music, as well as to explain their on-stage visual appearance where they endorsed athletic gear (such as knee pads, arm bands and rugby helmets), along with the heavy metal style, in order to exhibit something different and original (“back then we were wearing a mix of metal and sports clothing [...] trying to be original”).

¹²⁸ Interesting footnote: John Gallagher (bass player and singer of *Raven*) mentioned in my interview that *Raven* in the mid-to-late 1970s used to play at gigs with punk bands too, such as *The Stranglers*, in 1976, at Newcastle Polytechnic, Newcastle Upon Tyne. However, no flyer from this gig could be found.

¹²⁹ Data retrieved from the official *Raven* website at <http://www.ravenlunatics.com/biography.html> accessed on 02/03/2020



(Image 78. Raven: 1986 promotional “Athletic Rock” band picture. Courtesy of Atlantic Records)



(Image 79. Raven's back cover photo of 1983 12" long-play record *All for one*. Courtesy of Neat Records, NEAT 1011)

The metatext of the images that *Neat Records* used to design the *All for one* long-play record's back cover is highly representative of the music style of the record; it is undoubtedly fitting with heavy metal music genre. The term "Athletic Rock" is pictured within the appearance of the band's drummer, Rob "Wacko" Hunter, who wears a rugby helmet. The pose of the first two band members from the left include gestures that they want to use to express the band's "power". The gaze of the band members is stony and angry, revealing a sense of rage as well as seriousness in terms of how they treat their musical product. The close shot of the two photos from the right signify intimacy between the band and the viewer. The background of the photograph strengthens the assumption that the shot might have been taken in a professional studio, while the typography of the band logo (which includes one of heavy

metal's most known symbols, the thunderbolt¹³⁰) reveals the band's heavy metal nature, and the colours (red and black) are amongst the most dominant in heavy metal design of records and their covers.

Even though *Raven*'s music approach was a (harder and faster) version of the traditional heavy metal style, there is a crossover with punk music genre in terms of the fast and direct playing style of the band, their lyrics and the attitude of the band in terms of creating and managing their music, as evident below.

Ian Ravensdale's article for *Sounds* magazine about then new heavy metal bands from Northern England (taken from Waksman, 2009: 190) described the on-stage appearance of *Raven* as "enthusiastic" and said that *Raven*'s thunderous approach was reminiscent of the *Ramones* and *Motorhead*. However, the fast-playing approach of *Raven* is the only fact that could connect *Raven* with punk music genre. This is also a view held by John Gallagher, when I interviewed him; he stated that *Raven*'s musical approach was "heavy metal all the way for me [...] I liked the energy of a lot of the punk stuff but the majority was rubbish". John Gallagher admits, however, that it was punk subculture with its Do It Yourself (DIY) attitude that changed the rules in the music industry and that *Raven* adopted the DIY perspective of punk subculture ("In the sense of DIY *Raven* followed the punk ethic of it [...] the mind set of doing it by yourself [...] before punk there were only the major labels and punk changed the game"). Also, in terms of lyrics, *Raven* followed the heavy metal lyric tradition, but they also adopted themes championed by punk genre, such as social commentary ("Our lyrics were metal but some of the social commentary stuff had the same roots as punk I suppose [...] although it was nothing overtly stolen from punk").

Neil Jeffries in his July 1983 report of the *Raven/Hellabanch* concert at Mayfair Ballroom, Newcastle, described *Raven*'s offering as an "athletic show [...] even drummer Rob Hunter would have been running around if he could have taken his drum kit with him" (*Kerrang!*, 1983, July 14-17, no 46: 37). This was a description that confirms *Raven*'s approach as "Athletic Rock", not only in terms of music, or visually, but also in their attitude on stage. Jeffries, however, referred to *Raven*'s appearance as something that "no true heavy metal fan should miss", adding to the reasons that *Raven* were chosen for this research. *Raven* (among

¹³⁰ Weinstein (1991: 28) mentions that typefaces "are often embellished with a thunderbolt motif. Bands such as *AC/DC* and *UFO*, among others, incorporate the symbol of lightning, standing for released energy, into their logos."

other heavy metal bands included in this subchapter) had a “true” heavy metal approach in all respects, thus making them essential listening for a “true” heavy metal fan.

Neil Jeffries’s metatext in his review of a *Raven* live show did not only convey the message that *Raven* are, first and foremost, a “true” heavy metal band. He added that their uniqueness in terms of their sonic element fitted their description as an “Athletic Rock” band, due to their combination of the “Athletic” visual image with a very powerful and energetic live stage appearance, a show that every heavy metal fan would appreciate.

As mentioned, Thatcher’s policy on nuclear weapons during the 1980s was open to interpretation, but she approved of the increase in the UK nuclear armament. Consider Thatcher’s statement on 10 January 1982 in her interview for BBC Radio 4’s *The World This Weekend*, conducted by journalist Gordon Clough¹³¹. Thatcher said that the only way to show that the UK was not afraid of the USSR was to go for more nuclear armament. This, she said, was the only way to defend UK against the USSR’s pro-nuclear policies but would someday, however, lead to nuclear disarmament by both sides (“The way to stop a bully for ever being a bully is to say, ‘I’m as strong as you. Anything you do to me, I can do to you.’ We are going for nuclear and conventional disarmament, but we’re going about it in the right way.”)

But the tension between the Soviet Union and the West was difficult even for Thatcher to evaluate. In her press conference at the United Nations (1982, 23 June)¹³² Thatcher stated that the size of the military power that the Soviet Union held against the world was unknown, but she considered it to be huge, since the Soviet Union had expanded beyond its own territory with its imperialistic stance towards Afghanistan (“It is difficult to evaluate the current level of tension because you will be aware of what I said that when the Soviet Union went into Afghanistan [...] this brought them power beyond their former frontiers [...] and therefore in the world as a whole”).

The Cold War political climate was therefore polarised and this tension was reflected in the lyrics UK heavy metal bands created, in a manner contrary to their normal lack of interest in social and political themes. The nuclear war topic didn’t leave *Raven* unaffected, even though they were a “pure” heavy metal band in all ways. For example, in their 1983 song “Seek and Destroy”¹³³ *Raven* presented their anti-nuclear war thoughts. *Raven* decided to call the

¹³¹ Retrieved from <http://www.margareththatcher.org/document/104771> accessed on 03/03/2021

¹³² Retrieved from <http://www.margareththatcher.org/document/104975> accessed on 03/03/2021

¹³³ Taken from the 1983 12-inch long play record *All for one*. Neat Records, Neat 1011.

song after the motto “Seek and Destroy”, from the official badge of No. 41 Squadron of the Royal Air Force, standing for the action of searching for enemy targets in order to destroy them¹³⁴.



(Image 80. No. 41 (R) Squadron official badge. Courtesy of RAF)

- *Raven’s approach on the fear of a Nuclear War; “Seek and Destroy” and realism*

However, *Raven* used the motto “Seek and destroy” in an ironic way rather than being supportive of military actions. In the song they presented their point of view on both war in general and nuclear war. *Raven* express their opposition towards the act of war (“what is war a tyranny/that evil men conceive”), and describe the effects of a nuclear war (“A weapon far supreme/a holocaust to wipe the slate”). However, in *Raven’s* case, there exists a hope dissimilar from that of *Discharge* and *Onslaught* where the situation is hopeless. *Raven* addresses the whole of humanity which they see as being capable of inverting the current political climate that will lead to a nuclear war (“Will we ever reach an end/you know it is up to you”). In accordance with Frith’s definition of blues realism, *Raven* describes their fear that

¹³⁴ Data retrieved from Royal Air Force official website <http://www.raf.mod.uk/organisation/41squadron.cfm> accessed on 29/03/2021.

derived from the political climate of the era, thus giving “Seek and Destroy” a realist meaning. This conclusion follows from the hypothesis that *Raven*’s lyrics are a commentary on social and political history (Frith, 1989: 83). Another interesting factor that strengthens my view that “Seek and Destroy” has a realistic approach is the fact that the band, like Blues singers, expresses its hope for a better future. In this sense I consider the band’s capacity to imagine an alternative situation to be a form of realism (in the case of *Raven* this situation is nuclear disarmament and resulting world peace).

Raven’s lyric crossover with punk subculture, made them to create a song that expresses their concerns on the effects of war (and nuclear war), making them propose a different, more serious side in terms of lyrics, and there lies the significance of *Raven*’s crossover with punk’s tradition of lyrics.

The issue of authenticity though contains many elements. Even though *Raven* are a heavy metal band with commercial tendencies (this is apparent in them signing a contract in 1985 with major label *Atlantic* for three records), it could be said that the band’s musical output prior to this was un-commercial. First of all, they expressed their dedication to “true” metal music and lifestyle. In the interview by Andy Secher, for *Hit Parader* magazine (1985: 56), *Raven* mention that they “play heavy metal not because it is the ‘in’ thing to do, but because since our beginning we live, breathe, eat metal [...] we are playing real metal and not the watered-down variety that most people seem to favour so much”. Here they are pointing out their commitment to the non-commercial heavy metal sound, rather than lite metal that was popular by then. Alongside this, they mention that their more melodic tendencies (presented in songs on the 1985 *Stay Hard* 12” long play record) are more of an outcome of experimentation, rather than being commercially driven (“On *Stay Hard* we’ve expanded our sound a little and even brought some quieter moments [...] but we never rely on a formula focussing on success”). Rock/metal journalists’ opinion of the sonic element of the *Wipe Out* 12” long play record also indicates *Raven*’s extreme musical style. Chris Welch’s review in *Kerrang!* Magazine (#38, 1983: 21) highlights the intensity and speed of the band (“the band is so fast that you have to play the album at least six times in order to catch breath”), presenting *Raven*’s non-commercial music style. *Raven*’s authenticity (from my critical point of view) lies in their commitment to non-commercial heavy metal music style, even though later in their career they signed with a major label. However, as mentioned in my introduction, 1985 was the year when the publicity for heavy metal exploded. *Raven*’s crossover with punk subculture is authentic, since it is not

commercially driven; it is based on the early years of the band and its history in the mid-1970s when they appeared in billings along with first-wave UK punk bands.

Waksman (2009: 189) claims that *Raven*, along with another Newcastle heavy metal band, *Venom*, were the two heavy metal bands that musically played at the “limits of traditional heavy metal convention”, incorporating musical components that were aligned with punk, but that, at the same time, their musical approach was made to appeal to heavy metal fans. As previously stated, in my interview with *Raven*’s guitarist/vocalist John Gallagher, the band member declined to identify any affiliation with punk subculture in musical and visual terms at that time. However, he mentions *Discharge* as the first UK band to perceive and execute the “crossover” between the two music genres (“Not my area of expertise but I would hazard a guess that it was *Discharge* that first combined the two genres”).

However, the song “Athletic Rock” indicated *Raven*’s alternative approach. *Raven* was a traditional heavy metal band, but despite this their approach shared common ground with punk genre’s lyric style. In “Athletic Rock”, *Raven* describes the band’s aural experience as an experience of “anomie” (“No rules no regulations/we are right out of control/Athletic Rock/you know I will never stop”), an “anomie” that has been glorified by punk bands.

7.2.2.4 Conclusions

I have analysed the cases of *Discharge*, *Onslaught* and *Raven*, three bands with different initial music backgrounds. The findings of this chapter are rather interesting, regarding the theme of authenticity. As I have shown, there are cases where the crossovers of punk and heavy metal dealt with rejection (*Discharge*) or scepticism (*Onslaught*). The issue of commitment is strong in the punk scene, and there is no room for commercialization; this is even more so in such cases as *Discharge* where the band adopted a sound/lyrics/visual status akin to lite metal, that, even by the standards of heavy metal fans, is considered to be “too commercial” and inauthentic.

The case of *Onslaught* is different, since their crossover is dealt with initially enthusiastically by both the heavy metal and punk Press. This happens because *Onslaught*’s crossover is non-commercially driven: it remains “true” to the punk ethic preserving the raw production, the release under a small independent punk record company, and it also crosses over with one of heavy metal’s most hard-sounding subgenres, thrash metal. It is therefore the

extreme sonic element that makes *Onslaught* “authentic” in *Power from Hell*. However, the scepticism regarding their case starts when *Onslaught* decides to sign a contract with a subsidiary of a major label company, in order to release their next record. After that 1987 record (*The Force*) *Onslaught* are a heavy metal band in all ways, and punks reject them as “Rock Stars,” judging them to be “non-authentic” from their beginning too.

Raven, on the other hand, were/are a band that was rooted in the tradition of heavy metal since the mid-1970s. It was their sonic immediacy that differentiated them from their heavy metal peers, and even though *Raven* signed later (1985) in their career with a major label, they weren’t considered to be “poseurs” because their sonic element remained “true”. And here is where the first difference between heavy metal and punk is spotted, in terms of authenticity. Punks consider bands to be “sell-outs” if they have signed to a major label, commercialized their sound/image/lyrics, whereas heavy metal fans are not interested in the marketing tactics of the bands. This can be attributed to the fact that heavy metal, even from its first wave (e.g., *Black Sabbath*), was not a DIY product; it was rather a more commercial music style than punk, issued under medium/major labels.

What is important to mention, however, is that all three bands were concerned about the renewed fear of a nuclear war. Even if this theme was naturally to be dealt with by *Discharge* and *Onslaught*, the case of *Raven* is very special, considering that it was very uncommon for heavy metal bands to raise such issues. Even more significant is the fact that *Raven* calls out for a collective action against nuclear weapons, whereas *Discharge* and *Onslaught* present the consequences of a nuclear war with no room for hope.

In the third sub-chapter I continue working through the historical backbone of my research topic (the period ranges from 1981 to 1990), drawing on bands that belong (in terms of sub-genre) to the two opposite ends of punk’s spectrum: anarcho-punk and Oi!. The study of the UK bands *Sacrilege* and *The Business*, bands that have totally different musical and lyrical – even political – approaches (although both are still intelligible under the tag of punk), is concerned with their holistic crossovers with heavy metal. The focus is on the socio-political issue of fox hunting, an activity that is strongly rooted in the English tradition, originating in 1600s English history, though it is now banned in the UK.

7.2.3 Theme C: Fox Hunting, the English social order and the crossover of punk and heavy metal. *The Business* and *Sacrilege* (1981-1990)

In the case of punk subculture there appears to be a number of references to animal rights. Boisseau and Donaghey (2015: 73) refer to the importance of UK punk band *Crass* on this issue. This matter was mentioned in their 1979 12" long play record *Stations of the Crass*, and specifically in the song "Time out" that approached the issue by making a comparison of human flesh with animal flesh ("Chicken thighs, human thighs, it's all the same old game/Middle class, working class, it's all a load of shit"). Boisseau and Donaghey stress the effect that *Crass* had in bringing the issue of animal rights into the punk scene (expressly within, but not limited to, anarcho-punk) during the decade of 1980s. The socio-political dimension of fox hunting might be irrelevant in terms of the lyric concerns of heavy metal, but, nevertheless, in the case studies below, there will be a consideration of bands from various sub-genres of punk (Oi!, anarcho-punk) as well as heavy metal that approached the issue in a pro-Animal Rights manner. These bands appeared to have crossover in other terms too (such as in music, imagery and visual terms). These bands are the Oi! punk band *The Business*, the NWOBHM band *Jaguar* and the thrash metal/hardcore crossover band *Sacrilege*.

7.2.3.1 *The Business; Oi!/punk animal rights consciousness*

- *The Business band historical narration and style*

The Business were a London Oi!/punk band that formed in 1979 in London and toured and released records (Glasper, 2004: 237), before disbanding in December 2016 due to death of the vocalist (and founding member), Micky Fitz. Even though *The Business* were mostly concerned in their lyrics about standard Oi! issues, such as violence, football, unemployment and police oppression¹³⁵ (Robb, 2006: 14), they also went on to deal with the issue of Animal Rights in their 1983 song "Sabotage the Hunt"¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ Examples of *The Business* songs that are representative of their lyric identification with the Oi! lyric style include "Drinkin and Driving", "Work or Riot?", "Real Enemy" and "Smash the Disco's".

¹³⁶ Taken from their 1983 12" long play record *Suburban Rebels*, Secrete Records, SEC 11,

While it had been the anarcho-punk subculture that became preoccupied with the issue of Animal Rights, as part of a wider perspective on radical politics that included anti-capitalism, anti-fascism, anti-militarist and anti-sexism rights (Tolga Guldalli, 2007, refers to this as the “ideology” of punk), *The Business* had a different ideological approach, reflected both in their lyrics (in songs like “Disco Girls” or “Smash the Discos”) and in their interviews:

“Disco blokes probably go along to dance to the music and try and pull a tart. Disco birds are leeches and bloodsuckers on the blokes they meet. A bloke won’t go out if he’s got no money, but the girl will, hoping to pull a bloke and get drinks off him, and a lift home”

These words of *The Business* singer Micky Fitz, while interviewed by Carol Clerk, for *Melody Maker*, 26 June 1982, display a stereotypical and sexist (“pull a tart”, “birds”, “leeches”, “bloodsuckers”) phraseology that has nothing to do with the anarcho-punk’s anti-sexism mentality. However, a very interesting fact is that *The Business* chose, early on in their career, in 1984, to cover a song by the notorious UK anarcho-punk band *The Crass*. Their version of “Do they owe us a living?” from the *Loud, Proud and punk 12*” long play record stands as a rare example of an Oi! band covering an anarcho-punk song, especially in times when bands from both sub-genres were dismissing¹³⁷ or even being hostile to one another¹³⁸.

While interviewed by Garry Bushell for *Sounds* magazine on 27 February 1982 Micky Fitz expressed his admiration for *Crass* building a network and supporting other bands (“In a way I admire Crass. I think they've done a lot of good and helped a lot of bands”), but he also rejected their politics accusing them of being unrealistic and utopian (“I do think *Crass*’ ideals of Anarchy and Peace are naive. They’re dreamers, it’ll never happen”).

However, Micky Fitz also describes *The Business* as a cross of the anarcho-punk subculture (represented of *Crass*) with the Oi!/punk subculture (represented of Sham 69). Fitz mentioned that *The Business* were “A cross between *Crass* and *Sham* [...] it’s because we’ve

¹³⁷ *Crass* voiced their disapproval of Oi! in their 1982 song “It’s The Greatest Working Class Rip-Off,” accusing Oi! bands for senseless violence (“Another threatening glance, another macho stance/Another aggressive fist, another arsehole pissed/Tell me, why do you glorify violence? Ain’t there nothing better to give?”). Oi/punk band *Special Duties* attacked *Crass* and Anarchism in their 1982 song “Bullshit Crass” (“Fight Crass/not Punk/Crass rightly labelled as being red/Commune Hippies That’s what they are”).

¹³⁸ Steve Bluemer, drummer and vocalist for the 1980’s UK anarcho-Punk band *Symbol of Freedom* mentioned that he loathed the whole skinhead/Oi! thing, because “you could set up a benefit gig for a good cause, and suddenly get this gig riddled with skinheads that caused damages, lead to the close up of another potential venue...I hated this street punk thing”. (Glasper, 2006: 263)

got a football following but we're trying to join them with punks and write lyrics that mean something", attempting to bring together different crowds, people from different subcultures.

Mickey Fitz also remarks "I think *The Business* have got a much healthier attitude. I mean when we took that coach to Manchester, we had punks, skins and just ordinary geezers, herberts. Other bands seem to get just punks or just skins, but we always get a mixture and that's reflected in the music" and "We did not play for Rock Against Racism because as far as we're concerned they are too political [...] we wanted to show that we cared and that we weren't nazis without being associated with the extreme left".

- *Fox Hunting and animal rights as presented in The Business "Sabotage The Hunt" lyrics; its lyrics' analysis*

Micky Fitz in the *Sounds* interview (27 February 1982) says that he had proposed that *Crass* should accompany *The Business* on a benefit gig for the Hunt Saboteurs association, but *Crass* had declined. Fitz rationalised their refusal, saying that *Crass* had taken a stance against Oi! many times before ("They've been condemning Oi! for so long they'd have had to have really eaten shit to play with a band like us"), thus maintaining their beliefs about Oi! music and its mentality¹³⁹. Finally, Fitz states that "I reckon punk is healthier now [...] it's more aggressive, more hardcore, and you don't tend to get so many 'weekend-punk' posers either".

The metatext here is that whereas *The Business* appears to have a collectivist attitude where their fan base is concerned – reflecting this in their music too – they seem to distance themselves from the Anarchist politics of bands such as *Crass*. *The Business* express their distaste for the extreme right, but they still don't advocate a left-wing stance; their political direction is not articulated. Finally, they also promote the "new" punk (the second wave) as more authentic and more aggressive, creating the impression that this style (which *The Business* also represents) has little in common with first-wave punk; it is more authentic in terms of fans and more extreme in terms of music.

¹³⁹ Worley (2014: 3) states that "Oi! was presented as an authentic version of punk mythology: it was punk as a working-class culture made by and for the kids from the council estates and football terraces that Mark Perry had envisioned back in 1976," thus awarding the status of authenticity to Oi!/punk; it was music from working-class kids, singing about working class issues.

During this period, the sabotaging of fox hunts escalated in terms of violence. Even terrorist acts were used by the saboteurs, such as fire bombings by the “Hunt Retribution Squad” that resulted in the death of some saboteurs in 1984 (Stokes, 1996). Anarcho-punk bands like *Chumbawamba* played various benefit gigs for Animal Rights/Hunt Saboteur’s Associations¹⁴⁰ and Griffin (2007: 213) states that it was the government’s reluctance to ban fox hunting that led hunt saboteurs to adopt more violent and risky approaches in order to attract public opinion and achieve their goal of having fox hunting ended.

The Business’s 1983 song “Sabotage the Hunt” stands as an example of an anti-fox hunting song. The Business explains preparations for and the commencement of a fox hunt, describing the style of dress and excitement of the hunters (“Lying in wait, here they come/Dressed in red of course having fun/Trumpets blow, height of their day”). The colour red, according to Miller (2001), symbolizes “danger”, indicating the hazardous situation that is about to face the foxes. *The Business* also outline a class approach to the issue of fox hunting, calling it a middle-class sport that has to be prohibited (“Middle class murders must be stopped”) and call for direct action against it, no matter what the means (“Sabotage the hunt today, any way”). Finally, *The Business* attacks the privileged treatment of fox hunters by the law, stating that any attempts to stop them would lead the saboteur to prison (“Try to stop them and you are nicked...they’ re protected by the law...”), thus making it more difficult to achieve the objective of stopping them.

“Sabotage the Hunt” is a song that embodies Frith’s definition of realism (Frith, 1989: 82). The lyric is intimately tied to a concern with the social conditions of the era, thus joining the tradition of “folk realism” rather than “pop escapism”. The issue of the authenticity of the song could be considered using David Harker’s definition. *The Business*’s “Sabotage the Hunt” is authentic (from my point of view) even though the band members were not left-wing intellectuals. They were working-class people and this appears clear both in their lyrics (such as “Work or Riot?”) as well as in their interviews – e.g., in *Sounds*, 27 February 1982, where Fitz described the realist lyric status of *The Business*, and the band’s concern with everyday issues of the time (“We call our band ‘Reality punk’ because it’s facing up to reality. Too many

¹⁴⁰ *Chumbawamba* had a series of benefit gigs in 1983: 1) Saturday, October 8th: Huddersfield - Polytechnic, Hunt Saboteurs' benefit gig with *Passion Killers*; 2) Thursday May 30th: Luton - Library Theatre, a Luton Hunt Saboteurs' benefit with *No Defences*, *Karma Sutra*. Data retrieved from: <http://www.kipuka.net/chumba/gigs/gig1.html> accessed on 22/05/2019

bands are just dreaming. We wanna bring music down to earth and talk about what's going on in this country.”)¹⁴¹.

The authenticity of “Sabotage the Hunt” is apparent in relation to *The Business*’s ideology and social class. According to Lorraine (1979: 39), Marx argued that consciousness is a social product not autonomous from man’s existence; consciousness exists from the very beginning of someone’s life and, even if it does not define his being, it’s the interaction with his social being that defines consciousness. *The Business* was a working-class band and they developed their ideology through the interaction of their social being and consciousness. Marx characterised ideology as “the necessary projection in consciousness of man’s practical inabilities,” thus negating and concealing consciousness’s contradictions.

Another form of analysis that could be used in order to understand “Sabotage the Hunt” is the ‘Values-Participants-Agency’ method that Machin (2010: 77) proposes. This includes three parts where the first section is concentrated with explaining the lyric story at its basic core and the second one includes the identifications of the participants in further understanding the meanings of the song. (The third, rather obscure, part isn’t relevant here.)

The basic song structure describes a fox hunt, its preparation, the psychological status of its participants and those who oppose this activity. According to Propp (1927), each character represents a set of social principles. In this case, the foxes represent the “innocent” victims of a cruel sport (“Fox will die if they have their way”), the hunters represent the “ignorant”, “mindless” proponents of the sport with no moral barriers (“Dressed in red of course having fun”), and the people opposing the hunt represent the “good” side, the ones that will save the foxes’ lives by any means, even with the law turning against them for their actions or suffering physical violence (“Destruction of wildlife must be stopped/Go near their houses and you are kicked/Try to stop them and you’ll be nicked/They’re protected by the law”). So, in “Sabotage the Hunt” there appears to be four ‘social type’ participants: foxes (the “innocent victims”), fox hunters (the “evil”, represented by the middle-class), saboteurs (“the good ones”, representing the working-class as *The Business*), and the Law (the “barrier”, the one that protects the upper middle-class). “Sabotage the Hunt” is a political protest song, and presents the precise problem (fox-hunting) and the solution to it (the sabotage of fox hunting). *The Business* also uses the collective “they” and “we” in their lyrics (“They’re protected by the

¹⁴¹ Moreover, one of *The Business*’s songs from the same long-play record, “National Insurance Blacklist”, appeared in the *Socialist Worker* newspaper receiving critical acclaim (Worley, 2013: 4).

law/all we do is watch in awe”). The term “we” addresses all the people that are against the power of fox hunters; however, adding to the authenticity of the song, The Business refer to fox hunters as “middle-class murderers” who should be banned. The term “we”, therefore, could also refer to another collective, not only the ones that oppose fox hunting, but the working class, whom *The Business* praise in their songs.

Finally, according to Van Leeuwen’s (1996) theory, consider the way the participants of “Sabotage the Hunt” are represented linguistically. The participants are impersonal (“The law”) and depicted only in terms of their function (“Fox hunters”, “Foxes”), making the song into a non-personalised story. Also, the participants are collectivised (“We”, “They”), depicting groups of people without personal details.

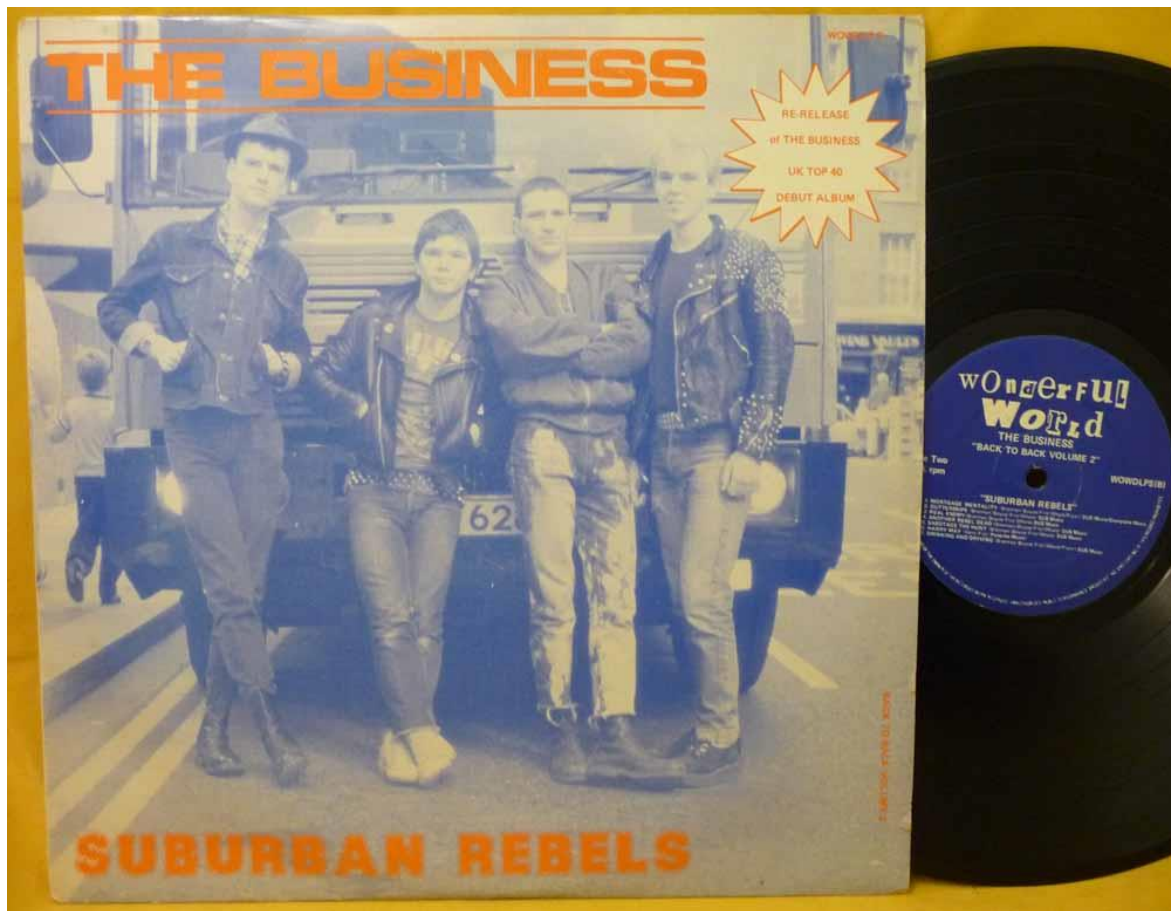
- *The musical approach of “Sabotage The Hunt”; The Business’ approach grounded on Oi!/Punk*

Musically, the song conforms to the tradition of punk/Oi! music genre; following a simple song structure that runs for well under two minutes (01:46). The musical landscape of “Sabotage the Hunt” is ‘lo-fi’, in Schafer’s definition (1977), presenting a mixture of sounds that cannot be distinguished, reminiscent of the noisy urban landscape. The song starts with a basic guitar 3-chord intro (0:01-0:06) accompanied by a bass guitar melodic line (0:06-0:10), only to lead to the drum beats. The same 3-chord guitar melody is repeated throughout the whole song, only to enact a minor change to a lower-key 3-chord guitar melody at the chorus, and to employ a small (0:57-1:04) guitar melodic lead. The pattern of verse-chorus is repeated three times until the end of the song. The bass guitar sound is distinctive and it accompanies rhythmically the drum tempo. The drum tempo is fast, simplistic, with minor changes, in the punk tradition. Mickey Fitz’s vocal lines are high-pitched, which could embody the agitation evident in punk in general (Machin, 2010: 100). *The Business* follows the strict formula of punk in musical matters.

The music ekphrasis draws a landscape reminiscent of a military march (due to its repetitive drum tempo), but at the same time it doesn’t share the discipline of a military march; it is rather reminiscent of a boisterous march of football fans, singing rhythmic football chants in dissonance. However, the sentiment that the song creates is of a primal energy that is targeted against fox hunting.

- *The visual and imagery representation of The Business in 1982; a crossover between punk and skinhead*

In terms of visual representation, *The Business* in 1982 adopted a combination of punk and skinhead band stylistics, being one of the Oi! bands that mixed both styles. This is evident in Carol Clerk's visual analysis of *The Business* for *Melody Maker* magazine (1982, 28 June). Clerk described *The Business* thus: "their line-up features the skinhead appearance of Micky Fitz alongside the unashamed punk leathers, studs and ripped jeans of guitarist Steve Whale, with drummer Kev Boyce looking punk-ish and bassist Mark Brennan refusing to fit into anyone's convenient category". This is true, if I attempt to analyse the band's portrait photograph from their 1983 12" long play record (re-issued as a double long play record in 1985), *Suburban Rebels*. In the band photo that appears on the cover, all four members seem to take a different visual style. Mickey Fitz, the vocalist (second from right) is the one adopting a full-on skinhead image, with bleached jeans, flying jacket, Dr. Martens' boots and crew-cut hair. First one from the right is Steven Whale, guitarist, who presents a more punk image: studded leather jacket, blue jeans and bleached hair. Second from the left is Kevin Boyce, the drummer, also sporting a punk style with messy-cut hair, leather jacket, studded belt and blue jeans. Finally, first from the left is bass player Mark Brennan, whose style is a mix of skinhead (Dr. Martens' boots, military trousers) and punk (blue jeans jacket, *Clockwork Orange*-styled hat).

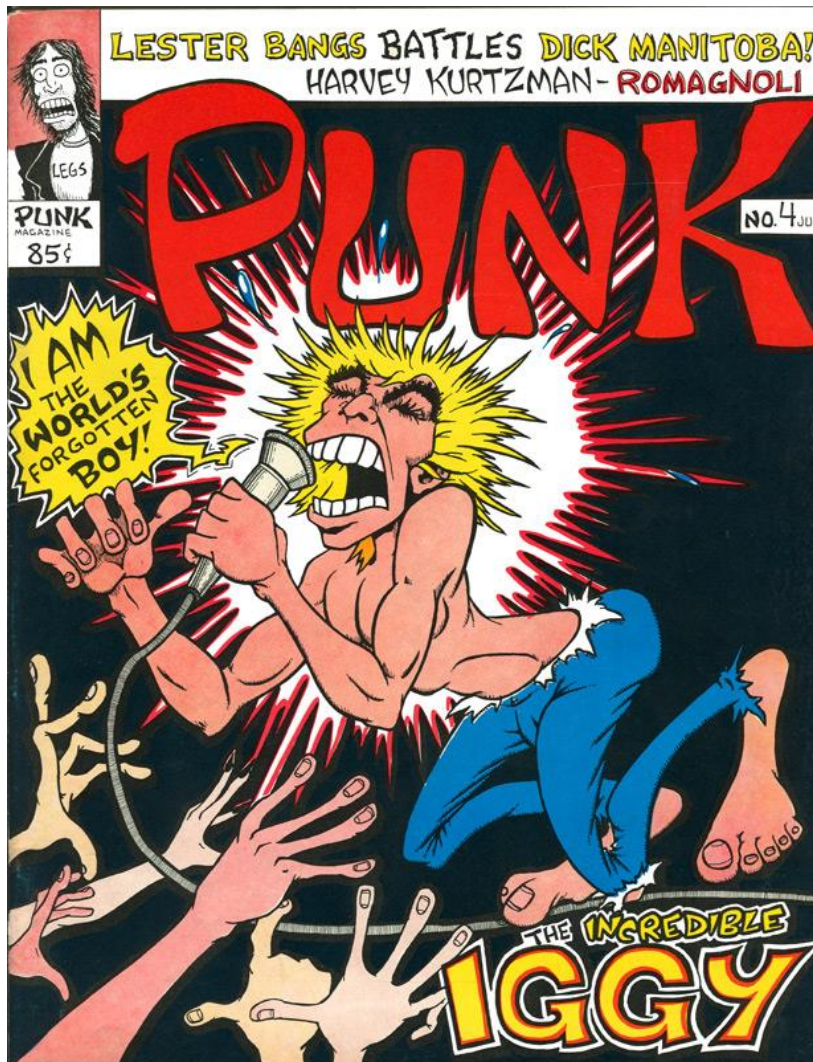


(Image 81. *The Business* record cover band picture of *Suburban Rebels* double long play record, 1985. Courtesy of Wonderful World records. WDWLDP2)

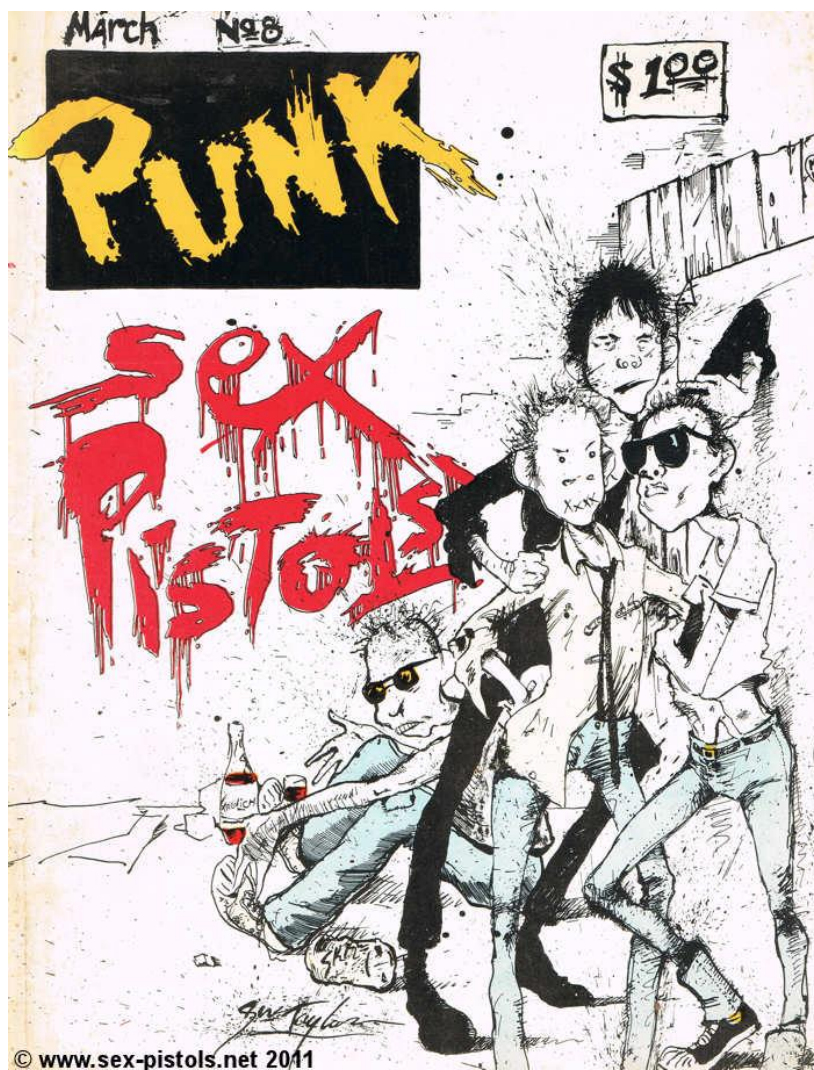
The metatext based on the front cover picture of the band from the *Suburban Rebels* 12" long play record comprehensively represents the musical style of the record. The band appears to be dressed in punk and skinhead fashion, and according to the protocols of Machin's iconographic analysis, the pose of the band appears to be accompanied with gestures that reveal either seriousness or a defensive nature (like the crossed hands gesture). The gaze of the band members is serious, with no sense of fun (excluding the smile of one band member). The medium shot of the picture suggests only a bit of intimacy between the band and the viewer. The photo seems to be taken on a British road, in front of a large lorry. The typography of the band logo is akin to the "stricter" side of punk lettering, just plain and basic. In general, this photograph reveals the band's punk/skinhead crossover nature.

In terms of imagery, *The Business* in 1982 followed a cartoon-like approach (reminiscent of punk subculture) in their *Suburban Rebels* record. According to Lawley (in Sabin, 1999: 100), the cultural legacy of punk is closely linked to comics, and as a prime example of this Lawley focuses on the cover of *Punk* magazine (vol.1, no.4). This edition was

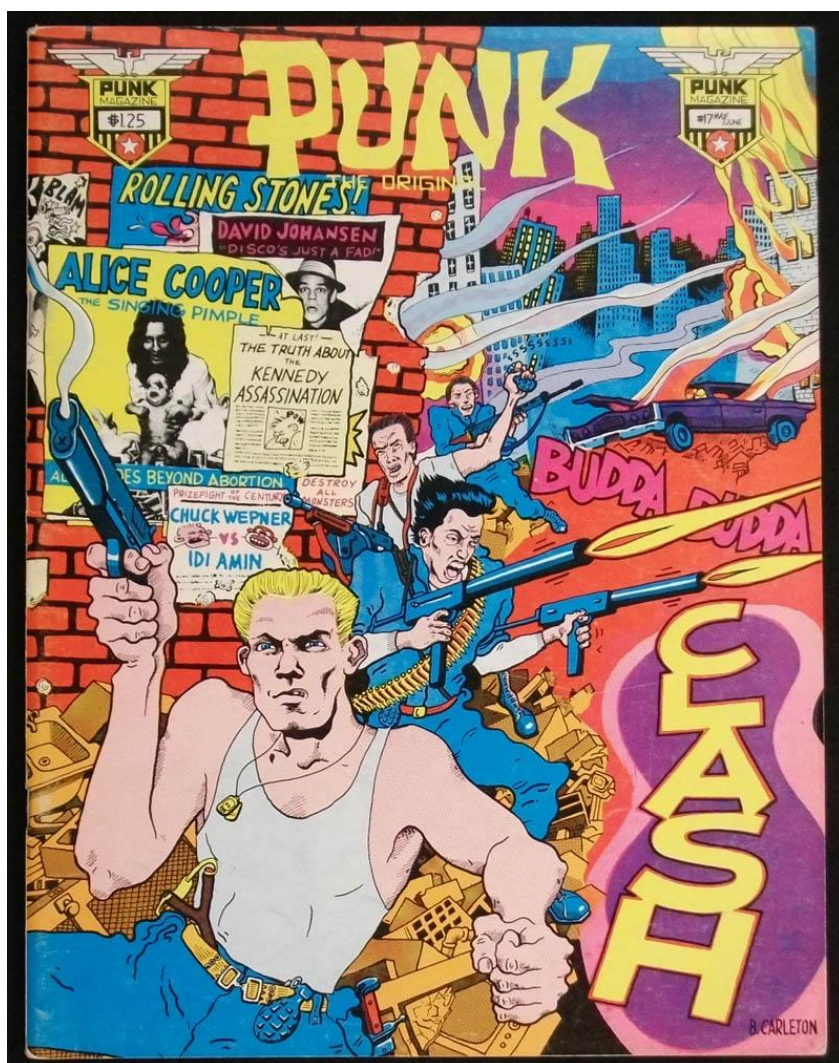
issued in December 1975 and depicted a comic figure, *Iggy Pop*, an American punk artist, drawn by John Holmstrom. Lawley also points out that *Iggy Pop*'s comic figure started a whole series of similar drawings in *Punk* magazine (e.g., *The Sex Pistols*, *The Clash* comic figures). These examples are discussed below.



(Image 82. Iggy Pop's comic drawing for the cover of Punk magazine, vol 1. no. 4, December 1975. Courtesy of John Holmstrom)



(Image 83. The Sex Pistols comic drawing for the cover of Punk magazine, no. 8 March 1977. Courtesy of John Holmstrom. Retrieved by the official Sex Pistols website)

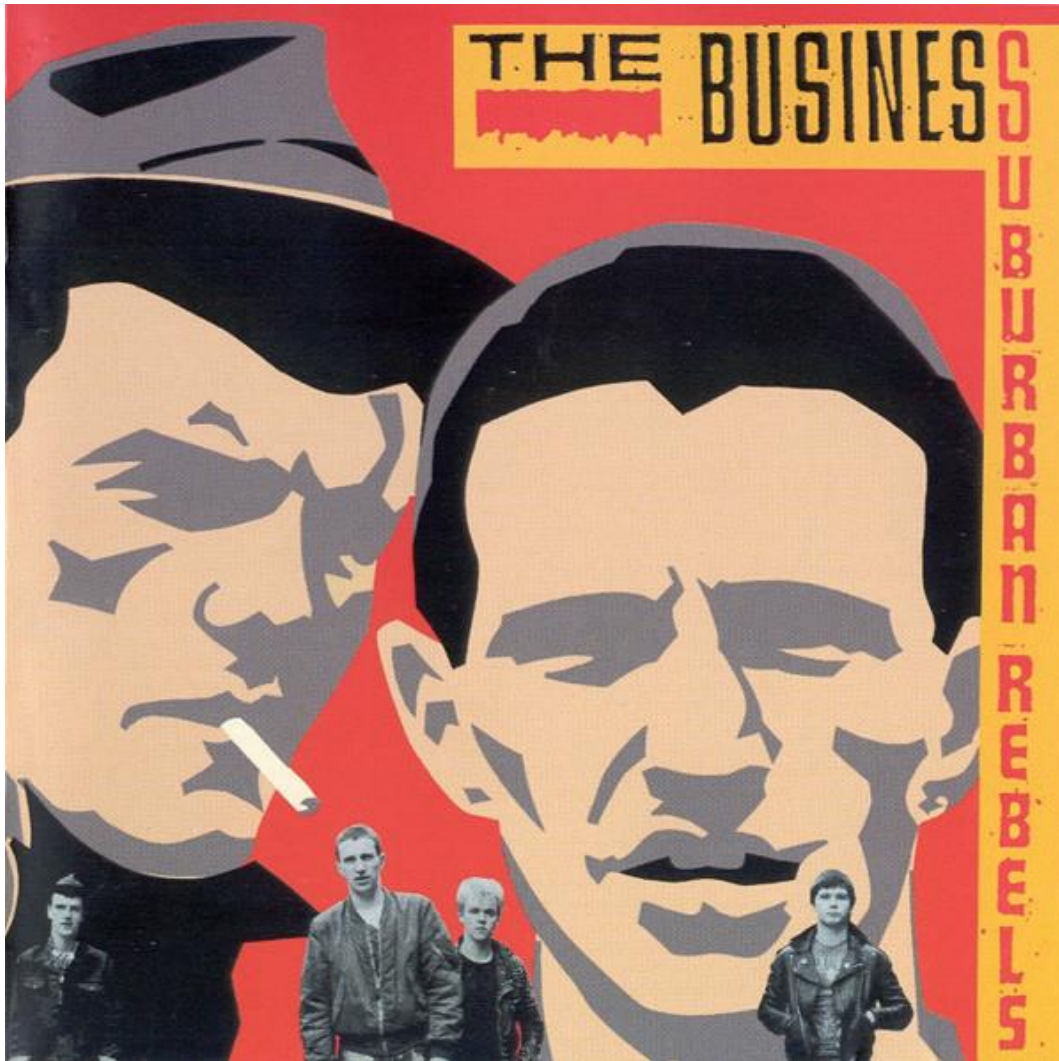


(Image 84. The Clash comic drawing for the cover of Punk magazine, no. 17 May 1979. Courtesy of John Holmstrom)

The *Suburban Rebels* first pressing cover (on *Secret Records*) depicts the band in comic-styled figures; the cover was created by ASAD Design¹⁴². *Suburban Rebels* depicts The Business as human caricatures with grim (or bitter) expressions on their faces. The dominant colours are black, white, grey, yellow and red. The band's name and record title are inseparable, thus presenting the affiliation that *The Business* has with *Suburban Rebels*. The red colour in

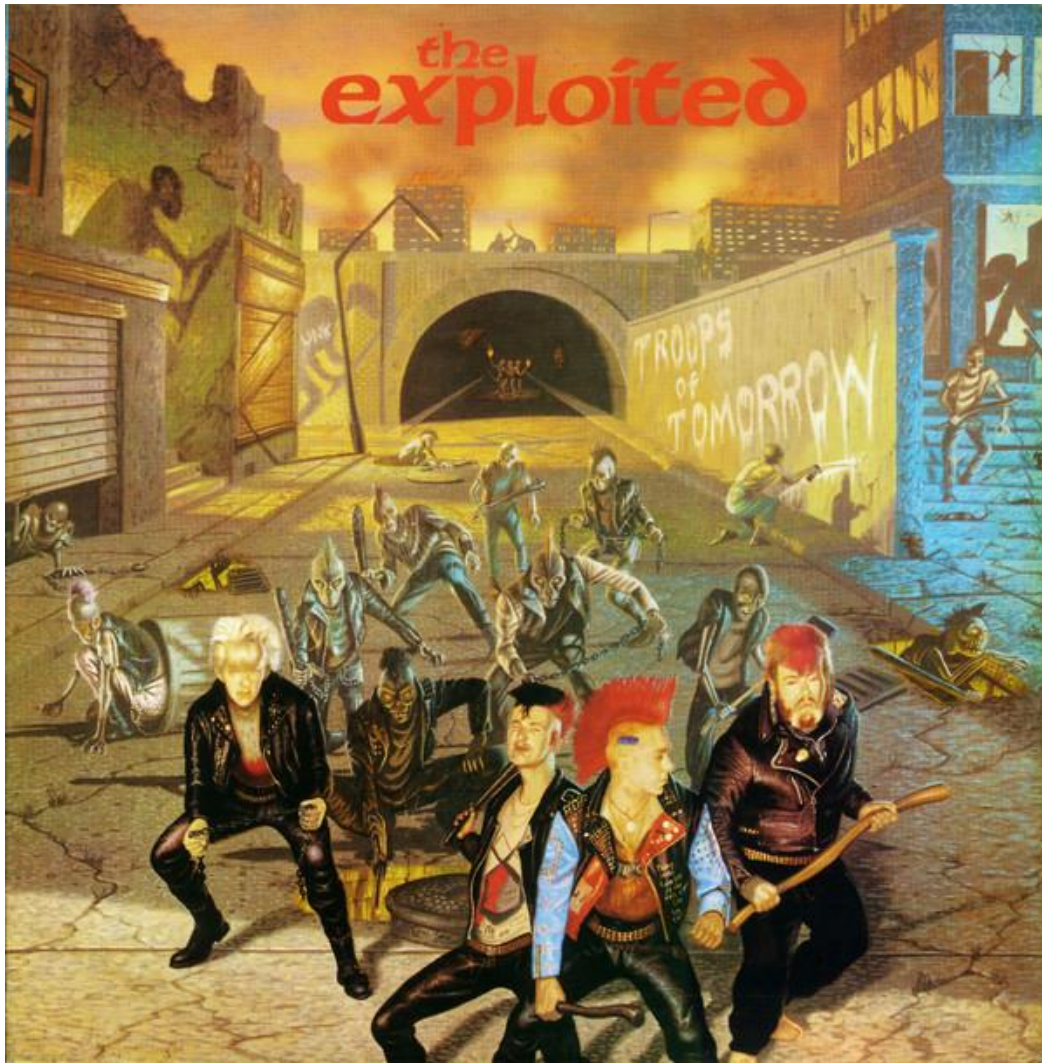
¹⁴² ASAD Design was a collaboration of two artists, Combination of Ansell Sadgrove (Ken Ansell) and Art Dragon (David Dragon); Dave Dragon followed the same comic, full-colour approach in other bands/releases of the UK82 punk wave, such as The 4 Skins LP *The Good, The Bad & The 4 Skins*, Chron Gen – *Chronic Generation* LP and Infa-Riot – *Still Out Of Order* LP, while his work included also the NWOBHM band Ethel the Frog (data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/1019178-Dave-Dragon> accessed on 22/05/2023)

the words *Suburban Rebels* could symbolize “danger,” according to Miller (2001), and judging by the lyrics on the homonymous song, The Business treat such “suburban rebels” as weak and non-hazardous, but still a threat (“Suburban rebels playing at reds/You don't scare us with your badges and banners”). The Christian symbolism of red as a background could mean “sin” and/or “blood” (Miller, 2001) which could be true, especially in the case of “blood” (seen as an outcome of their call for combat, e.g., in the song “Real Enemy”), but even in the case where “sin” could be interpreted to mean “moral offence/fault” (in the case of their song “Drinkin and driving”, where the immoral way of life is praised). The cartoon face drawings are harsh, depicting only basic features of the band members’ faces and don’t go into detail. On the foreground of the record cover appears a black and white picture of the band, where the members, too, appear to be expressionless and serious. The fact that both the cartoons and the band’s expressions are serious, may suggest that the *Suburban Rebels* cover stands as a representation of the band’s solemn attitude.



(Image 85. *The Business's Suburban Rebels* record cover, 1983. Courtesy of Secret Records. SEC11)

Secret Records, the UK label that issued *Suburban Rebels* in 1983, appeared to have a tradition in terms of cartoon record covers. This is evident in the covers for *The Exploited's Troops of Tomorrow* (1982) and *Infra-Riot's Still out of order* (1982), where the bands are depicted as cartoon figures.



(Image 86. *The Exploited's Troops of tomorrow* record cover, 1982. Courtesy of Secret Records, SEC8)



(Image 87. Infa Riot's Still out of order record cover, 1982. Courtesy of Secret Records, SEC7)

- *Lyric crossover of The Business with heavy metal; Anomie and the glorification of the Dionysian way of life.*

Later in the 1980s *The Business* approached heavy metal music culture in lyrics, music and visual style, and this is evident when analysing the song “Drinking and Driving” and pictures of the band c1985; *The Business* offered a different vision than before, crossing over with heavy metal music culture.

In terms of lyrics style, the crossover with heavy metal took place early on, on the 1983 song “Drinking and driving”. The lyrics in this song could fit both in the punk as well as the

heavy metal tradition¹⁴³. The heavy metal lyrics tradition is evident in the Dionysian form (as defined by Weinstein, 1991: 37), where heavy alcohol consumption is praised by many heavy metal bands. However, it's arguable that "Drinking and driving" also contains a chaotic heavy metal lyrics theme, since it praises anomie.

An analysis of this song presents *The Business*'s approach to an issue that has been concerning the UK authorities ever since at least 1872. That year the Licensing Act declared it to be an offence for someone to be intoxicated while in charge of "carriages, horses, cattle and steam engines" (Lowe, 1998: 58). However, in 1983, when "Drinking and driving" was released, the legislation against drunk drivers went even further, where prosecution could be based on evidence that resulted from the new (then) breath testing capacity, via the use of a machine by the police, the "Lion Intoximeter 3000" (Denney, 1990: 357). However, the use of this device caused controversy in a variety of cases throughout UK courts, controversies based on issues related to accuracy, the police's fair operation of the testing machine, and the testing machine's working order (Connor, 1985: 26). "Drinking and driving" was *The Business*'s response to this new, stricter and controversial 1983 legislation against drunk drivers. The song fits not only into the Dionysian/chaotic heavy metal lyrics' categories, but also into the punk lyrics' tradition of social/political commentary –although *The Business* chose an approach more reminiscent of the "shock value" of punk rather than a "politically correct" reply to the issue.

"Drinking and driving" avoids 'pop escapism,' and is rather connected with 'folk realism', since *The Business* describes the way that they react (or how someone should react) when being a driver and drunk at the same time. The literary form that *The Business* chose for "Drinking and driving" is one of satire, since they use wit for the purpose of social criticism ("Knock it back/and have another one/drinking and driving is so much fun"). *The Business* also used the literary device of onomatopoeia, while they used the sound "blaaaah" in order to imitate a person vomiting ("See the spot and take your pick/out of the car to be sick/blaaaah"). Even though *The Business* lyrics' style is simplistic, it still contains the authenticity that derives from the band's working-class background. The song is understood to be a humorous satire, personifying the point-of-view of Mickey Fitz ("I", first person), calling for collective action ("come together now") on the issue of drunk driving in order to oppose the new rules and regulations.

¹⁴³ Albeit the praise of alcohol/drinking is also a part of the Oi! lyrics status.

In terms of the issue of authenticity there are a range of perspectives that will be considered later. *The Business* crossed-over with heavy metal genre in musical, as well as in terms of visual, style. Their crossover is authentic (from the bands' perspective), since it was not commercially, but artistically driven ("We were tired of playing two-minute punk songs"). They mentioned that *Thin Lizzy* was responsible for their choice to crossover to heavy metal genre. This is rather interesting for a variety of reasons. First of all, *Thin Lizzy* disbanded in 1983 and their music style of hard rock/heavy metal was rather outdated by that time. *Thin Lizzy* was never hostile towards punk and vice versa: this is evident in the 1979 band-project *The Greedies*¹⁴⁴, that included members of *Thin Lizzy* (Brian Downey, Phil Lynott and Scott Gorham) and *The Sex Pistols* (Paul Cook and Steve Jones), at a time when punk and heavy metal subcultures were hostile to each other. Byrne (2004: 117) mentions Phil Lynott's embrace of punk subculture, as well as the fact that the punks were looking to *Thin Lizzy* and said "You are cool". This mutual appreciation led to *Thin Lizzy*'s tour with UK punk band *The Radiators* in 1977, as evident in the flyer below.

¹⁴⁴ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/395719-The-Greedies> accessed on 09/05/2020. Phil Lynott (vocalist and bass player of Thin Lizzy) also played on US punk *Johnny Thunders*' 1978 12" long play record *So Alone*. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Johnny-Thunders-So-Alone/release/467510> accessed on 09/05/2020.



(Image 88. Thin Lizzy and The Radiators promotional poster for their 1977 tour. Courtesy unknown)

This change wasn't condemned by the press of the day as a "sell-out"; in fact, there was no criticism of *The Business*'s crossover to heavy metal subculture. The authenticity of *The Business* can be spotted in the fact that the record that included this new style was issued by a small label, *Wonderful World* records, which only issued a small number of punk records. There were no attempts to commercialize *The Business*'s music. The off-key vocals of Mickey Fitz, as well as the raw production of the record, only contributed to the authenticity of the band and its commitment to their past. The music crossover of *The Business* with hard

rock/heavy metal is significant because through this crossover *The Business* have become better musicians and that punk (in music terms) did not apply to their growing ambitions as musicians; however, another important issue is that this crossover has a strong authentic base (in my opinion), it is not commercially driven but it is artistically driven and this fact marks another significance of the crossover between punk and heavy metal. Crossover could apply to the artistic ambitions of the musicians too. Also, in terms of subculture, bridging the Oi!/punk music style with heavy metal/hard rock is significant, since the fanbase of Oi!/punk music consisted (dominantly) of punks and skinheads, that were not sympathetic to heavy metal at all.

Following the protocols of Machin's (2010: 77) lyrics analysis, the participants identified in the song are *The Business*/Mickey Fitz, as presented in the first verse ("Half past 5 I'm in the pub/six o'clock I'm home for grub/eight o'clock I'm back to the bar/sod the walk I'll take the car") and the listeners ("You/come together now"). The participants are personalised in the case of "Drinking and driving", making the song a personal story. Mickey Fitz calls for collective action ("Come together now"), calling for people without personal details to come together and join him in this fight against the law.

The conclusion of the analysis of "Drinking and driving" could lead to the assumption that the song should be regarded as a crossover of punk/Oi! and heavy metal genres. It contains the Dionysian theme of heavy metal (the praise of heavy alcohol consumption), the chaotic theme of heavy metal (represented in the form of anomie) and the social/political commentary of punk – all deriving from the historical analysis of drink driving legislation and the introduction of more strict laws at the same time that the record was issued in 1983.

Even though taking issue with "drunk driving" sounds immature (to say the least) – as well as an issue where socio-political issues are substantially irrelevant – this is not the purpose of the song. *The Business* used the satirical glorification of "drunk driving" in order to express their opposition towards the newer legislation that was weak in terms of integrity, since there were doubts in terms of the testing machine's accuracy, its working order, as well as its fair-minded use by police officers. The apparent idolisation of drunk driving by *The Business* should be conceived as an exaggerated stance intended to highlight this imperfect legislation.

Lyrics crossover with heavy metal genre is again apparent in the case of UK heavy metal band *Saxon* and specifically in their 1986 song “Party till you puke”¹⁴⁵ – in terms of Dionysian/chaotic themes, though here also without a political dimension. *Saxon* praise the party lifestyle in pure Dionysian heavy metal terms (“Come on everybody/tonight it is party time/The last time that we had one/it lasted for a year”), as well as the state of being heavily drunk (“We're going to party/party till you puke”). The chaotic theme is represented in the form of anomie, since *Saxon* declare that even the law enforcers are intoxicated and partying with them (“There'll be no trouble from the police/Because they are all in here too”). According to Frith’s description of lyric realism, I could proceed either to categorise the song as ‘folk realist’ or ‘pop escapism’; it depends on the point of view that one chooses (if, that is, the song lyrics are assumed to imply the actual lifestyle or fantasies of the band).

However, when considering the question of authenticity, it is not easy to categorise the song, even though it doesn’t depend on the social conditions of the era. *Saxon*’s social background was based in the working class, as confirmed by vocalist Biff Byford while interviewed by Colin Irwin for *Melody Maker* (26 June, 1982). Byford stated “We're all from industrial backgrounds, our parents worked down the pit or textile or something like that”. Byford also asserted that forming *Saxon* (or playing heavy metal) was the way to escape from the reality that was dominant in his social class (“So what do you do? You either do it from seven to five o’clock every day, have five kids and live happily ever after [...] or you try and get away from it. That's what we're doing”), thus attempting an actual escape from the social landscape the *Saxon* members would otherwise have to stay in, if they didn’t play in the band.

I choose to include “Party till you puke” in the category of ‘pop escapism,’ not only for the reason that there is no hint of social/political commentary in the song, but also because of *Saxon*’s own account of their lyrics (“Escapism? Of course it is escapism [...] our lyrics could mean something entirely different to someone else”), where they claim that they deal with subjects that provide escapism to the listener. But *Saxon*’s lyrics, according to Biff Byford, lend themselves to no specific interpretation and may be conceived in different ways.

Even though there are major differences in terms of lyrics between *The Business* and *Saxon* songs (‘realism vs escapism’, political aspects), the crossover is marked by continuity

¹⁴⁵ Taken from the 1986 12” long play record *Rock the nations*, EMI Records. EMI 064 24 0623 1.

in the form of the common praise of alcohol and description of anomie. Moreover, there is the lyric authenticity that derives from the bands' shared social background in the working class.

- *The music, visual and imagery crossover of The Business; the bands' incorporation of heavy metal elements in the mid-1980s.*

Later on in the 1980s, and specifically in 1985, *The Business* issued the 12" extended play record *Get out of my house*¹⁴⁶ which incorporated heavy metal musical elements too, offering a different perspective in music terms than before. According to the review by Tim Yohannan for *Maximum Rock n' Roll* (issue 32, January 1986: 48), *Get out of my house* exhibited "Four medium-paced, somewhat ploddy punk tunes with oi/rock/metal currents" that abandoned the earlier, strictly punk musical approach of *The Business*. Mark Brennan, while interviewed by Ian Glasper (2004: 325), stated that in their new musical approach (in 1988) "We were into stuff like *Thin Lizzy* [...] we had to move forward from playing two-minute punk songs". Brennan states (as I've mentioned) that the band made clear their affection for *Thin Lizzy* and that the punk musical formula didn't appealing to them anymore, thus the change. One of the reasons punk was abandoned by *The Business* could be identified from Brennan's words. He mentions that all the band members were fans of *Thin Lizzy*, a band famous for its technical proficiency. *Thin Lizzy* was one of the first to employ the dual guitar harmonic sound¹⁴⁷ in order to create a more melodic and complex sound. *The Business* viewed this change as a musical "progression" from the typical punk style. This change in the music of *The Business* is apparent in their 1985 song "Foreign Girl".

This song lasts 03:50 minutes, a duration much more in the tradition of heavy metal genre, rather than punk. The song starts with a 3-chord guitar melody that is accompanied by a bass guitar melodic line. As soon as the first verse starts (at 0:45), the guitar plays a power chord reminiscent of heavy metal guitar style, which then stops in order to get back to the 3-

¹⁴⁶ 1985, Wonderful World records, WOW 121.

¹⁴⁷ Phil Lynott, while interviewed by Don Snowden, for the *Los Angeles Times* in 1978, justified his decision of adding a second guitarist to the band by saying that "So I went for two lead guitarists that could sort of divide everything equally and have the taste to know when to lay back because the other guy's takin' a solo, when to step forward, and when to do cross harmonies and get into the sort of ideas where there's two lead lines crossin', whether that be a voice and guitar or two guitars crossin'. It seemed far wiser than to just have somebody that could play rhythm and one lead guitarist with a huge ego", thus explaining his choice for creating a more complex sound for *Thin Lizzy*. Retrieved from *Thin Lizzy/1978/Don Snowden/Los Angeles Times/Thin Lizzy/04/07/2021*. 15:13:43/<http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/thin-lizzy>.

chord melody as soon as first verse ends (1:03). At 01:21 a lead guitar melody occurs (in the background), lasting 13 seconds. The second verse (01:24) repeats the musical formula of the first verse. At 02:10 a guitar solo takes place, lasting 25 seconds, reminiscent of a heavy metal guitar solo style. Another guitar solo follows the end of chorus at 02:51, lasting 40 seconds, exposing technical proficiency. The drum tempo is fast, with minor changes in rhythm, with the one change at the end of the song (03:30-03:40) where the tempo becomes faster. Mickey Fitz's vocal style is in the tradition of punk, albeit more melodic, helping him to express his feelings in a way different from the usual nasal punk singing style; he even attempts high-pitches (at 02:06 and 02:41), which are more reminiscent of heavy metal singing style. It could be said that even though the song's simplistic structure is reminiscent of the punk past of *The Business*, the heavy drum tone, the clean production that emphasizes every instrument (exposing the technical proficiencies), as well as the endorsement of heavy metal components in guitar playing and vocal style, makes "Foreign Girl" a song that borrows elements from both genres, resulting in a musical crossover. However, "Foreign Girl" does not belong to the crossover subgenre of heavy metal and punk music cultures; rather it contains elements from both styles and this affords the song what could be called a crossover character.

Adding to the crossover of punk with heavy metal should be the detail that various members of *The Business* played in heavy metal bands. Vocalist Mickey Fitz, along with Steve Kent, played in a hard rock/heavy metal band called *UK*, issuing the homonymous 12" long play record in 1987 (and issuing a re-edition of *The Business* "Smash the Discos")¹⁴⁸ on *Chain Reaction Records*, a label that issued only three records, all of them heavy metal (*Wolfpack's Chain Reaction* 12" long play record and a compilation 12" long play record *Metal Forces Presents...Demolition – Scream Your Brains Out!*)¹⁴⁹. Guitarist Steven Whale played in the *Heavy Metal Outlaws*, an early 1990s heavy metal band that included vocalist Roi Pearce of Oi/punk band *The Last Resort* and Mark Edwards, guitarist for punk bands such as *Anti-Nowhere League* and *The Rivals* (among others)¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ UK, 1987, *Chain Reaction Records*, CRE 102.

¹⁴⁹ Another interesting fact is that *Chain Reaction* record label was a subsidiary label of *Link Records*, a record label owned by Mark Brennan and focused on punk. Data Retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/label/81491-Link-Records-And-Music-Ltd> accessed on 01/06/2022.

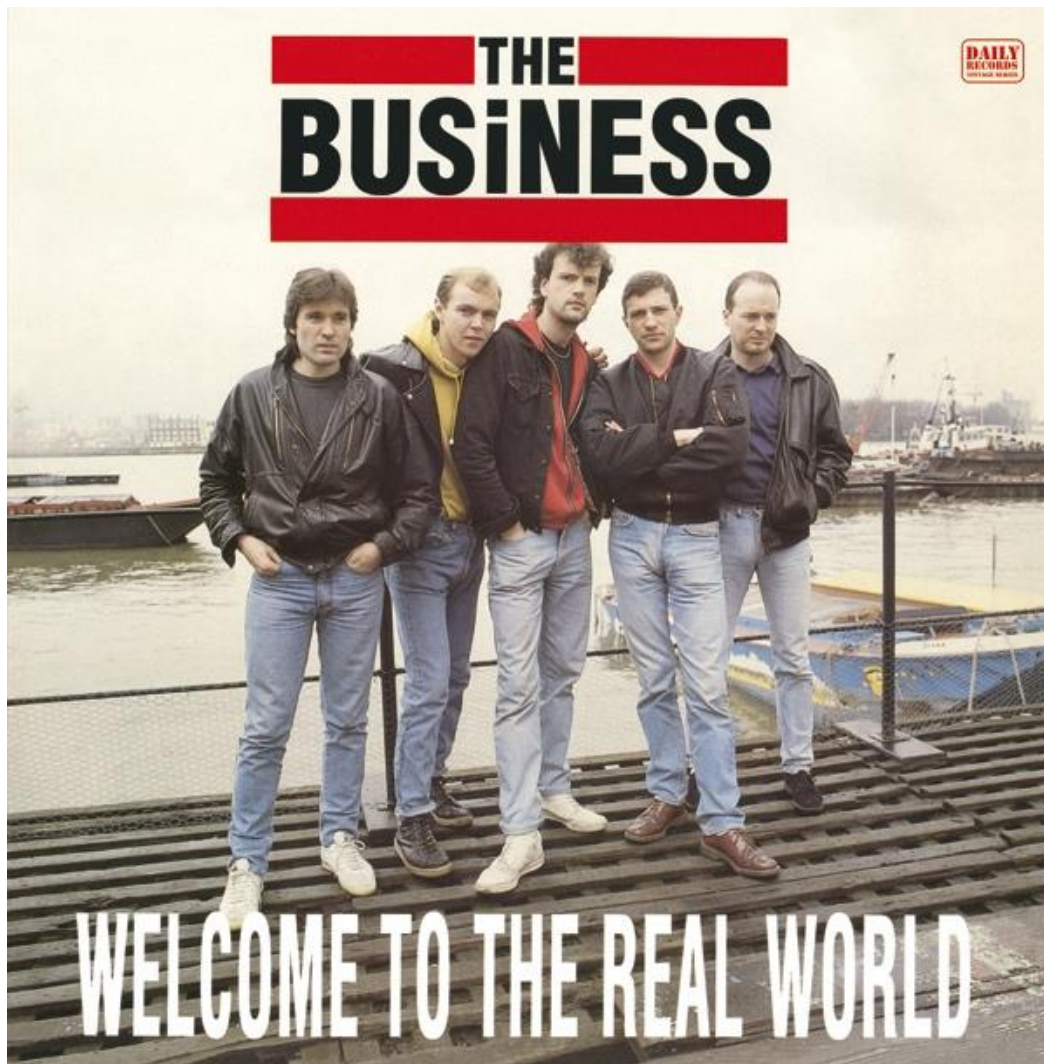
¹⁵⁰ Data Retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/2354566-Heavy-Metal-Outlaws> accessed on 01/06/2021.



(Image 89. Roi Pearce (on the right) in heavy metal dressing style: longhair and sleeveless leather jacket. Taken from Oi! the video part 2. Courtesy of Visionary Communications, 1996¹⁵¹)

In terms of visual style, in 1988 *The Business* went on to present a new approach, that adopted a mix of Oi!/punk with a heavy metal stylistics. As seen in the band photograph below, *The Business* kept the Oi!/punk stylistic choices (in the case of Mickey Fitz, second from the right, wearing flying jacket, having close-cropped hair and Dr. Martens' shoes), but also adopted a heavy metal dress code (in the case of Mark Brennan, third from the right, sporting a mullet as a hairstyle like the first one from the left, with 3/5 of the band members wearing leather jackets). *The Business*, in this 1988 band picture, cannot be categorised as having a clearly oi/punk dressing style or as heavy metal; apparently, they seem to mix the two different dressing styles, thus making a crossover in their appearance.

¹⁵¹ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNx1h-0TiUM> accessed on 01/06/2021.



(Image 90. Record cover of *The Business's* 1988 12" long play record *Welcome to the real world*. Courtesy of Link Records. Link LP 035)

The metatext of the front cover of *Welcome to the real world* partially suggests the music content of the record; the mixed dressing style of the band (Oi!/punk and heavy metal) contributes to the tendential heavy metal musical direction. However, the typography of the band logo remains in the Oi!/punk tradition. The limitations of my analysis here reflect that there are no press reviews available.

Sadly, there are also no video clips available in order to attempt to identify a crossover with heavy metal. No official videos were made during the 1980s and my information has been limited to live appearances by the band. No imagery crossover exists in the case of *The Business*, since all of their 1980s record covers and back covers are totally in the punk tradition, thus having no crossover with heavy metal whatsoever.

7.2.3.2 *Sacrilege's combination of heavy metal and punk*

- *Sacrilege's band historical narration and style*

As with *Onslaught*, *Sacrilege* arose from an anarcho-punk background, eventually to become a heavy metal band in all ways. *Sacrilege* began, however, as a punk/metal¹⁵² band, from Stourbridge, formed in 1984, and throughout their career they explored the musical paths of hardcore punk, thrash metal and doom metal (Glasper, 2009: 34-35), where, in each case, their musical was combined with visual, lyrics and imagery changes.

On December 27 1984, *The Times* (no 62021) included an article about the Hunt Retribution Squad and their statement that was delivered to the Press Association, exposing the strained climate that existed between pro- and anti-fox hunters. The Hunt Retribution Squad declared that they were ready, after the desecration of the tenth Duke of Beaufort's grave, to take more action against people that took part in fox hunting. They presented their 'hit list' of top people (among them the Royal Family and the Leader of the House of Lords) and warned that they were ready to take violent actions in order to have fox hunting banned in the UK. The fact that the Hunt Retribution Squad was pro-violence, dismissed the peaceful protests of the Hunt Saboteurs Association and threatened everyone involved with fox hunting ("targets will include all filth involved with blood sports") – as well as were prepared to dig up the grave of the tenth Duke of Beaufort on the morning of the Beaufort's Hunt's Boxing Day meet – caused strong reactions on the side of the pro-fox hunters. They gathered in Beaufort for the Boxing Day meet to express their fury. The 11th Duke of Beaufort declared their actions to be "disgusting and sick" and the Master of the Hunt, Major Gerald Gundry, went even further, calling the members of the Hunt Retribution Squad "diabolical". The appearance of this story on the front page of *The Times* indicated its significance, and even though heavy metal bands'

¹⁵² As *Sacrilege* state in their official Facebook page, their sound is a mix of punk and heavy metal ("Sacrilege is a female-fronted, originally Hardcore Punk, later Thrash Metal/Doom Metal band from the Midlands region of England"). Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/sacrilegeofficial/> accessed on 02/06/2021

lyric style were usually far from based on socio-political commentary, *Sacrilege* dealt with the issue in the lyrics for their 1984 song “Blood Run.”¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Taken from the 1985 cassette Demo II, later re-issued in the *Time to face the reaper* double Compact Disc compilation (2009). Data Retrieved from <http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Sacrilege/3145> accessed on 03/06/2019

THE ARAB TIMES Tomorrow

Boy's eye view of Christmas Day at the life of Adam Smith

Drama in the dais
The Yorkshire scene to rival Dublin and Dynasty
Screen image of the year in 1983 reflects the true nature of the industry?
Could try harder
Philip Howard gives an end-of-year report on Britain's politicians

Portfolio

The £2,600 Times Portfolio price on Christmas Eve was shared between two readers, Mr Robert Langdon, of Kingston upon Thames, Surrey, and Mr Brian Conliffe, of Great Gable, Lancashire. The share price was £2,600 to be in today's paper and to be in the back page information section today (p. 67).

Militant rabbi fails in mission

Rabbi Moshe Feinstein, the leading Orthodox rabbi, failed in his mission to persuade the British Government to allow the entry of the Soviet Union's Jewish community to the United Kingdom. The rabbi, who is 85, was in London for a week, but his mission was unsuccessful. He was accompanied by his son, Rabbi Shimon Feinstein, and his daughter, Mrs. Feinstein.

Men detained

Three men were being detained by the Metropolitan Police last night under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The men were being held on suspicion of being involved in a terrorist plot. The police said that the men were being held for a period of 14 days.

Soviet offer

The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, has offered to meet with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Margaret Thatcher, to discuss the situation in the Falkland Islands. The offer was made in a letter to Mr. Thatcher, which was received in London today.

Scargill warning

Mr. Arthur Scargill, leader of the National Union of Maritime and Transport Workers, has warned that the Government is in a dangerous position. He said that the Government is trying to force through a new law which would give it the right to interfere in the affairs of the union.

Spanish pardon

King Juan Carlos has granted a pardon to the former officers of the Spanish army who were involved in the 1981 coup attempt. The pardon was granted to 15 officers, who were sentenced to prison for their role in the coup.

United Stumble

Manchester United lost their chance to gain the title of the First Division champions when they were beaten by the Arsenal club, Stoke City, in the final match of the season.

Hostages in Libya may be freed early next month

By Robin Young

Prisoners, a telephone engineer, a British doctor, and a British nurse, are expected to be released in the next few days, according to a source in the Libyan capital, Tripoli. The source said that the British Government had agreed to release the prisoners in exchange for the release of the British doctor and nurse. The source also said that the British Government had agreed to release the prisoners in exchange for the release of the British doctor and nurse.

The British Government has agreed to release the prisoners in exchange for the release of the British doctor and nurse. The source said that the British Government had agreed to release the prisoners in exchange for the release of the British doctor and nurse.

Politician's murder mars Indian poll

From Michael Handley, Delhi

Counting began tomorrow, and it is expected there will be a close contest. The murder of a prominent politician, Mr. Indira Gandhi, has marred the Indian general election. The murder took place in the Indian capital, New Delhi, on December 24. The victim was a member of the Indian National Congress party.

Extradited man plans 'life' appeal

Dominic McGinchesy, an Irish nationalist, has been extradited to the United Kingdom. He is facing charges of murder and is planning to appeal his conviction. McGinchesy was arrested in London on December 24.

Four Pakistanis killed in Afghan air raid

Four Pakistanis were killed in an air raid by the Afghan Air Force. The raid took place in the Pakistani city of Kandahar. The victims were members of the Pakistani military.

Hunt protesters say they violated Duke's grave

Protesters who gathered in the streets of London to protest against the death of a young man, have been accused of violating the grave of a Duke. The protesters were accused of using the Duke's grave as a place of worship.



Close call for champion

John Fransson, the champion boxer, has been in a close call. He was injured in a fight with a challenger. The fight took place in London on December 24.

Thatcher stays firm over Falklands

The Prime Minister, Mr. Margaret Thatcher, has stayed firm in her policy on the Falkland Islands. She has refused to negotiate with the Argentine Government over the islands. Thatcher said that the United Kingdom has a strong case for the islands, and that she will not give up the islands without a fight.

Emirates threaten oil price war

The United Arab Emirates have threatened to start an oil price war. They have said that they will increase the price of oil if the other oil-producing countries do not follow suit. The Emirates are one of the largest oil-producing countries in the world.

Thatcher degree opposed

The proposal to award a degree to Mr. Margaret Thatcher has been opposed by many people. They say that it is inappropriate to award a degree to a politician. The proposal was made by the University of London.

Can you be happy this Christmas knowing he isn't?

For millions of children Christmas is something to look forward to. But for many children, Christmas is a time of sadness. They are missing their parents, who have died. The children are wondering if they can be happy this Christmas knowing that their parents are not with them.

PM's pay rise 'will be only 5 per cent'

By Our Political Correspondent

The Prime Minister has decided to take a pay rise of only 5 per cent from the start of the new year. This is a significant decision, as it shows that the Prime Minister is not taking a large pay rise. The Prime Minister's pay is set by the Prime Minister's Pay Review Body.

Hunt for bombers moves to Florence

The hunt for the bombers who attacked the Italian city of Florence has moved to the city. The police are looking for the bombers who attacked the city on December 24. The attack killed 15 people and injured many others.

Close call for champion

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The Children's Society

The Children's Society is a charity that helps children in need. It provides financial support, counselling, and other services to children and their families. The Society has been helping children in need for over 100 years.

(Image 91. The Times' front page, December 27 1984. Courtesy of The Times)

"Blood Run" is in the lyrics tradition of punk music culture's social commentary, focussing on the actions and reactions of the participants in a foxhunt. Sacrilege describe the

landscape in which the fox hunt takes place (“Over hill and dale”), the futile attempts of the fox to escape, as well as the fear reflected in its eyes (“The quarry runs but to no avail/eyes wide open staring full of fright”), while the landscape creates an antithesis to the action taking place there (“Serene countryside host to a bloody fright”). Sacrilege also point out the antithesis between the feelings of the fox and the hunters (“Fox in fright/huntsmen laughing with sick delight”), the change of landscape (“The green of grass has bow turned blood red”) where “green” symbolises plant life in this case and “red” symbolises the colour of blood and murder (Hui-Chih Yu, 2014: 57-58). The literary device of onomatopoeia is used to express the sound of the dogs (“howling”). The narrator’s point of view is third-person omniscient, since Sacrilege depicts their perception of the thoughts of each character. The literary conflict that arises from Sacrilege’s song is the one of “person versus nature” (hunters against foxes).

“Blood Run” illustrates the relationship between a lyric and the social conditions of a specific era, specifically in the tradition of “folk realism”. However, the authenticity of the song is questionable, by Harker’s definition; there is no data available about the class origin of the artists. But Sacrilege’s focus on social commentary in this song was not unique, since most of its members had played in other bands dealing with socio-political issues¹⁵⁴.

According to Lynda “Tam” Simpson, Sacrilege’s vocalist, the lyric interests of the band were not usually overtly political (“There are ideals in the lyrics but we do not thrust politics to the fore in *Sacrilege*”) (interview for *Metal Forces* by Mike Exley 1986, no 18: 26).

An interesting element to add to the question of the authenticity of the lyrics style of “Blood Run” is that during this moment *Sacrilege* played benefit gigs for the Hunt Saboteurs Association, such as the one in the gig flyer below, along with UK crust/punks Concrete Sox¹⁵⁵, in Nottingham, 17 March 1985.

¹⁵⁴ The bands will be discussed later, and include both heavy metal and punk.

¹⁵⁵ It is important to mention that *Concrete Sox* had also an anti-fox hunting song (“Eminent Scum”, from their 1986 12” inch long-play record *Your Turn Next!*), that referred to the injustice of the judicial system against hunt protesters. “A hunt stabbers skull is split, his head is torn apart, the bastard who did it, got 6 months for his part [...] The scum Lord Beaufort’s grave, is raided at night, the comrades who did it, got much more for their plight”.



(Image 92. Flyer of benefit gig for Hunt Saboteurs Association, Nottingham, 17 March 1985. Courtesy of Sacrilege. Retrieved from Sacrilege's official website)

- *The issue of authenticity of Sacrilege, regarding their musical crossover; the reviewers opinion*

This issue of authenticity here has many more aspects. *Sacrilege* later incorporated a total (musical, lyrics, visual, imagery) heavy metal music culture direction. Their authenticity is questionable (from my point of view), if I take into account the fact that they signed to *Under One Flag* records (subsidiary of a medium-sized label, *Music for Nations*), and that they also criticized their previous punk small label *Children of Revolution* records (interview by Mike Exley for *Metal Forces* magazine: #18, 1986: 26). *Sacrilege* also mention here that they “got little distribution or promotion with *C.O.R* so we’d obviously like the new album more widely available [...] *C.O.R*. was definitely good to us but unfortunately it lacks financial backing and we want to make sure as many people can get our stuff as want it,” stressing that their choice to move to a bigger label was commercially driven, in order to reach as many audiences as they could. They also mention that their fan base was comprised of both punks and heavy metal groups, but they wanted to expand even more in the heavy metal territory, since they’d “noticed an increase in metal people in the letters we receive, especially from abroad. Obviously, we want to expand further”.

In addition, consider the vocal performance of Lynda “Tam” Simpson on the subsequent, more (even exclusively) heavy metal music styled records. Long gone is the frenzied, hysterical vocal style of *Behind the realms of madness*, to be replaced by a more mellow and more commercial vocal style. The same applies to the musical direction of *Sacrilege*. Punk journalists did not criticize this musical shift, nor did they consider the band to be “poseurs”. This may be due to the fact that *Sacrilege* had a shift towards heavy metal subculture and did obviously attempt to commercialize their music, but their new style could not be regarded per se as commercial. This is evident in the choice the band made to reject a contract with UK label *Heavy Metal Records* in 1986, as the label wanted them to become a “lite metal band like *Doro*, very much in vogue at the time, but *Sacrilege* refused, as they wanted to follow their own musical path whether it was going down well or not” (Glasper, 2009: 36). It would therefore be rather harsh to regard *Sacrilege* as inauthentic; they were fans of both punk and heavy metal music styles from their very beginnings, their shift to heavy metal was more experimental (in the authentic definition of rock ‘artistic experimentation’) rather than commercially driven and even though they wanted to approach a bigger audience

they did not have an aspiration to become a totally commercial band. Therefore, from my point of view, *Sacrilege*'s crossover is rather authentic than inauthentic.

The music crossover of *Sacrilege* from punk genre to an experimental (and unpopular) form of heavy metal musically, is significant because it represents both the artistic tendencies of the band (that could not be fulfilled by playing punk) as well as their commercial tendencies, of expanding to a new audience. However, another important issue of *Sacrilege*'s crossover is that they took the pro-feminine approach of punk subculture and continued on having it into the male-dominated world of heavy metal subculture, where there was only little room left for female artists.

- *A discussion of Sacrilege's punk/metal crossover; the case of "Blood Run", and reviewers' opinion on Behind the realms of madness LP*

In musical terms, "Blood Run" cannot be categorised only as heavy metal or punk genre; the musical approach followed is a mixture of both styles and this is evident in the analysis that follows. "Blood Run" lasts for over 3 minutes (03:29), a song length more in the heavy metal tradition. The song begins with a fast and simple guitar power chord that changes to a more technically proficient power chord at 00:25. This guitar power chord is played repeatedly in the song verse, only to return to the introductory power chord at 01:00. This guitar playing style is repeated three times until the end of the song (with only a minor change at 02:15-02:20). There is no guitar solo in the song, following the punk tradition, but the guitar sound is in a low-key, in accordance with heavy metal. The drum tempo is very fast, but it is very basic, only with minor changes, and exhibits no technical proficiency. The bass guitar sound is low-key (in the heavy metal tradition) but it is barely audible, only accompanying the frenetic drum tempo. Lynda "Tam" Simpson's vocal style is high-pitched, reminiscent of other female punk vocalists' styles (e.g., Beki Bondage of *Vice Squad*), which could symbolise agitation, which is evident in punk generally (Machin, 2010: 100). Another interesting fact is that "Blood Run" doesn't have a chorus; it only has three verses, something unusual in both heavy metal and punk traditions. The production of "Blood Run" was oriented to expose a "heavier" sound (in the heavy metal tradition) and didn't favour the audibility of separate instruments that could exhibit each band members' proficiency. "Blood Run" contains both heavy metal musical components: power chord guitar playing, low-key guitar sound, low-key bass guitar sound as well as punk – fast minimalistic drumming style, high-pitched and simplistic vocal style, lack of guitar solos.

In terms of music ekphrasis, “Blood run” creates a music landscape equivalent to a chaotic environment. It sounds powerful but messy at the same time, like a boisterous protest, demonstrating a strong message, but at the same time expresses its despair at the fox hunt. This protest song sounds like it is out of control, ending up in conflict.

Both *Sacrilege* and reviewers of the time (1984-1986) adopted the opinion that the band’s sound was a mixture of punk and heavy metal music genres. Tim Yohannan, *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* reviewer, described *Sacrilege*’s 1985 12” extended play record *Behind the realms of madness*¹⁵⁶ as a 50/50 portion mix of thrash/metal¹⁵⁷ and slower heavy metal songs, wondering if heavy metal fans would like this long play record, due to the political commentary in its lyrics, as well as the female vocals of Lynda “Tam” Simpson¹⁵⁸:

“Will the head bangers like this? Musically, it’s that old thrash/metal half the time, and slower-paced metal at others. In terms of lyrics it’s not ‘satanic’ at all, and instead covers political topics in a manner more complex than, say, *Discharge*. I guess the main problem for the metal heads will be the female singer (best part of the record). Can they handle it?” (Yohannan, *Maximum Rock n roll* #30, November 1985)

Bernard Doe, reviewer for the UK magazine *Metal Forces* (#14, 1985: 22), adopts Yohannan’s scepticism about whether heavy metal fans would accept the female vocals of Lynda “Tam” Simpson (though he mentions that the issue was not the vocalist’s genre, but rather the musical approach). He also states that *Sacrilege* is a band that crossed over to heavy metal from punk, having components from both music genres:

“From the same label that brought us the excellent *Onslaught*, come *Sacrilege* featuring 3 ex-members of the punk band Varukers, and another punk band gone metal [...] The blatant punk vocals from female vocalist Tam may restrict the bands popularity on the metal scene and they could also do an improvement in the guitar soloing department to compliment the strong riffing” (Doe, *Metal Forces* #14, 1985: 22)

¹⁵⁶ *Behind the realms of madness*, 12” extended play record, *Children of Revolution Records*, GURT 4.

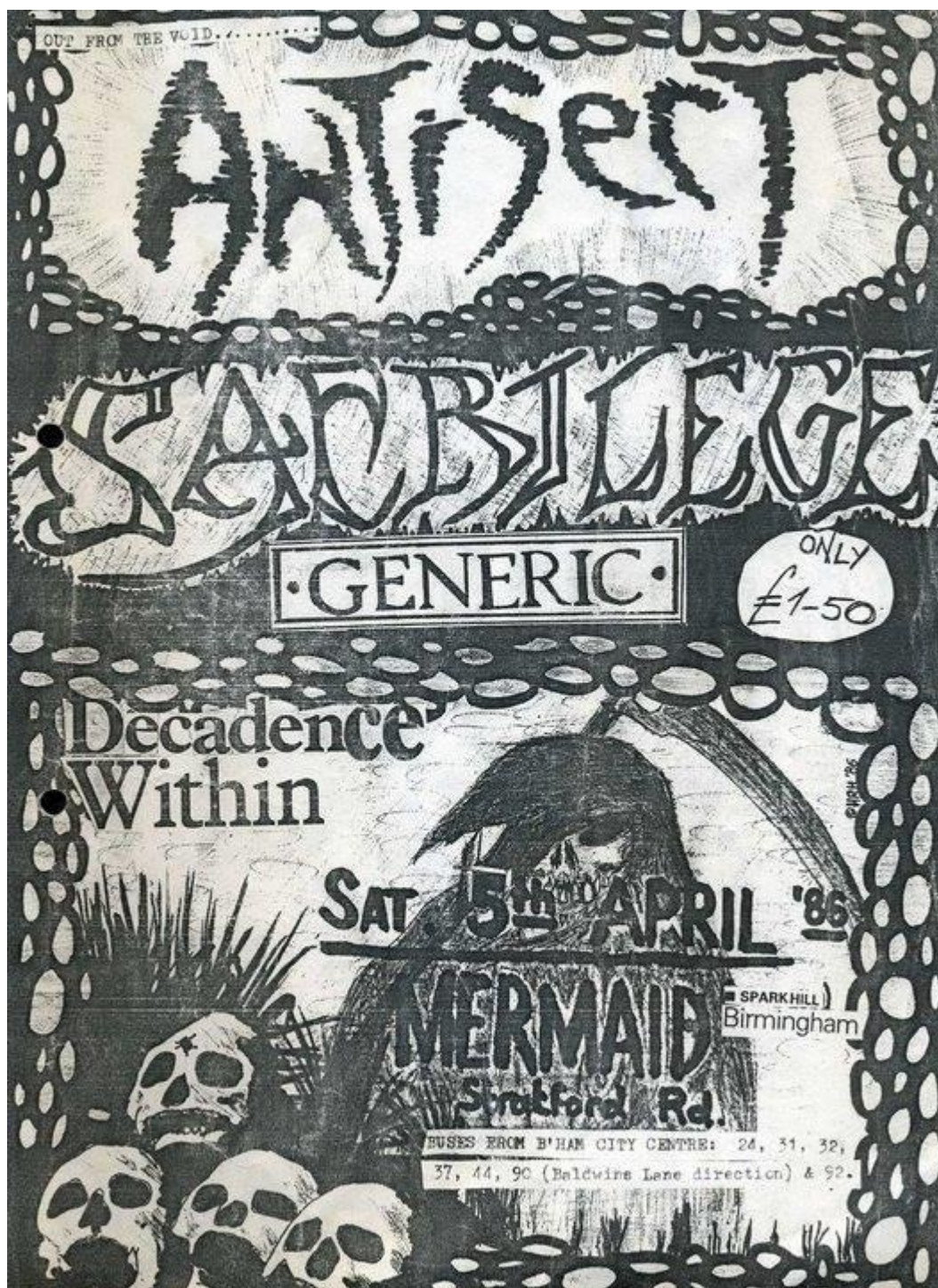
¹⁵⁷ *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* reviewers used the word “thrash” in order to describe musically a specific category of punk (“thrash punk: Ultra-fast 2- or 3-chord rock with screamed vocals, often with political themes”), not using it the way heavy metal magazines later adopted the term “thrash metal”. The definition of thrash punk was given in the first issue of the magazine, *Maximum Rock n Roll* #001, 1982, in a column named “MRR Reviews Introduction”, written by Jeff Bale.

¹⁵⁸ Yohannan raised the issue of female vocals due to the fact that there were “barriers confronting women in heavy metal [...] the bias against women is rooted in the delineated meanings of heavy metal music, a misogyny that derives from the issue of masculinity” (Weinstein; 1991: 67).

The metatext here is highly representative of the music content of the *Behind the Realms of Madness 12*” extended play record. Both reviewers give the reader the impression that the music content is a mix of punk and heavy metal, both stress the fact that the female vocals of Lynda “Tam” Simpson might be an obstacle for the fans of heavy metal.

The evidence that *Sacrilege* is a band that had both heavy metal and punk musical components includes scene reports, as well as *Sacrilege*’s own opinion about the appeal of their music. In the UK report scene for *Maximum Rock n Roll* (#24, April 1985), Digby Pearson described *Sacrilege* as the “most notable newcomers I’ve heard lately [...] the music is fast *Discharge*, *Metallica*, *Slayer* style with political lyrics”, presenting the punk components in music (*Discharge* style) and heavy metal (*Slayer*, *Metallica*) as well as the punk lyric interests of the band. Finally, Lynda “Tam” Simpson, while interviewed for *Metal Forces* (#18, 1986: 26), stated that heavy metal fans as well as punk fans attend *Sacrilege* live appearances, with the heavy metal fan base expanding (“We have always had a mixture of punks and metalheads at our gigs [...] but we have noticed an increase in metal people in the letters we receive, especially from abroad”). The musical preferences of the band members ranged widely (“We listen to old *Black Sabbath* [...] Andy likes *Ozzy Osbourne* and Mitch is more in the hardcore/punk stuff”), thus indicating the variety of their musical preferences that included heavy metal and punk at the same time.

The musical crossover of *Sacrilege* is also apparent in the fact that they appeared in gig billings with both punk and heavy metal bands throughout the first five years of the band (1984-1989). In the gig flyer below, *Sacrilege* appeared on a Saturday 5th April 1986 gig at Birmingham’s Mermaid Club, on the same billing with *Anti-Sect* (UK anarcho-punk band), *Generic* (UK hardcore/punk band) and *Decadence Within* (UK hardcore/punk band). Furthermore, I interviewed guitarist (and founding member) Damian Thompson and stated that “*Sacrilege* were originally influenced by a mix of bands, on the punk side *Discharge*, *Antisect*, *Crass*, *Rudimentari Peni*, and on the metal side it was *Venom*, *Slayer*, *Bathory*, *Metallica*, *Trouble* and *Motorhead*...I think that a lot of punk stuff was starting to sound a little boring and 'preachy' around the early/mid 1980's. The new metal stuff that was starting to appear offered an alternative of sorts, all the energy of the best punk bands but with far better musicianship and better arrangements/production”.



(Image 93. Flyer of Saturday's 5th April 1986 gig at Mermaid Club, Birmingham with Antisect, Sacrilege, Generic and Decadence Within. Courtesy of Sacrilege. Retrieved from official Sacrilege website)

- *The visual and imagery crossover of Sacrilege with heavy metal; the use of Grim Reaper*

Even though there are no flyers or posters evidencing the live appearances of *Sacrilege* with heavy metal bands, Ian Glasper (2009: 39) mentions the *Sacrilege* gigs with UK heavy metal band *Girlschool* (at the London Astoria, December 1987) and with UK thrash metal band *Sabbat* (at Nottingham Rock City, April 1988), thus indicating more of the crossover appeal that *Sacrilege* had.

In visual terms, *Sacrilege* adopted both punk and heavy metal stylistics as a mix of those styles, an approach that the band went on to adopt, dropping the strict punk visual appearance. The first photograph below is a band photo of *Sacrilege* from 1984, where the first line-up of the band is shown. Analysing the stylistic choices of the band in that era, it could be said that these could be classified as punk (and most specifically, anarcho-punk). As mentioned in a previous chapter, anarcho-punk bands like *Crass* adopted the “full black” approach, reminiscent of a uniform. *Sacrilege* here are all dressed in black, while vocalist Lynda “Tam” Simpson has spiky bleached hair (in the punk tradition) and the haircut style of the other two members is more reminiscent of punk’s irregular haircuts. Accordingly, I conclude that the band here is dressed in the punk tradition, and show no hints of heavy metal dressing style.



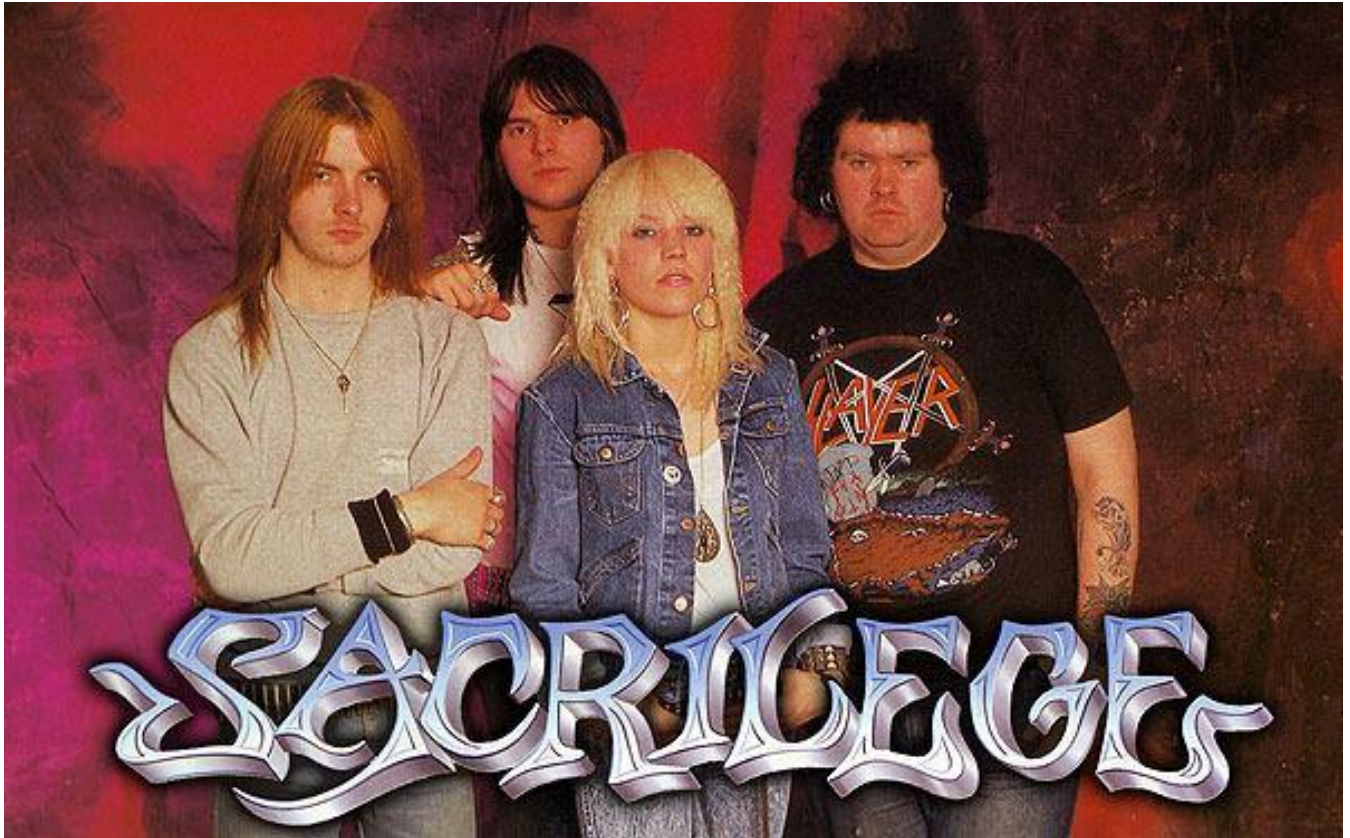
(Image 94. *Sacrilege's* first line-up band picture, 1984. Courtesy of *Sacrilege*. Retrieved from *Sacrilege* official website)

In the following band picture from a *Sacrilege* gig at Adam and Eve's, a club in Leeds in 1986, the band appears to adopt both punk and heavy metal stylistic dressing approaches. The vocalist Lynda "Tam" Simpson has spiky hair that is partly bleached and partly coloured red (a punk approach), but also wears a bullet-belt (heavy metal stylistic component). Next to Simpson, the first guitar player is dressed in the anarcho-punk fashion of "full black approach", with bleached hair (in the punk tradition). The second from right guitar player wears a sleeveless denim jacket, a bullet-belt, and has a "mullet" hairstyle (heavy metal stylistic choices), but he also wears a T-shirt with an image of punk band's Discharge *Never again* cover. Finally, *Sacrilege's* drummer Andy Baker here wears a heavy metal T-shirt of the UK heavy metal band *Ozzy Osbourne*.



(Image 95. Sacrilege band picture collage from gig at Adam & Eves, Leeds 05/03/1986. Retrieved from official Sacrilege website. Courtesy of Sacrilege)

In the final picture below depicting the band in 1987 the total heavy metal visual transformation of the band is apparent. This latter transformation of the band could be regarded as an attempt to commercialise the appeal of the group. All of the earlier aggression has been replaced by ordinary clothes and looks, and Lynda “Tam” Simpson is dressed in a more “pop star” outfit than ever before. She no longer has spiky or coloured hair and is dressed in denim. All the other members chose long hair as a style (sporting fringes in the heavy metal tradition) and the drummer of the band wears a T-shirt celebrating the heavy metal band *Slayer*. Along with this visual transformation came the change in imagery that I will analyse later.



(Image 96. 1987 Sacrilege band picture. Retrieved from official Sacrilege website. Courtesy of Sacrilege)

The metatext of this picture (used by *Under One Flag* records in order to promote the 1989 12" long play record *Turn back Trilobite*) represents exactly the shift in the musical direction of *Sacrilege* from punk to heavy metal. First of all, the dressing style of all band members is in line with the tradition of heavy metal, with Andy Baker (drummer, first from the right) wearing a t-shirt with the logo of US thrash metal band *Slayer*. The typography of the band's logo is in the heavy metal stylistic tradition, colourful and with angles. The gaze of the band's members reveals a sense of seriousness and the setting of this picture might have been a professional photographic studio with background dominant colours red and black (two of heavy metal's most dominant colours). Therefore, this promotional picture reveals the music status of the band in this specific (*Turn back trilobite*) record that is undoubtedly heavy metal.

In terms of imagery, Sacrilege on the cover of their first long-play record *Behind the realms of madness* followed an approach that could be described as an effort that included both heavy metal and punk band stylistic components, with a record cover drawn by Dave Green¹⁵⁹. In *Behind the realms of madness* the band used the black and white approach of punk, and the

¹⁵⁹ Retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Sacrilege/Behind_the_Realms_of_Madness/8108 accessed on 28/05/2021.

band logo is crafted with ransom-note lettering, in the punk tradition (Jones and Sorger, 1999: 68), creating a metatext that the musical content of this record could either belong to punk or heavy metal, or to both on the same time. However, the use of crosses, as well as the Grim Reaper, fits in with heavy metal imagery. Following the procedures of Panofsky's iconographic approach, I will analyse the cover of *Behind the realms of madness*. Here the Grim Reaper depicted on the cover is a personification of Death. The Grim Reaper's personification as a death dealer derives from a poem by Longfellow (1838; in Card and Wilson, 2009: 89) called "The reaper and the flowers", where Longfellow describes the persona of a Reaper holding a sickle and taking action. An interesting fact is that, in religious terms, the picture of the Grim Reaper appears in a carving on St. Andrew's Church in Barningham, UK, dating from 1640, depicting Death and reminding the believers that they are mortal and that death makes no exceptions ("Remember death, for ye must dye").

In the case here the Grim Reaper arises from a chaotic landscape, while the whole picture seems to be "framed" by a rectangle that includes three images of skulls on the left, on the right, and on top. The Grim Reaper appears to represent a malevolent symbol, judging by his aggressive posture and the grim expression on his face, while in the bottom right three crosses (about to collapse/or break) are depicted. The cross, seen as a symbol in Christianity, symbolizes (among other things) redemption (Hodgson, 1944). However, judging by *Sacrilege's* cover, the interpretation that could be given is that *Sacrilege* believes that there is no redemption after death. This is evident in the fact that the Grim Reaper takes the life of the three people that were crucified, and one can make a connotation with the three grim skull images; *Sacrilege's* record cover demonstrates the action of the Grim Reaper and the condition of his victims before (crucified) and after (skulls). The fact that could lead to the assumption that *Sacrilege* don't believe in after death atonement derives from the depiction of the skulls as grim, menacing and sinister figures.

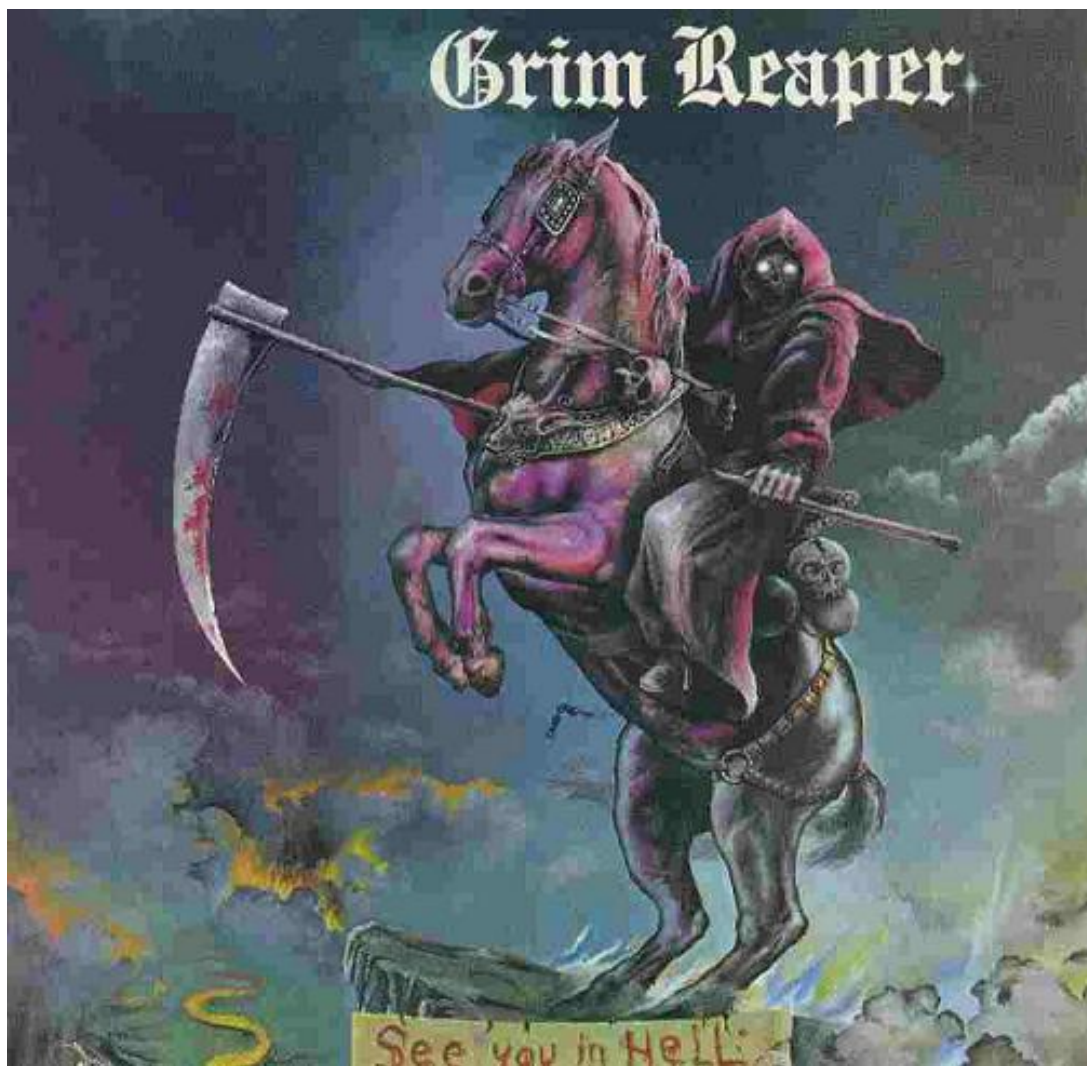


(Image 97. Sacrilege record cover for their 1985 long-play record Behind the realms of madness Courtesy of COR Records. GURT 4)

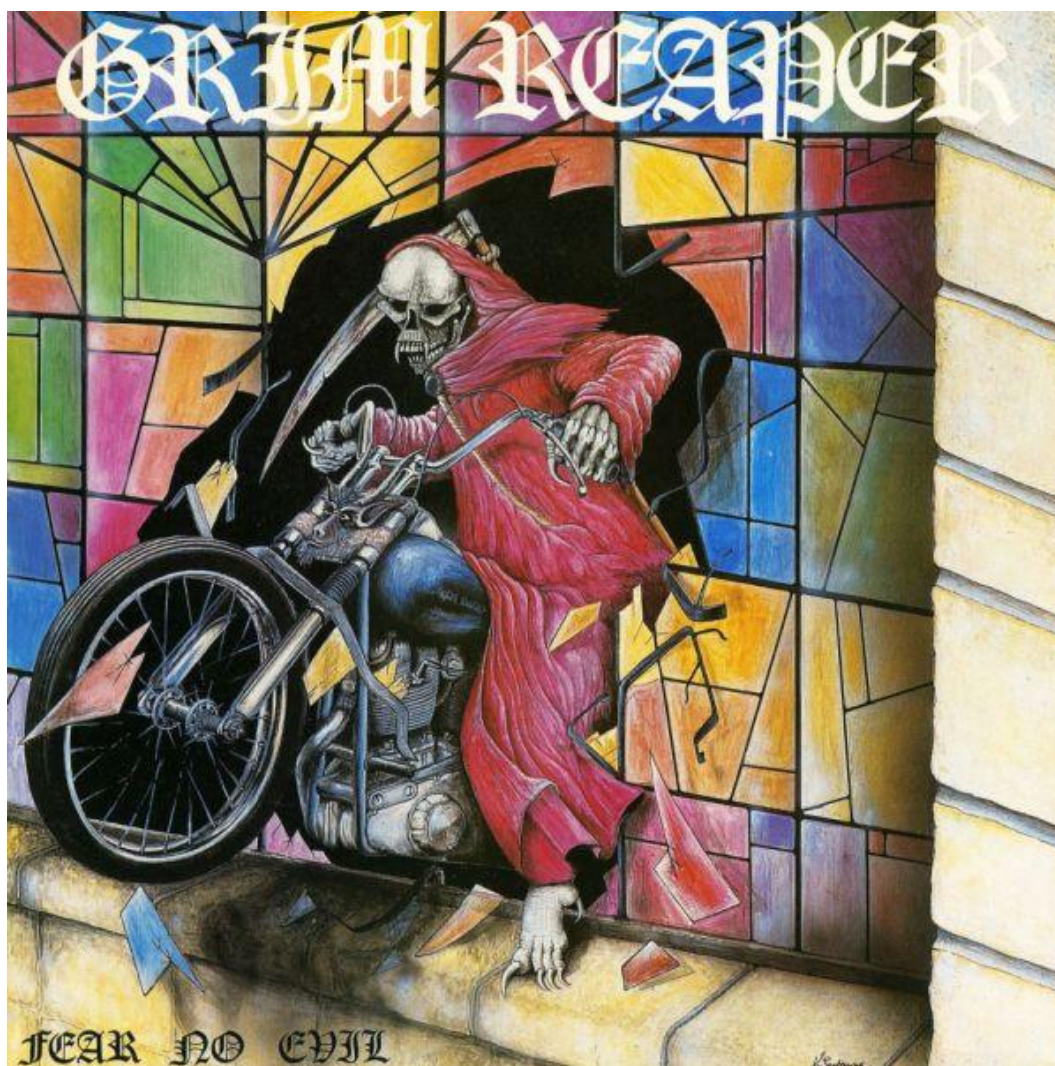


(Image 98. *Grim Reaper carving at St. Andrew's Church in Barningham, UK. Courtesy of English Heritage/Heritage Images/Getty Images. Retrieved from <http://www.gettyimages.ie/license/464414051>*)

The image of the Grim Reaper, as mentioned, is an integral component of heavy metal. This is evident in the period I am concerned with, and manifest especially in a UK heavy metal band actually called *Grim Reaper*, whose record covers are presented below.



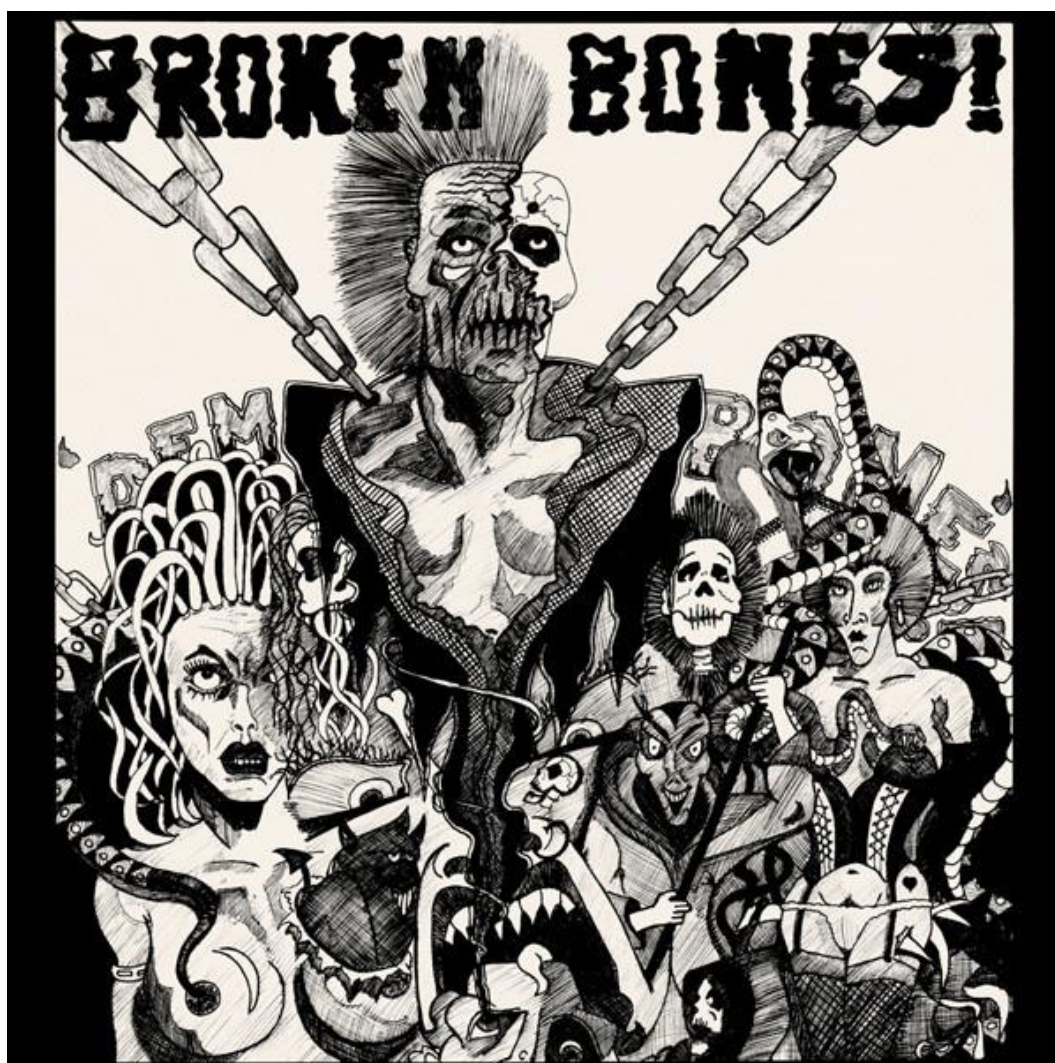
(Image 99. Grim Reaper's (the band) cover of 1983 12-inch-long play record See you in Hell. Courtesy of Ebony Records, EBON 16)



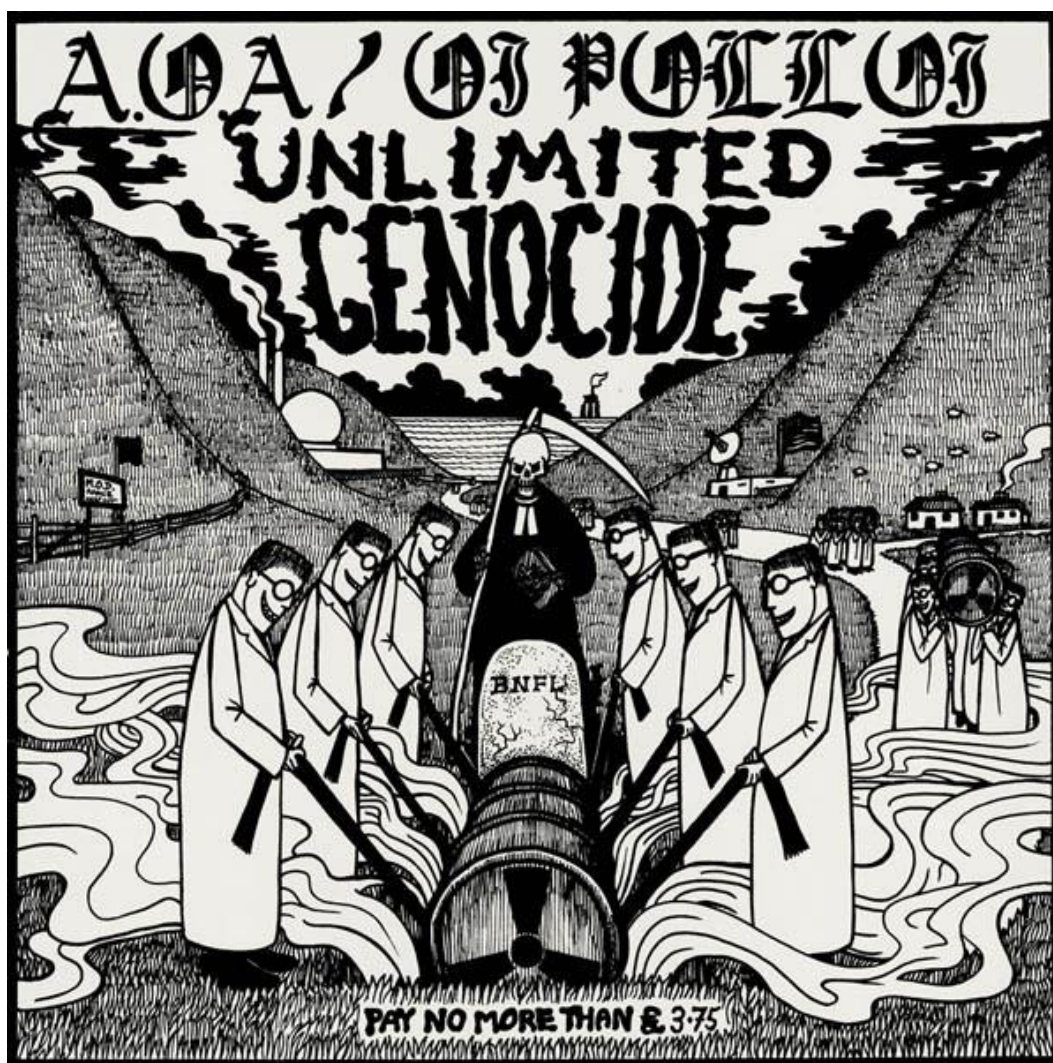
(Image 100. Grim Reaper's (the band) cover of 1985 12" long play record *Fear no Evil*. Courtesy of Ebony Records, EBON 32)

The black and white approach is reminiscent, as I've mentioned, of the UK82 punk and anarcho-punk band stylistic approach in record covers of that era. Typical records and sub-genres of that moment expressing this stylistic angle include the 1984 cover of UK82 punk band *Broken Bones*' *Dem Bones* and the 1986 anarcho-punk band's split long play record cover for AOA/Oi Polloi named as *Unlimited Genocide*. The resemblance in the AOA/Oi Polloi cover is not limited to the "black and white" approach, but extends to the fact that the (unknown) artist of the cover also included a figure of the Grim Reaper among others¹⁶⁰.

¹⁶⁰ Also, the AOA/Oi Polloi split 12" long play record was issued by the same label as *Behind the realms of madness*, Children Of Revolution records.



(Image 101. Broken Bones 1984 cover of 12-inch-long play record Dem Bones. Courtesy of Fallout Records. FALL 28)



(Image 102. AOA/Oi Polloi record cover of *Unlimited Genocide* split-long play record, 1986. Courtesy of Children Of Revolution Records. GURT 12)

In subsequent years, *Sacrilege* adopted an all-out heavy metal stylistic imagery approach, offering a much different perspective to their past imagery approach. This is evident on the cover of their 1989 12" long play *Turn back trilobite*. The cover's artwork, created by Angus McKie¹⁶¹, is in line with the heavy metal visual tradition, as delineated by Weinstein (1991: 29). The dominant colours are red and black (the colours most used in heavy metal), and the cover depicts science fiction imagery. The band's logo is written in a different typeface from that in the past, presenting angularity and thickness, and is coloured in blue and silver – a typography and lettering style highly typical in heavy metal.

¹⁶¹ Retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Sacrilege/Turn_Back_Trilobite/8109 Accessed on 07/06/2021.



(Image 103. Sacrilege record cover of 1989 12-inch-long play record Turn back trilobite. Courtesy of Under One Flag records. FLAG 29)

- *The holistic musical heavy metal approach of Sacrilege in 1989; the case of “Silent Dark”*

Adding to Sacrilege’s visual crossover to heavy metal in 1989 is their musical and lyrics style that fits into the heavy metal music culture. As for the musical direction, all songs last more than 05:00 minutes, thus being firmly in the tradition of heavy metal. In the musical analysis of the song “Silent Dark” that follows, all components of heavy metal are included. “Silent Dark” runs for over 8 minutes (08:05), a song length more typical of heavy metal. The

production (arranged by the guitar player of the band, Damian Thompson and Paul Scarlet, at Rich Bitch Studios Birmingham), insists on the technical virtuosity of the band, exposing each instrument vividly. All instruments are discernible, and the instruments' sound is low-pitched, thus producing a "heavier" noise, in the tradition of heavy metal. The song starts with a complex guitar power chord introduction that is repeated until 0:35. Another guitar power chord playing, accompanied by lead guitar playing that is reminiscent of Oriental music scales follows, with interchanges in power chords, exposing technical proficiency, until 1:43. Then, a power chord guitar takes place, and on this the song is built. Throughout the song, many alternations in power chord guitar playing take place, and at 4:47 (until 5:25) the first lead guitar solo takes occurs, exhibiting the technical abilities of the guitarist. The second lead guitar solo takes place at 7:20 and lasts 10 seconds, using the technique of "tapping"¹⁶² that became widely promoted by heavy metal guitar players in the 1980s. The song ends with an acoustic guitar playing (7:43-8:05). The drums in the song follow interchanges of a range of fast and slow tempos, and various sonic effects are employed, adding to the technical proficiency of the drummer. The bass guitar playing accompanies the rhythm of the drums, exhibiting high technical ability, and its tune is low-pitched. Finally, the singing style of Lynda "Tam" Simpson isn't reminiscent of the band's earlier career. Her tone of voice mutates, exposing a wider range of emotions, and her singing includes whispers (4:04), high-pitched screams (2:28), as well as melodic singing, displaying a spectrum of different vocal styles. "Silent Dark" fits in the tradition of heavy metal exclusively in terms of musical approach.

However, the song's lyric style could fit into both heavy metal and punk styles. "Silent Dark" describes the feelings of a prisoner who has regretted his crime. The point-of-view as a literary device is in first person ("I"), metaphoric comparisons are used in order to emphasize the prisoner's difficult situation ("I touched the cold black dark/so now I seek the sun") and the protagonist presents his alienation along with the other prisoners ("Standing alone, in this a crowded room/Amongst the crowd, I'm alone with me"). The issue of alienation had been a punk lyric issue, but also a heavy metal element, derived from feelings of sadness and weakness, and has ended up belonging in the chaotic lyric category of heavy metal.

Both UK punk and heavy metal bands of that era dealt with the issue of the state of mind and feelings of a prisoner. UK heavy metal band *Iron Maiden* wrote "The Prisoner" in

¹⁶² Tapping is a string-bending technique that, in the case of heavy metal, was considered the most significant musical innovation since Jimmy Hendrix playing style (Walser, 1992: 246).

1982 where they presented, in first-person, the feelings of a prisoner (“Feeling dead on my feet/not a prisoner, I’m a free man”), while Oi!/punk band *Cockney Rejects* wrote two songs about the state of being imprisoned (“They’re going to put me away” and “Sitting in a Cell”, 1980 and 1981 respectively). Another piece of evidence that these bands had commonalities is found in *The New Musical Express*, 19 April 1980, in an article named “Sooty meets the real punks”. This presented interviews of both *Cockney Rejects* and *Iron Maiden* (by Kevin Fitzgerald and Paul Rambali, respectively), emphasizing their origin (“East End [...] In the drab, outlying London Suburb of East Ham”) as well as daring to fit them into the same musical sub-genre (“Real punk” for *Cockney Rejects* and “Real punk with a Status Quo barnet” for *Iron Maiden*).



(Image 104. *Cockney Rejects* feature and interview in NME, 19 April 1980, page 26. Courtesy of NME)

2 EAST END RACKETEERING

"The thing that really got me," he explains, "was Harry's notion: my original impression, 'we got to trust that' — I was the last that you didn't get with. Because we were a family that loved mutually, wanted to share. But a belief that is unshakable. You can't break it."

**REAL PUNK WITH A
STATUS QUO BARNET**

Paul Ra

mbali meets Ir

They are not working at the same level. He hasn't given them the opportunity to do it. They're not... when the projected first job is... in the... market... 2.5%... (Source: [illegible])

These gnarled little lizards, encountered on the sparsely forested mountainsides, said little to each other, but that talking to themselves was the thing. In fact, the talking was the thing. There's some thought that, in talking alone, lizards tell you exactly who and how the forest hangs together as an entity. The only words that are missing:

100

Paul Rambali meets Iron Maiden

297

2015)¹⁶⁴. Andy Baker, *Sacrilege*'s drummer, also played in the UK punk bands *Varukers*, *Warwound* (before he joined *Sacrilege*) and *Disgust* (post-*Sacrilege*), and in the heavy metal bands *Arbitrater*, *Cathedral* and *Cerebral Fix* (all post-*Sacrilege*)¹⁶⁵. Damien Thompson, guitarist, also played in the punk bands *Varukers*, *Cadaverous Clan* and *Warwound* (pre-*Sacrilege*)¹⁶⁶. Frank Healy, guitarist, played in the heavy metal bands *Benediction* (death metal), *Cerebral Fix* (thrash metal), *Napalm Death* (death metal/grindcore), all post-*Sacrilege*¹⁶⁷. Mitchell Dickinson, guitarist, also played in UK punk bands *Bradworthy*, *Heresy*, *Stupids* and in the heavy/thrash metal bands *Unseen Terror*, *Warhammer*, *Intestinal Infestation*¹⁶⁸. Paul Brookes, drummer, played also in the UK heavy metal bands *Agincourt*, *Benediction*, *Marshall Law* and *Scarab*¹⁶⁹. Spikey T. Smith, drummer played in UK punk bands *Alternative Attack* (pre-*Sacrilege*), *Jolt*, *English Dogs* and thrash/metalcore band *The More I See*¹⁷⁰. Finally, bass player Tony May, was a member of the punk band *Varukers* before joining *Sacrilege* in 1985¹⁷¹.

No analysis of *Sacrilege*'s video performances could be made in order to identify a possible crossover, since there is a lack of data; no official videos of *Sacrilege* were made during the 1980s.

7.2.3.3 Conclusions

Here I have analysed the cases of two punk bands whose sub-genre locations differed and shown that these differences produced substantial variations musically, lyrically and in terms of visual imagery (anarcho-punk/ and metal/hardcore for *Sacrilege* and Oi!/punk for *The Business*). However, both bands, *Sacrilege* and *The Business*, crossed over holistically with

¹⁶⁴ Data Retrieved from the official *Sacrilege* website <https://www.facebook.com/sacrilegeofficial/> accessed on 10/06/2021.

¹⁶⁵ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Andy_Baker/37683 accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁶⁶ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on <http://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Sacrilege/3145> accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁶⁷ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Frank_Healy/2040 accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁶⁸ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Mitch_Dickinson/44993 accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁶⁹ Data retrieved from Discogs database on <https://www.discogs.com/artist/2580125-Paul-Brookes-3> accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁷⁰ Data retrieved from Discogs database on <https://www.discogs.com/artist/1032596-Spikey-T-Smith> accessed on 12/06/2021.

¹⁷¹ Data retrieved from Metal Archive database on http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Tony_May/61522 accessed on 12/06/2021.

heavy metal music culture in their careers and both were concerned with the issue of fox hunting.

This historical and social theme is quintessentially British – the issue of fox hunting has been concerning British society since the 16th century. Both bands expressed their opposition to the practice and this was very significant for the case of *The Business*, since very few Oi! Bands at the time approached such issues instead of the usual Oi! range of topics.

Both bands' authenticity when they crossed over to heavy metal music culture cannot be questioned, in my personal critical point of view. Even if there is evidence that could be mobilised to dispute their authenticity (e.g., *Sacrilege*'s signing to a medium sized heavy metal label), their approaches were not commercially driven. In the case of *The Business* crossing over to heavy metal was a choice taken in order to express their long-time appreciation for *Thin Lizzy* (a hard rock/heavy metal band that always enjoyed acceptance from punks), and, in the case of *Sacrilege*, was a matter of the mix of heavy metal and punk bands they listened to. *Sacrilege* after all had a sound that could be described as a heavy metal/ hardcore punk crossover akin to Crust punk. It was their political stance and lyrics that made them a part of the UK hardcore and anarcho-punk scene, appearing in billings with anarcho-punk bands such as *Antisect*. *Sacrilege*'s case includes experimentation in a specific style of heavy metal genre (doom metal, slowed down like early *Black Sabbath*) that was totally unpopular at the time. And even though *Sacrilege* expressed their will to expand their audience, this doesn't mean that they were willing to "sell-out"; artistic fulfilment was their target, not commercial success. Furthermore, the authenticity of both bands relies on the fact that they were not blamed for "selling out" by the press, either of heavy metal or punk or rock varieties.

The significance of this, third theme lies in the fact that fox-hunting was so important for the UK in the period examined (with groups like the Hunt Saboteurs taking action to another, more direct and extreme level), that even bands that belonged to two separate and sometimes conflicting ends of the punk spectrum approached this issue to express their opposition.

In terms of historiography, the sub-chapter examines an issue that is rooted in much wider European history, rather than just being a UK matter (of the time): Anti-Americanism. The cases examined - *The Exploited* (second wave UK punk) and *Motorhead* (heavy metal) - will present the different meanings of authenticity in the punk and heavy metal subcultures where the status of the USA became significant.

7.2.4 Theme D: Anti-Americanism in UK punk and heavy metal: *The Exploited* and *Motorhead* (1982-1989)

I have already discussed the tense political climate in the UK during the Thatcher era, and how this tension had been reflected in terms of lyrics and visually in punk and heavy metal bands of the time. The feelings of anti-Americanism and pro-Americanism were no exceptions, since they were expressed too in some cases by bands from both genres. I will analyse the cases of both heavy metal and punk bands with pro- and anti-American references, focussing on two bands: *The Exploited* (punk) and *Motorhead* (heavy metal).

7.2.4.1 *The Exploited's style*

- *The Exploited's style and historical narration*

The Exploited are a punk band from Edinburgh, Scotland, that formed in early 1979 (Glasper, 2004: 44). On their official website, *The Exploited* declare that “*The Exploited* are real punk rock”¹⁷².

The contribution of *The Exploited* to the punk subgenre categorization can be found in their 1982 song “UK 82”¹⁷³. This song was named after a new musical approach in punk. “UK82” was a punk sub-genre that extended classic punk sound to the realms of a soundscape that included relentless and lower-key drumbeats, with a heavily distorted guitar sound, reminiscent of the heavy metal band *Motorhead's* sound approach (Glasper, 2004: 47).

The term “UK82” also had variations such as “UK hardcore” (which described the UK version of “hardcore/punk” music, whereas the term “hardcore/punk” firstly appeared in the United States). Another variation was “Second wave punk”, a historical term that distinguishes two waves of punk bands, one starting in 1977 and the second in 1982. “Real punk” was another term introduced in order to ratify the authenticity of the first wave, while finally the term “No

¹⁷² Retrieved from <http://www.the-exploited.net/history.htm> accessed on 07/07/2022.

¹⁷³ From the *Troops of Tomorrow* 12” long play record, *Secret Records*, SEC8

Future punk” indicated that many bands from this wave had their records initially distributed by the UK label “No Future”¹⁷⁴ (Glasper, 2004: 384).

Even though *The Exploited* was a “Real punk” band, its members were considered to be “sell-outs” by fellow punks when they appeared on the TV show *Top of the Pops* in 1981 in order to promote their *Dead Cities 7*” extended record. This accusation was an outcome of punk’s anti-mainstream culture that rejected appearances on popular TV shows¹⁷⁵. Band members described the reaction of punks in The Exploited documentary *Rock n’ Roll Outlaws Plus Sexual Favours* (2001: 14:53) as being unfavourable: “the next day the *Dead Cities* single did not even sell half the amount of copies it used to sell before our appearance”, thus indicating the dissatisfaction of punks with *The Exploited*’s move to reach a more commercial audience.

Through a consideration of the video of *The Exploited*’s appearance on *Top of the Pops*¹⁷⁶ I will present its metatext. The live appearance of the band begins with fireworks at the start of the song, pointing out the explosive music and visual appearance of *The Exploited*. The crowd is dancing in “Pogo”¹⁷⁷ style, jumping up and down, reminiscent of the early days of first wave punk live shows. The pose and attitude of *The Exploited* in the video reflects the lyrics of the song (“I’m filled up with aggression/want to smash your television/dead cities”) and *The Exploited* appear to be frustrated, out of control and very aggressive.

This aggression is also noted in the musical style of “Dead Cities”, a standard UK82 punk song, with very fast tempo, non-melodic guitar chords and a belligerent vocal style. Even though the appearance on *Top of the Pops* is commercially driven, *The Exploited* maintained a punk ethos (near to the “Anarchy, Chaos and Destruction” motto that they adopted from *The*

¹⁷⁴ With some bands even reaching the national charts. Data retrieved from <http://www.nofuturerecords.co.uk> accessed on 08/07/2022

¹⁷⁵ An evidence of the punks’ disapproval of *Top of the Pops* consider the first-wave UK Punk band *The Rezillos*’ 1978 song “Top of the Pops” (from the *Can’t Stand The Rezillos 12*” long play record) where they mention their opposition to the bands that appear on this TV Show, in an ironic way (“There’s one, born every day/ Sing song, then fade away/ Ding dong, what’s the future in the pop music industry/ Alright, so you make the grade, Hold tight, to the buck you made/Just wait, you been rated for constipated peak viewing time”). *The Rezillos* also mentioned their opposition to bands appearing on *Top of the Pops* in their interview with Ian Birch, *Melody Maker* magazine, 9 December 1978, (“[...] singing about daft groups that go on *Top Of The Pops*”). *The Rezillos/1978/Ian Birch/Melody Maker/The Rezillos: Cold Wars/02/09/2021* 23:32:39/<http://www.rockshackpages.com/Library/Article/the-rezillos-cold-wars>.

¹⁷⁶ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9k7Yb65cqrU> accessed on 01/08/2022.

¹⁷⁷ Albertine (2014; 109) mentions that “The pogo is a dance in which the dancers jump up and down [...] inspired maybe by the way Sid Vicious jumped up and down while playing saxophone at the *Sex Pistols* shows at 1976.”

*Damned*¹⁷⁸ and championed, slightly altered), based on what Hebdige (1979) described as a certain kind of disillusionment with a stifling society. The metatext of the video leaves the impression that *The Exploited* are a punk band for sure, although their appearance on that show exposes their commercial tendencies and the fireworks created the impression that the band did not reject heavy metal's commercial tactics. Their appearance on *Top of the Pops* was highly controversial, therefore, since they seem to present the music, image and lyrics of punk through a more "rock" or "heavy metal" subculture perspective. Punk subculture's criticism of *The Exploited* for their commercial tendencies will be further discussed.

Early in their career *The Exploited* exhibited confrontational views against both internal punk sub-genres and against other youth cultures, thus indicating an oxymoronic lyric, musical and imagery crossover to heavy metal music culture attempted in the subsequent years of the 1980s. In their 1981 7" single record *Army life*¹⁷⁹ a song named "Fuck a mod" was included, an open attack on the mods' youth culture ("Kick him in the head/Beat him in the balls/Jump up on his head/How much fun it is to fuck a mod until he is dead"), encouraging punks to physically attack mods until their last breath. In terms of internal punk subculture feuds, early on in 1981 *The Exploited* released a 12" long play record called *Punk's not dead* as a response to UK punk band *Crass*' song "Punk is dead." *The Exploited* vocalist, Wattie Buchan, also attacked *Crass*, accusing them of being erratic in terms of their words and actions, and stated that their first and only vision was to get as much money as they could, not Anarchy and its perspective (*Red Magazine* interview, 2003)¹⁸⁰. US punk vocalist Jello Biafra, member of the US band *Dead Kennedys*, attacked *The Exploited* early on 1982, in an article for *Maximum Rock n Roll* magazine (December 1982), blaming them for being a "punk-for-profit" outfit. He accused them of a rock star attitude (that punk had initially opposed) reminiscent of heavy metal subculture ("The last thing anyone needs is heavy metal attitude"), and concluded that *The Exploited* was a fraud and an example that punks should not follow.

¹⁷⁸ This motto of *The Damned* can be found in the inner sleeve of their 1979 12" long play record *Machine Gun Etiquette*, on *Chiswick Records*, CWK 3011. *The Exploited* championed a variation ("Anarchy and Chaos") of this motto for many years in their career, even naming a best-of CD compilation *25 years of Anarchy and Chaos* in 2004, Dream Catcher, CRIDE 58.

¹⁷⁹ Secret Records, SHH 112.

¹⁸⁰ Retrieved from <http://www.red-mag.com/RED/sep18/exploit.html> accessed on 17/08/2022

First, a reply to those who feel Dead Kennedys have become "too preachy" because we take strong stands on issues that affect our daily lives. Yes, we have opinions — strong opinions. Expressing them is what freedom of speech is all about. But we believe in communicating with people; not talking down at them.

We make no apologies for writing political songs. We have fun doing it. They are a critical part of our heart and soul. However, just because we take stands does not mean we are telling anyone what to do. We are simply asking people to think. We are saying, "This is our opinion. This is how we feel. Take it or leave it." If you have a better opinion, tell us. We are always willing to learn. At the very least, please think about what we are saying and draw your own conclusions. To us, punk and its kin are much more than a meaningless ritual. If people are too insecure to form their own opinion — and use their heads to back it up — they should not get down on those who do for being, "too preachy." Nor should they label anyone a Nazi Punk and tell them to fuck off simply because they heard it on a Dead Kennedys record. Anyone who takes the time to read the words will once again find an opinion; stating where we stand and why.

We have also heard a great deal of controversy as to where hardcore should go. Sure enough, we have seen the dawning of the hardcore bar band. Call it "generic thrash" if you prefer. Granted, some of the same people we all used to hate in school are beginning to turn up at the shows.

Personally, I become frustrated at times with the lack of depth and originality displayed by some of the Negative Red Social Rebel Youth Army type bands we see starting up today.

But I hesitate to put down anyone who has the courage to get off their ass to create something and present it to the world. For some, this is the first hard work they have put into anything outside of bullshit homework assignments. This week's generic thrash band could be tomorrow's trail blazers. All they need is your support, plus the desire to improve.

Nonetheless I still think the key to the future is originality. Speaking as a fan, I remain partial to the people willing to open wide and spill their deepest guts in public. Those with the cleverness and drive to explore and experiment in hopes of coming up with something really different and unique — hardcore or otherwise.

It is much too easy to follow the cock-rock road to Las Vegas handed to us by the Exploited and similar punk-for-profit outfits. The last thing anyone needs is a heavy metal attitude.

Getting popular and making money hardly matter if you care deeply about what you're doing. The challenge is to stay interesting.

JELLO BIAFRA
SAN FRANCISCO
DEAD KENNEDYS



(Image 106. Jello Biafra's article on Maximum Rock n' Roll magazine, December 1982. Photo courtesy of Maximum Rock n' Roll)

UK punk musicians also had objections to *The Exploited*. Calvin Piper (named "Kalv", bass guitar player for 1980s UK hardcore/punk bands *Heresy*, *Concrete Sox*, *Meatfly* and *Force Fed*¹⁸¹) in his UK punk scene review for *Maximum Rock n' Roll* (no 6, June 1983) took a stand against *The Exploited*, accusing them of being a "pop-star band" with "pop-star attitudes". He

¹⁸¹ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/368429-Kalvin-Piper> accessed on 08/07/2022.

called for US punks not to support bands like *The Exploited* (“it was disheartened to hear how seriously most U.S. punks are taking *The Exploited* [...] I'd advise punks anywhere to analyse these bands in detail, compare attitudes, think them out, before accepting them, buying their product, making them rich”), blaming *The Exploited* for introducing a new set of morals into the punk subculture (“*The Exploited* have brought violence and a pathetic set of morals for the gullible non-thinking punks to adopt”) that led to violence and apathy. However, in the same review, Piper also mentions the UK punks’ strong anti-American stance (“There is a very strong anti-American feeling among British punks [...] They're very against the American lifestyle, capitalist extremity, and often (pathetically) the one-minded approach to many US bands’ lack of bondage clothing”) not limited to the political/social status of the USA, but also included its music, often disregarding American bands because their image was not “punk enough.”¹⁸² I will analyse this anti-American position later.

¹⁸² Henry Rollins, in his book *Get in the van*, described the first UK tour of his band, *Black Flag*, being “notoriously ugly” due to the fact that the UK Punks could not accept the bands “not so punk” image, since *Black Flag* did not sport mohawks or coloured hair (Rollins, 1994). Keith Morris, vocalist for US bands *Black Flag* and *Circle Jerks*, stated that “in the late 1970s we decided that we would be far from the UK punk fashion style [...] we wanted to look like ordinary kids working in gas stations,” in his interview for *Citizine* magazine, 2003, retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20111006082011/http://www.citizinemag.com/music/music-0303_kmorris.htm on 03/08/2022. Henry Rollins, while interviewed for *NME* magazine, stated the reasons why UK punk bands disregarded US Punk bands: “It’s so funny reading interviews with English punk bands, because they’re literally disgusted with American bands. They don’t dress right, they don’t sing about anarchy, nuclear war, or the dole. Or they’re rich white kids, their hair is long, and they’re wearing sneakers instead of combat boots”, referring to the holistic disapproval of US punk bands in terms of fashion and lyrics. (Interview for Barney Hoskyns, *New Musical Express*, 20 November 1982, pp.28).



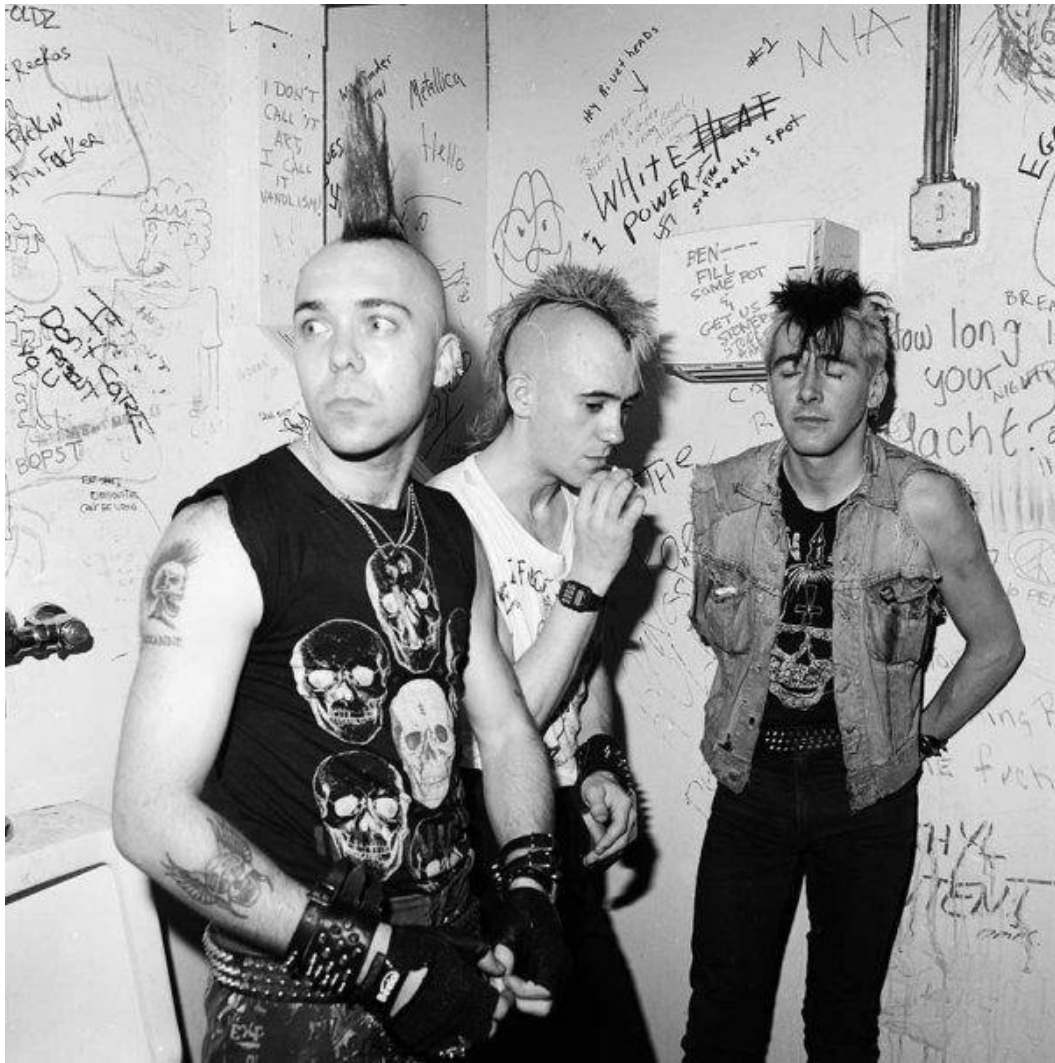
(Image 107. The case of an American punk band, Black Flag, and their visual look that doesn't resemble a punk band, in UK terms. Photo courtesy of SST records, 1985)

As mentioned, initially *The Exploited* was a punk band in all ways (music, lyrics and visual imagery). This is apparent in Gary Bushell's article about *The Exploited* for *Sounds* magazine (9 August 1980),¹⁸³ where he describes the band as having the same musical approach as the UK punk band *UK Subs*, referring to their lyrics as reminiscent of another UK punk band, *The Angelic Upstarts*. Even Bushell's objections to the visual appearance and imagery of *The Exploited* ("My other reservations concern *The Exploited*'s over-attachment to old-style punk visuals") are based on *The Exploited*'s adoption and use of the visual imagery of earlier punk bands.

¹⁸³ The Exploited/1980/Garry Bushell/Sounds/The Exploited: I Still Believe In Anarchy/25/07/2021 14:37:39 <http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/the-exploited-i-still-believe-in-anarchy>.



(Image 108. The Exploited band interview by Chris Salewicz, for the UK/DK documentary, 1983, 05:45)



(Image 109. *The Exploited* c1984, sporting their punk fashion style. Photo courtesy of Thurston Howes)

Unlike many punk bands, *The Exploited* also had a fan base in the heavy metal fandom and this could be based on the fact that, according to Stuart Newman, the narrator of the *Rock & Roll Outlaws Plus Sexual Favours* documentary (2001), *The Exploited*'s punk period was "very aggressive and led to thrash metal where the fans – in opposition to classic heavy metal fans – were violent too". This is evident both in thrash metal bands (worldwide) covering songs originally by *The Exploited*¹⁸⁴, as well as metal bands expressing their fandom for *The Exploited* by sporting T-shirts with the logo of the band, presented below.

¹⁸⁴ Some significant cases were a) the US thrash metal band *Slayer*'s covers of three *Exploited* songs for the soundtrack of the movie *Judgment Night*, data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Various-Judgment-Night-Music-From-The-Motion-Picture/release/612384> accessed on 09/07/2021 and b) Germany's thrash metal band *Destruction* 2003 cover of the song "USA" by *The Exploited*, data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Destruction/Metal_Discharge/418175 accessed on 09/07/2021.



(Image 110. US heavy metal band Heathen c1988. The first member on the right sports a The Exploited t-shirt. Photo courtesy of Heathen's official website. <https://www.facebook.com/heathen.official>)



(Image 111. German thrash metal band Kreator, c1989. Band's vocalist and guitar player, Mille Petrozza (first from the left), sports a The Exploited T-shirt. Courtesy of Kreator. Retrieved from the bands official website on <https://www.facebook.com/KreatorOfficial>)



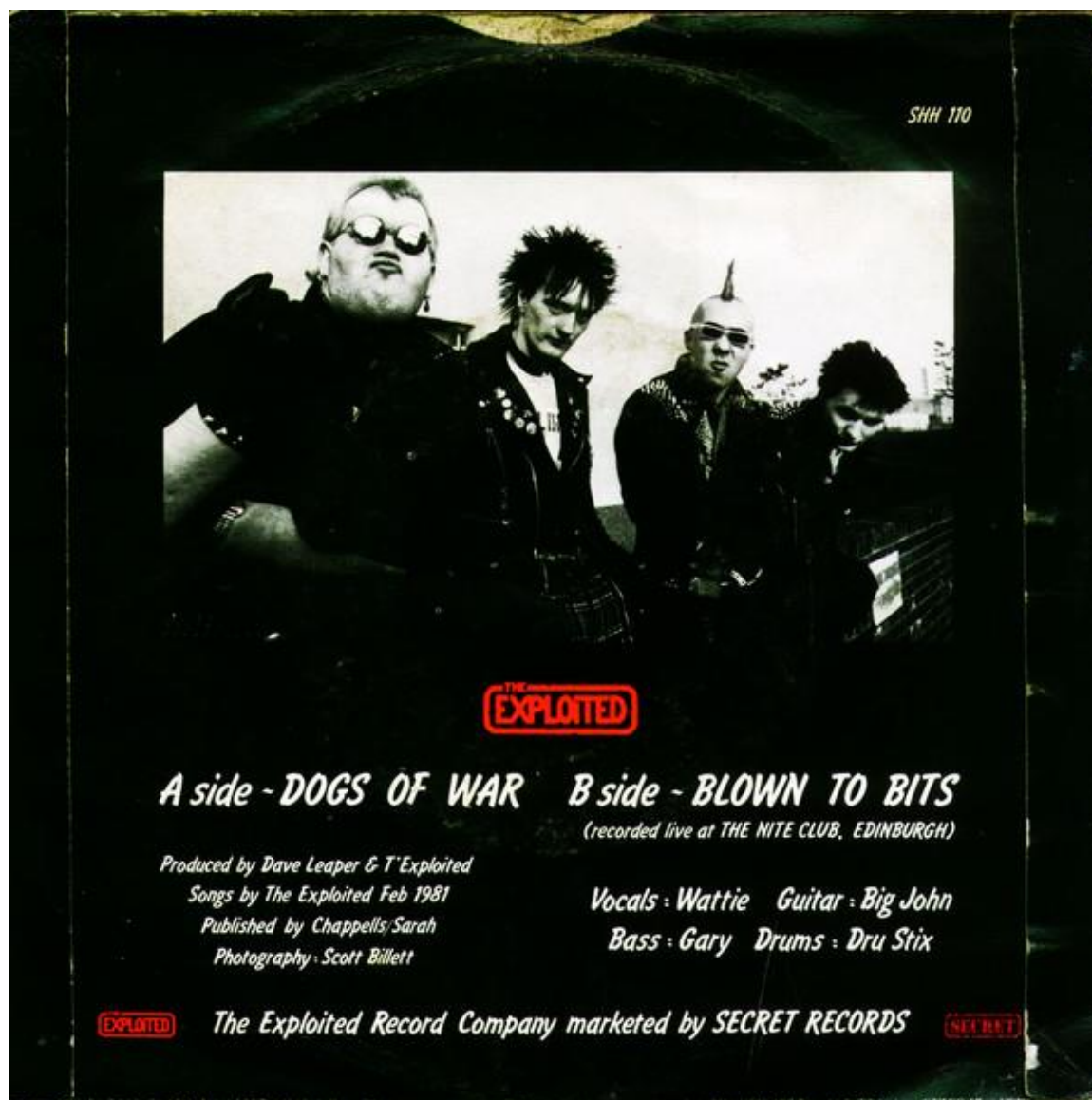
(Image 112. 1980s UK thrash metal band Cerebral Fix c2016. First band member from the right sports a *The Exploited* logo T-shirt. Courtesy of Cerebral Fix. Retrieved from Cerebral Fix official page at <https://www.facebook.com/CerebralFixDirtbirds>)

Heathen's and Kreator's *The Exploited* T-shirts artwork is taken from a band picture off the 1981 back cover of the 7" single *Dogs of war*¹⁸⁵, while the T-shirt that the *Cerebral Fix* member sports is taken from the cover of the 1983 12" long play record *Let's start a war...said Maggie one day*¹⁸⁶, using a drawing by Brian "Pushead" Schroeder (without his permission¹⁸⁷).

¹⁸⁵ *Dogs of war* 1981 7-inch single, courtesy of The Exploited Record Company, *Secret Records* EXP 1003, SHH 110. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/The-Exploited-Dogs-Of-War/master/965233> accessed on 04/07/2022

¹⁸⁶ *Let's start a war...said Maggie one day* 1983 12-inch-long play record, courtesy of Pax Records, PAX 18. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Exploited-Lets-Start-A-War-Said-Maggie-One-Day/master/53281> accessed on 04/07/2022

¹⁸⁷ Brian "Pushead" Schroeder in his column for *Maximum Rock N Roll* no. 15, July 1984 referred to the incident, mentioning an article in *Sounds* by Garry Bushell and Savage Pencil, where they stated that *The Exploited* had taken advantage of Schroeder's art without paying him royalties.



(Image 113. The Exploited Dogs of War back cover. 1981, courtesy of Secret Records¹⁸⁸. SHH 110)

¹⁸⁸ Digby Pearson dismissed *Secret Records* in his column on the UK Punk scene for *Maximum Rock n Roll* magazine (no.38, Jul 1986), blaming its founder Martin Hooker for “promoting such reactionary and dumb would-be rock stars as *The Exploited* [...] and now starting a new label named *Music For Nations* continuing on signing wannabe metal bands like *GBH* and *English Dogs*”, thus being another who regarded *The Exploited* as an unoriginal punk band.



(Image 114. *The Exploited* 1983 record cover of *Let's start a war*. Courtesy of Pax Records, PAX 18)

Finally, it is necessary to mention the existence of *The Exploited*'s fan club, "The Exploited Barmy Army" from the homonymous 1980 song.¹⁸⁹ Whereas fan clubs initially were common among girls for all forms of popular music (McRobbie and Garber, 1978: 12), it was not very common for most punk bands to have a fan club (even though there are exceptions, such as the *Sex Pistols*' "Bromley Contingent" fan club, according to Paytress, 2003). Anthony Coucke (2016) dedicated a book to *The Exploited*'s fan club, "The Exploited Barmy Army". In UK heavy metal bands of that era, though, it was common for them to have their own fan clubs; *Motorhead* had the "Motorheadbangers" fan club (Weinstein, 1991: 320), Newcastle's *Venom* had the "Legions" fan club¹⁹⁰ (not only limited to the UK, but with branches in other

¹⁸⁹ Taken from the 1980 7" single record *Exploited barmy army*, *The Exploited Record Company*, EXP 1002.

¹⁹⁰ Data Retrieved from <http://www.venomslegions.com/biography/venom-biog.htm> accessed on 10/07/2019.

countries, e.g., Sweden and Germany), and London's *Angel Witch* had their own "Coven" fan club.¹⁹¹

- *The Exploited's anti-Americanism expressed in their lyric style; the case of the song "USA"*

The anti-American sentiment in UK punk bands (and fans) was not only an outcome of the tense political climate, given the UK-USA alliance, but was also a stance against the visual appearance that US punk bands (and their fans) chose that was considered to be "not punk enough" by UK punks. However, *The Exploited* concentrated in their lyrics on what the US stood for as a country and political system, and this is evident in their 1982 song "USA" that will be analysed furthermore.

During Reagan's presidency, the British Conservatives had failed in their attempt to institute a private health system in the UK, based on the US private model (Pierson, 1995: 135). Calls for reform of the US health system were side lined by Ronald Reagan, even though he sought out ways to cover rising costs via contributions from both government and private sectors (Levy, 1996: 188). This hybrid system was blamed by Reagan (and the Conservatives) for the explosion in costs. The private sector was targeted for the costs' accumulation, and this led to cutbacks in benefits in the public sector, while the increased costs of the public sector were distributed to US consumers (Pierson, 1995: 138). In the case of Great Britain, the national health service (NHS) persisted during Thatcher's governance.

The Exploited, in their 1982 song "USA",¹⁹² attacked, in the political/social commentary tradition of punk music culture, the US in general ("There's nothing nice about USA"). They also criticized the lack of a welfare state ("You go to the hospital and you've got to pay"), referring to the lack of caring social values in the United States and ignorance on crucial political and social issues ("The dollar is the language that they all speak/they don't really bother with the radiation leak"). *The Exploited* also questioned the "American Dream" and the United States as being the "Promised Land" ("this ain't the land of milk and honey"), mentioning once again the greed that derives from the need for more money to be accumulated

¹⁹¹ Data Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/angelwitchofficial/info> and <http://www.angelwitchcoven.com/> accessed on 10/07/2019.

¹⁹² Taken from the 1982 12" long play record *Troops of tomorrow*, on *Secret Records*, SEC 8.

(“cause all they want is money money money”). Continuing, *The Exploited* refer to Reagan’s nuclear armaments strategy, describing vividly its consequences (“Nuclear bombs are all new/you’d better start running when they drop on you/when you die your body reeks”). *The Exploited*’s “USA” finally attacks verbally, in a simplistic way, the United States in its chorus (“Fuck the USA”).

“USA” is representative of lyric realism, presenting the relationship between a lyric and the social conditions of a specific era. The song is authentic (in my perspective), even though *The Exploited* aren’t left-wing intellectuals. However, *The Exploited* identify with working-class people, and this is apparent both in their lyrics (such as the 1983 “Class War”, where *The Exploited* state “Working class, I’m with them”) as well as in their interviews, e.g., the interview in *Sounds* (9 August, 1980) by Gary Bushell, where Wattie (vocalist for *The Exploited*) thanked *Sounds* magazine for being the only one that “supported working class and punk bands”. The authenticity of *The Exploited*’s stance against military actions is empowered by the fact that vocalist “Wattie” Buchan was a former British soldier, albeit a disenchanted one (Spicer, 2006: 135). Finally, Wattie refers even today to *The Exploited* as a working-class band, mentioning that the name “The Exploited” was chosen (“That’s why we named our band *The Exploited*; the working class is simply being exploited by everyone”) in order to depict the exploitation of the working class.¹⁹³ The authenticity of “USA” is apparent in relation to *The Exploited*’s ideology and social class (according to Harker). In the case of “Wattie” Buchan, his working-class background as well as his military service for four years (which ended with him being disillusioned with the army and war) adds to the authenticity of the lyrics in *The Exploited*.

However, the issue of the “authenticity” of *The Exploited* has many elements, and we should not only rely on Harker’s definition. As mentioned, many punk musicians accused *The Exploited* of “heavy metal” or “pop star” subculture tactics (commercially driven also known as “poseurs” and betrayers of the punk ethic) or being a band that had no substance, only using the formulaic image of punk in order to sloganeer clichés. Their appearance on *Top of the Pops* only supports the argument that *The Exploited* attempted to commercialize one of the most extreme sub-genres of punk. Their heavy metal music culture tendencies presented in the record *Troops of Tomorrow*, analysed later, only confirm that *The Exploited* actually wanted

¹⁹³ Retrieved from July 1, 2015 interview for Montreal Rampage website, written by Nadia – Blostein retrieved from <http://montrealrampage.com/amnesia-rockfest-interview-with-wattie-buchan-the-exploited/> accessed on 07/07/2016.

to “crossover” to heavy metal subculture in order to expand their fan base, thus expanding their commercial success to a scene that was starting to get attention by major labels. This makes me sceptical about the authenticity of *The Exploited*’s in regard to the punk ethic, because all the signs actually show that The Exploited employed commercial tactics whereas at the same time, they were proclaiming in 1981 that “Punk’s not Dead” in an attempt to react against Crass’ song “Punk is Dead.”¹⁹⁴

In “USA”, *The Exploited* made it clear that, for them, the USA is not the “land of milk and honey”. This phrase is used in the Bible on many occasions in order to describe the city of Canaan’s prosperity (Dershowitz, 2010: 172). Among the interpretations of the phrase there is a literal use deployed in order to describe a place “where living conditions are good and people have the opportunity to make a lot of money” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2013). But *The Exploited* didn’t regard the USA as a place that offered good living conditions and opportunities, and tried in their song to enunciate their own view and beliefs in order to support this assertion.

- *The music of The Exploited; crossover issues arising through the decade of the 1980s*

In music terms, “USA” includes elements from both punk and heavy metal music genres, a perspective that was new for *The Exploited*. Even though the song structure is simple (in the tradition of punk), it expands beyond three minutes (specifically, 03:25 minutes) in the heavy metal tradition. The musical landscape of “USA” is lo-fi, following the definition of Schafer (1977), presenting a mixture of sounds that cannot be distinguished, reminiscent of the noisy urban landscape. The song starts with a mid-tempo drumming intro, where the sound of drums is low-pitched (0:00-0:10). After that a 3-chord guitar is introduced that accompanies the drum tempo for 12 seconds (0:10-0:22). At 0:22 vocalist “Wattie” Buchan sings “Fuck the USA – We will get you back” in a shouting, out of tune, nearly indiscernible manner and the song drum tempo changes to fast, with the guitar playing following the fast rhythm. At 0:40,

¹⁹⁴ In their 1979 song “Punk is dead” Crass actually attacked all the commercial tendencies that were starting to plague the punk scene. They proclaimed that Punk died because it became everything it fought against (“Yes that’s right, punk is dead, It’s just another cheap product for the consumers’ head/CBS promote *the Clash*, But it ain’t for revolution, it’s just for cash, punk became a fashion just like hippy used to be”) whereas *The Exploited*’s answer was only based on the “lifestyle” and fashion of punk (“We’re all punks and we don’t care/We’re boot boys who dye our hair/Leather jackets, jeans and boots/Run about every night”) and isn’t concerned with the anti-commercial mentality and uniqueness of the punk ethic.

when the vocalist sings the first verse of the song, the guitar playing alternates to fast power chord playing, reminiscent of heavy metal, only to return to the 3-chord guitar punk playing style on the chorus of the song (0:54). The chorus is sung by vocalist Wattie Buchan and the band as backing vocals and the pattern of verse-chorus is repeated three times until the end of the song, with no alterations or changes in rhythm. However, there is an insertion of a lead guitar playing solo at 01:48 lasting 14 seconds, in the tradition of heavy metal. The bass guitar sound is indiscernible within a sonic landscape that could be described as “messy”, even though the production of the record (which was made by both the band, and Tony Spath¹⁹⁵) presents the band’s “power”. This type of production, presenting the power of the band, is a component of heavy metal, according to Weinstein (1991: 34). An interesting fact is that Tony Spath throughout this period (1982-1984) worked both with punk bands (*The Defects*, *UK Subs*) as well as with the heavy metal band *Tokyo Blade* on two 12” long play records¹⁹⁶. The drum tempo is fast, simplistic, with minor changes, in the punk tradition. Wattie Buchan’s vocal lines are high-pitched, which could invoke an agitation that is evident generally in punk (Machin, 2010: 100).

I now turn to “USA” in terms of musical ekphrasis. The technique of ekphrasis “produces images in the minds of the listeners in order to make the material presented as clear as possible,” according to Petermann (2010: 2). In order to describe “USA” in musical/lyric terms, I would portray it as the sound of an urban confusion, leaving no room for the listener to breathe, and depicting pictures of money, greed, of a morally bankrupt society with imperialistic tendencies, while on the same time there exists in the same landscape two types of people: the rich, and the poor. All these images are filtered through the oppressive landscape that *The Exploited*’s musical approach offers. The instruments playing depict chaos and a lack of hope for better days; within this the vocal performance of “Wattie” Buchan is menacing, depicting a person who is extremely irritated, denouncing everything that the USA stands for – and in a way behaving completely out of control.

Ending this music analysis, it should be mentioned that there is a review from that era that identifies a possible musical crossover between punk and heavy metal music genres concerned with the *Troops of Tomorrow* 12” long play record. Barney Hoskyns, reviewer for *New Musical Express* (26 June 1982), states that “Musically, Big John, who is not a pretty

¹⁹⁵ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/The-Exploited-Troops-Of-Tomorrow/release/1251480> accessed on 12/07/2021.

¹⁹⁶ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/262938-Tony-Spath> accessed on 12/07/2021.

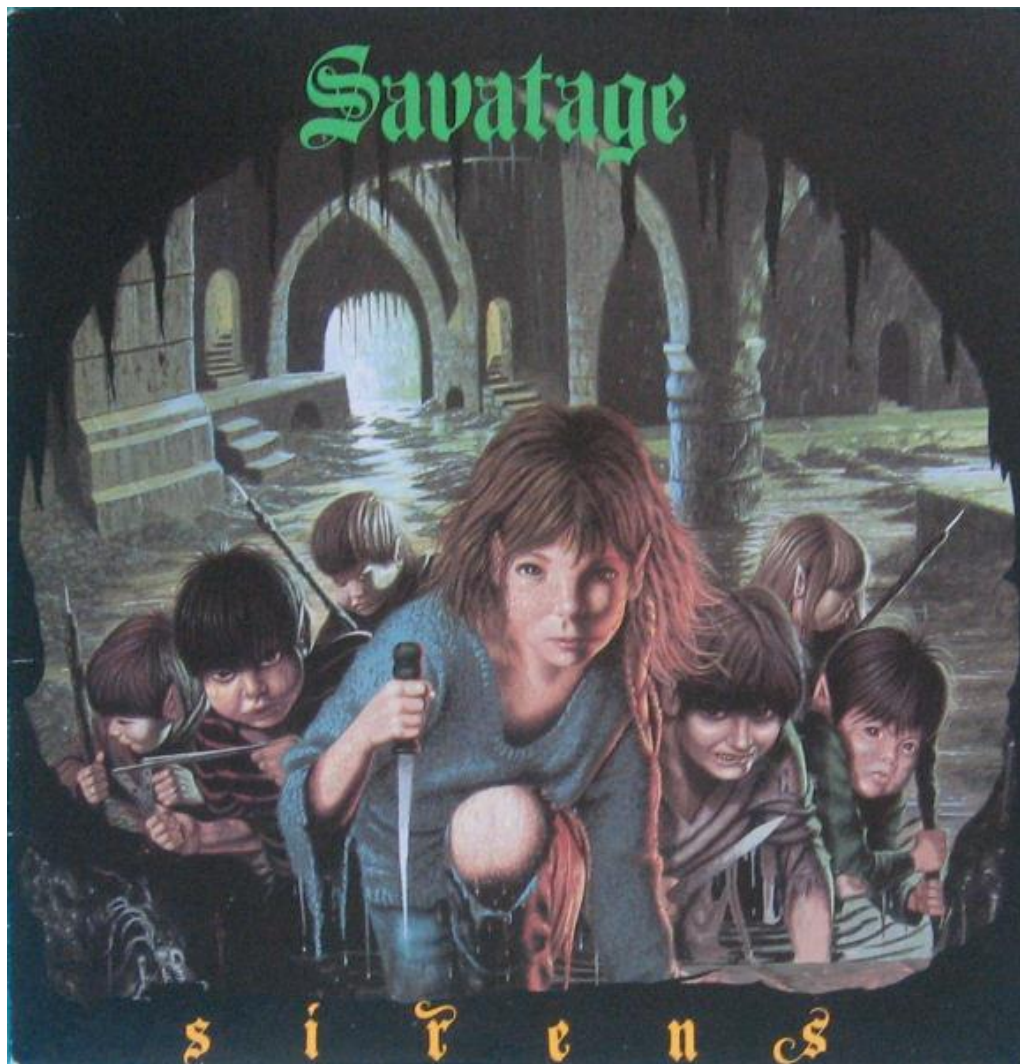
sight, plays blazing heavy metal guitar licks and perhaps, what with Bushell currently forsaking Oi! for *Total Noise* and UFO's Pete Way producing the new *Cockney Rejects* LP, *The Exploited* will soon drop the facade and join the ranks of the headbangers."

The metatext of this review is that the new guitarist, Big John, in *The Exploited* employs heavy metal guitar playing style in order to enrich the band's musical approach. Accordingly, *The Exploited*'s approach is comparable with one more UK punk band, *The Cockney Rejects*. *The Cockney Rejects*, among others, recorded their 1982 12" long play record *Power and the Glory* with the hard rock guitarist Pete Way being responsible for the production. In conclusion, the message conveyed is that *The Exploited* would eventually become a band that would have appeal to heavy metal fans too.

- *The Exploited's imagery crossover and anti-Americanism*

In terms of imagery, *The Exploited* in 1982 followed a cartoon-like approach (reminiscent of punk subculture) in the cover for their *Troops of Tomorrow* 12" long play record. According to Lawley (in Sabin, 1999: 100), the cultural legacy of punk subculture is closely linked to the comics, and I've covered this issue already in a former chapter (in the case of the band The Business, p. 222).

The *Troops of Tomorrow* first pressing cover (on *Secret Records*) depicts the band as comic-style figures, in an urban landscape, as a gang that is followed by a number of human skeleton caricatures. The album's cover illustration was created by Terry Oaks, who, amongst others, was responsible (during 1982-1985) for the covers of psychedelic/space rock band *Hawkwind* (*Choose your Masques* 12" long play record) and US heavy metal band *Savatage* (*Sirens* 12" long play record), and his artistic style was similar in these cases, employing a multi-coloured approach with a style reminiscent of comics.



(Image 115. 1985 Record cover of Sirens 12'' long play record, of the US heavy metal band Savatage, illustrated by Terry Oaks. Courtesy of Music For Nations records, MFN 48)



(Image 116. 1982 Record cover of Hawkwind's *Choose your masques* 12" long play record, illustrated by Terry Oaks. Courtesy of RCA records, RCALP 6055)

While reviewing *Troops of tomorrow* for the *New Musical Express* (26 June 1982), Barney Hoskyns referred to its visual design: "Marvellous cover, which depicts 'an Escape From New York' vision of a desolated city where punk can express its essential nature of youth anarchy'. Hoskyns's view is that the *Troops of tomorrow* cover brought to mind both punk and heavy metal stylistics ("The post-apocalypse ghouls on the cover of 'Troops,' climbing out of drains and dustbins and brandishing clubs and chains, bear more than passing resemblance to *Maiden's* Eddie"). Finally, he concluded that the differences between punk and heavy metal subcultures were becoming increasingly a matter of fashion, but in ideological terms this gap was decreasing ("It would seem that the difference between punk and metal is becoming increasingly sartorial and decreasingly ideological"), thus indicating an alignment of the two musical genres.

The metatext conveyed by Barney Hoskyns' review of *Troops of Tomorrow* is representative of the musical output of the record. Hoskyns gives the reader the impression that *Troops of Tomorrow* is not only a punk record in visual terms, but that it also included heavy metal components. Even though Hoskyns focuses on the punk/heavy metal crossover in visual terms, it is apparent that his message is that the gap between punk and heavy metal subcultures has started to decrease.

While discussing the *Troops of tomorrow* cover, Hoskyns mentioned the resemblance of the ghouls to UK heavy metal's band *Iron Maiden* mascot, *Eddie The Head* (or *Eddie*). Derek Riggs, the designer of *Eddie The Head* mentioned (1987: 07:24) in the video documentary about *Iron Maiden* named *12 Wasted Years* that initially the plan had been to use the figure of *Eddie The Head* for a punk band, and he took inspiration for creating this figure from an American skull that was stuck to a North Vietnamese Communist military vehicle. However, *Iron Maiden* decided that it would be more appropriate for the band to have a mascot that would visually symbolise the music genre of the band (heavy metal), and therefore *Eddie The Head* appeared in the first (1980) 12" long play record *Iron Maiden* as a figure that resembled visually a mix of punk (due to the Mohawk hairstyle and bleached hair) and heavy metal (due to the fact that more hair were added by Derek Riggs) ghoul. For the second 12" long play record cover for *Killers* in 1981, Derek Riggs illustrated an image of *Eddie The Head* that resembled even more of a heavy metal fan.



(Image 117. Iron Maiden's first 12" long play record album cover, 1980. Courtesy of EMI Records, EMC 3330, 0C 062-07 269)

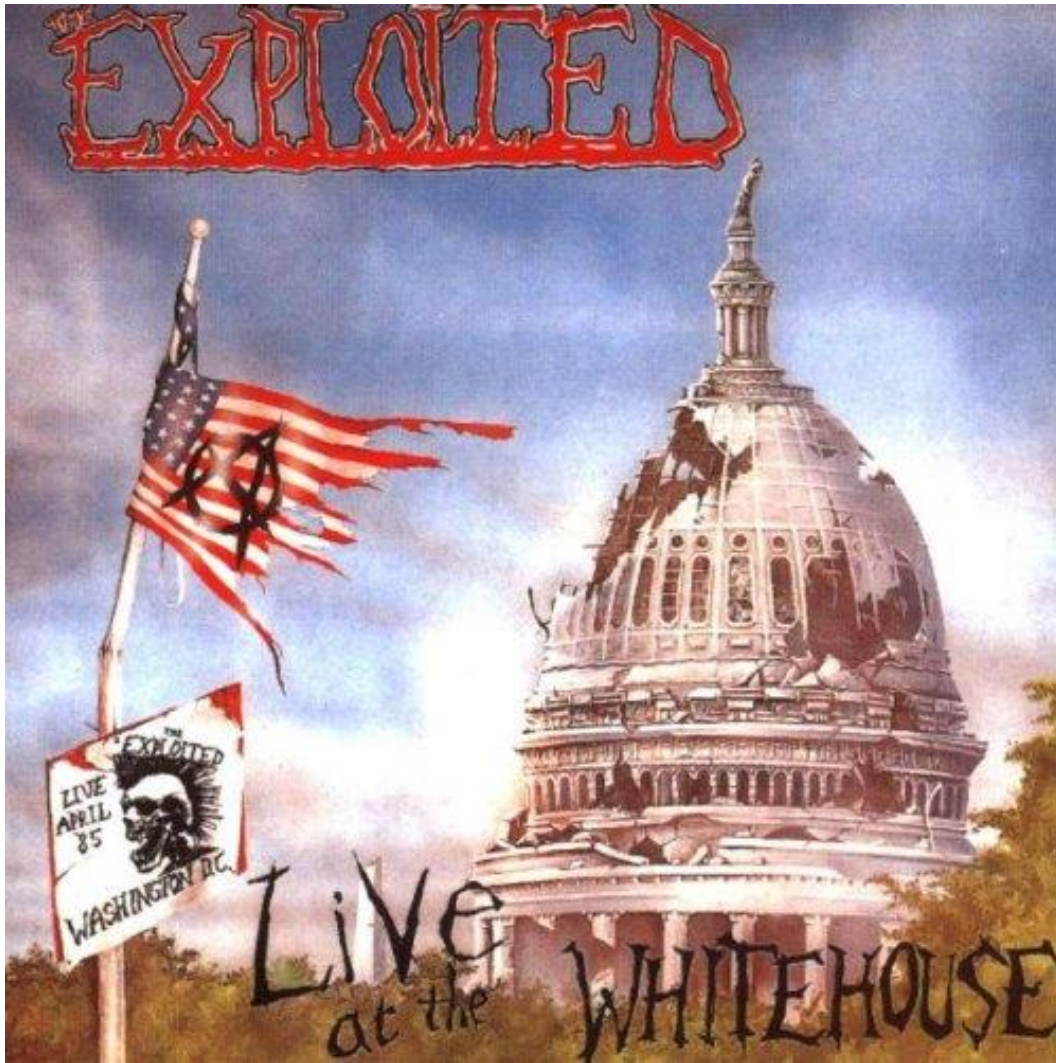


(Image 118. Iron Maiden's 12" long play record album cover of *Killers*, 1981. Courtesy of EMI Records, EMC 3357, 0C 062-07 450)

Following Panofsky's iconographic approach in interpreting the *Troops of Tomorrow* cover, we can note that the dominant colors are blue, grey, red, yellow and black. The band's name logo appears in calligraphy, where in it is colored in red; the red colour on the words "The Exploited" could symbolize "danger" according to Miller (2001). However, the red colour is not only limited to the band's logo name, but also appears in all the band member cartoons, either as a colour for their hair, or resembling blood on their clothes. The Christian symbolisation of red as a background could mean "sin" and/or "blood" (Miller, 2001) which, in the case of *The Exploited* could refer especially to "blood" (as what *The Exploited* describe as an outcome in their song "Daily news" – "Mother England bested in the press/She's killing your kids, What a bloody mess"), but also in the case where "sin" could be interpreted as a "moral offence/fault" (in the case of their song "Disorder", where the immoral way of life is

praised in lyrics such as “Burn the cops and renegades/Disorder, don’t give a fuck”). The name of the record is written in white, where it appears to be written by a ghoul in graffiti style. The white colour, according to Miller (2001), symbolises among other things, “purity, spirituality, peace, surrender,” and here I will choose the symbolisation of spirituality, due to the lyric content of the homonymous song that describes a band that endures a rough present and awaits an even tougher future (“We ain’t got bright future/We bought it on the never never/Don’t want to be city prisoners/We ain’t gonna live forever”), but they have to stop this through their musical vision (“We’re troops of tomorrow/We’ve got a new vision”). Finally, the cartoon ghoul face drawings are harsh, depicting grim and nasty images; the ghouls appear to be menacing, having threatening expressions, holding bats and other accessories that could be used in a street battle, all of them painted in a grey colour, where grey, according to Miller (2001), symbolise “mystery”. A semiology of their body poses suggests that they are ready to attack. On the foreground of the cover appears the coloured image of the band members, standing in front at the vanguard. The multi-coloured approach could have been used by Oaks in order to appear to distinguish the band members from the rest of the cartoons. *The Exploited* band members appear to be expressionless and serious. The fact that their expressions are serious could suggest that the *Troops of tomorrow* record should be understood to be important. Finally, the body language of band members (as well as the fact that they carry weapons) implies that they are ready for conflict.

The Exploited didn’t only present anti-American views in their lyrics, they also exhibited it in imagery on the cover of their 1985 12” long play record *Live at the Whitehouse* – a live recording of *The Exploited* playing in Washington D.C. in April 1985.



(Image 119. Record cover of *The Exploited's* 1985 12" long play record *Live at the Whitehouse*. Courtesy of Combatcore. CC 8064)

However, the building depicted on *The Exploited's* record cover resembles much more the Capitol Building (also in Washington DC), not the White House and this is evident in the photographs of the Capitol Building and the White House that follow.



(Image 120. The Capitol Building, 2017. Courtesy of Architect of the Capitol, on www.aoc.gov)



(Image 121. The White House, 2017. Courtesy of whitehouse.gov)

A very interesting fact is that the *Live at the Whitehouse* artwork for the cover was made by heavy metal British writer Garry Sharp-Young,¹⁹⁷ who was also responsible for the design of covers for UK heavy metal bands such as *Savage*, *Chateaux*, *Blade Runner* and *Demon Eyes*, among others. *Live at the Whitehouse* was issued by the US record label *Combat Core*, a subdivision of the heavy metal label *Combat*, focussing on punk and hardcore/punk bands such as *GBH*, *Circle Jerks*, *Agnostic Front*, *Broken Bones* and *English Dogs*, among others.¹⁹⁸

Continuing with the analysis of imagery in *Live at the Whitehouse*, I first have to consider the symbolism of the record title. Of course, *The Exploited* did not play at the Whitehouse, but at a Washington D.C. music venue. They used the Whitehouse as a symbol to represent Americanism – this was their way to attack the USA, by presenting a bombarded Whitehouse, an imagined outcome, one supposes, of *The Exploited*'s live sonic event in Washington D.C. The White House also symbolises “American leadership and political freedom worldwide,”¹⁹⁹ and this is what *The Exploited* confronted through this record sleeve. *The Exploited* went further in their anti-Americanism through the cover's visual dishonour of the American flag. The flagpole is broken, the American flag is ripped and the symbol of Anarchy is sprayed upon it.

The American flag is a very powerful symbol of what the USA represents (Testi, 2010: 2) and this is why *The Exploited* chose to desecrate it. The Anarchist symbol of a circled “A” that has been sprayed on the American flag represents what *The Exploited* believe should prevail in America, in terms of politics and that is Anarchy. The use of such a symbol by *The Exploited* is not for shock value like the use of the swastika, since *The Exploited* had declared their support for Anarchy both in their lyrics (in the song “I believe in Anarchy” that is also on the *Live at the Whitehouse* 12” long play record) as well as in interviews (e.g. when Buchan was interviewed by Nadia Blostein on July 1, 2015 for the Montreal Rampage website, where he stated that he was an Anarchist).²⁰⁰ The flag pole is semi-broken, thus contributing to the desecration of the symbol of US flag and a banner of *The Exploited* has been placed on the flag pole that includes more details about the live appearance of the band in Washington D.C. The

¹⁹⁷ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/2438008-Garry-Sharpe-Young> accessed on 02/07/2022.

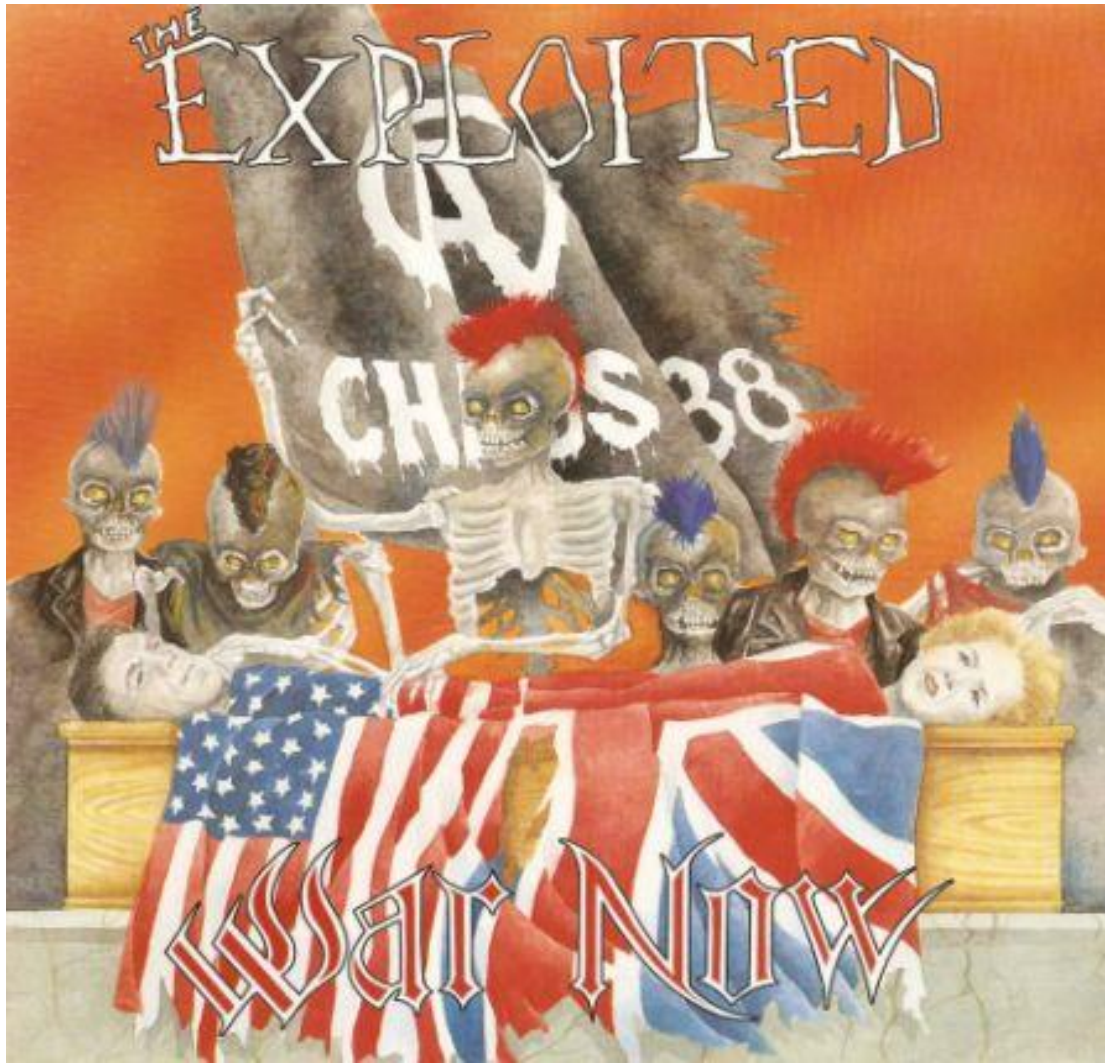
¹⁹⁸ Data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/labels/Combat_Core/29121#label_tabs_albums accessed on 01/07/2021.

¹⁹⁹ According to <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/teacher-resources/the-white-house-symbol-of-leadership> accessed on 02/07/2021.

²⁰⁰ Data retrieved from <http://montrealrampage.com/amnesia-rockfest-interview-with-wattie-buchan-the-exploited/> accessed on 01/07/2021.

anti-Americanism of *The Exploited* in terms of imagery is represented on the cover of *Live at the Whitehouse*, where two of the strongest symbols of American power appear disgraced.

The Exploited didn't stop attacking the U.S. throughout the 1980s in their visual imagery. Their 1988 12' extended play record *War now* included a cover depicting a mob of punk ghouls standing above a coffin where images of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher had been placed on opposite sides, both appearing to be dead. Reagan's and Thatcher's bodies were covered by the US and UK flags respectively, albeit both flags were dishonoured, merely rags. The (unknown) artist of this cover also depicted a flag of Anarchy in the background, with the words "Chaos 88" written on it, describing the continuing state of Chaos that *The Exploited* want to prevail in 1988 too. In conclusion, through this record sleeve the band not only attacked the United States, but the whole of the US-UK "Special Relationship" became their target.

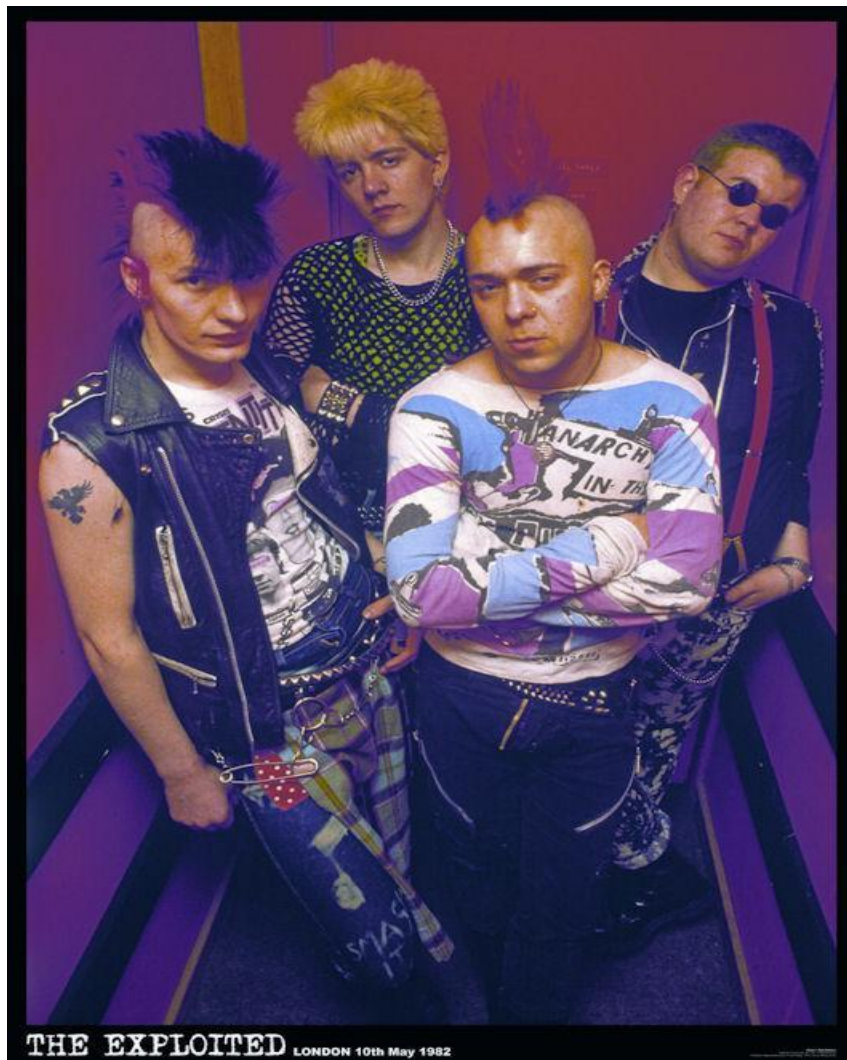


(Image 122. Record cover for The Exploited's 1988 12" extended record War Now. Courtesy of Rogh Justice. 12 KORE 103)

- *The Exploited's visual appearance in Troops of Tomorrow; the swastika as a shock symbol*

Early on in their career *The Exploited* had adopted a punk visual appearance, and this didn't change in 1982 when *Troops of Tomorrow* was issued. Below is a band photograph c1982, which presents the fashion/stylistic choices of the band. *The Exploited* adopted punk's visual look in all ways, as it is evident below. *The Exploited* sport bondage trousers, fishnet shirts, bleach and coloured (red, green, yellow) hair, Mohawk hairstyles, safety pins, bleached trousers, and silver studded belts. In general, in 1982 *The Exploited* incorporated a total punk appearance but this wasn't totally representative of their musical and image interests. In

addition, punks such as Deek Allan (vocalist for the Scottish band *Oi Polloi*) considered them (in Glasper, 2004: 404) to be “Cartoon Punks”, claiming that *The Exploited* were just an extravagant and ignorant fashion band (“Only interested in getting pissed and causing chaos [...] devoid of real politics and positivity”).



(Image 123. *The Exploited* band picture, 1982. Retrieved from official *The Exploited* webpage on Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/TheExploited>)

Another interesting stylistic choice of *The Exploited* (and more specifically, “Wattie” Buchan’s choice) was the incorporation of the swastika sign, that, amongst the uses that it had historically, was as an emblem of German nationalist nazi identity, adopted by Hitler in 1920 (Blachetta, 1941: 47). “Wattie” Buchan had a swastika tattoo, which appears in the photograph below retrieved from the band’s official website (<http://www.the-exploited.net>). The use of the swastika by UK punks, among other symbols that were situated in this bricolage of fashion,

had a provocative role intended to shock British society,²⁰¹ rather than signifying a pledge of allegiance to neo-nazism (Moore, 2004: 312). This perhaps innocent and irresponsible use of the swastika by punk was quickly eliminated due to the influence of the RAR (Rock Against Racism) movement,²⁰² and at the same time because of the adoption of the swastika by the fascist British National Front and the RAC (Rock Against Communism) bands that were affiliated with it (Frith and Street, 1992: 69).²⁰³

²⁰¹ In fact, many of the punks of the first wave (such as Sid Vicious and Siouxsie Sioux) have been photographed while wearing T-shirts emblazoned with swastikas, and this fact led music journalist Lester Bangs to refer to them as “Racists of the white noise” on 1977 (from the *Psychotic Reactions and Carburettor Dung* collection of essays, 187: 272). Hebdige reckoned the use of swastikas by Punks was a mindless act, a “noise that made nonsense,” in order to provoke hatred, that they so much enjoyed (1979: 114).

²⁰² The swastika symbol was also condemned by US Punks, such as *Dead Kennedys* and their 1981 song “Nazi Punks Fuck Off” where they note: “You still think swastikas look cool/The real Nazis run your schools/They’re coaches, businessmen and cops/In a real fourth Reich you’ll be the first to go” in their 1981 12” mini long-play record *In God we trust inc.*

²⁰³ I refer to the issue of the use of the swastika by *The Exploited* partly in terms of what will follow in the next chapter with the case of UK heavy metal band *Motorhead* and its adoption of the swastika and the Iron Cross.



(Image 124. *The Exploited's* Wattie Buchan Swastika tattoo. 2005, Retrieved from official *The Exploited* webpage on <http://www.the-exploited.net>. Courtesy of spiritribe.com)

Garry Bushell, while interviewing Wattie Buchan for *Sounds* magazine (9 August 1980), mentioned that he initially found the idea of adopting swastikas to be unoriginal (“I couldn't help feeling that with their redundant swastika-shock emblems they were more living out the fag-end of punk 77-style than striving to carve out an entity of their own”) and a turn-off for him. In the same interview “Wattie” Buchan refutes all accusations of *The Exploited* belonging to any right-wing organizations and expresses his view on the adoption of the swastika as a symbol of punk, because of the shock value affiliated with it (“I only wear it because it stands for punk, it's nothing to do with the National Front or anything”) even though Bushell claimed (“Swastikas stand for nothing of the kind and in today's climate they ought to

be buried and forgotten and replaced by symbols a bit more positive and human”) that the symbol of the swastika had become passé and should be replaced by symbols with a more affirmative message.

In 2009 *The Exploited* went on to deny all the rumours that affiliated them with fascism and racism, publishing a statement in their official website that appears in the next picture.



(Image 125. *The Exploited*'s statement against racism and fascism as published in their official website, on 2009. Courtesy of <http://www.the-exploited.net>)

Continuing my analysis of *The Exploited*'s visual appearance in 1982, it is necessary to undertake a critique of the video-clip for the song "USA" that appeared in the documentary

UK/DK – A film about punks and Skinheads (Cherry Red, 1983).²⁰⁴ The band's stylistic choices are the same that were adopted for the 1982 picture presented above, with *The Exploited* adopting an all-out punk fashion image. The music video of "USA" depicts *The Exploited* playing in a studio, focussing on their energetic appearance and Buchan's body/hand movements and facial expressions (01:02) that reveal the power that feeds off *The Exploited*'s music, as well as the other members' expressions and movements, such as guitar player's "Big" John Duncan's movements and expressions.

The issue of "power" in music is (according to Weinstein, 1991: 12, 21) the ultimate goal of heavy metal, as well as its mandatory sonic element. *The Exploited* appear to act immaturely in this video clip, in the acts of throwing road traffic cones at each other (1:14) and towards houses (1:32), disobeying laws through jejune acts,²⁰⁵ and thus conforming to the whole of punk's "law-breaking" mentality, while finally they seem to enjoy such childish acts as throwing each other into the garbage (01:47), with smiles written all over their faces. The case of *The Exploited* in 1982 is very interesting in visual terms. On the one hand, they are keeping up with the 1977 punk tradition of shock value, endorsing all the fashion that is representative of punk subculture, but on the other hand their video activities could also be reminiscent of heavy metal music genre, in terms of them appearing to be a band that draws energy from their music power.

In subsequent subsections I will consider how *The Exploited* included (in music, in lyrics, in imagery and in visuals) even more components of heavy metal throughout the 1980s.

- *The Exploited's inclusion of heavy metal components post-Troops of Tomorrow*

During the 1980s *The Exploited* went on to introduce various components from the tradition of heavy metal music genre, even though "Wattie" Buchan totally rejected the assertion that the band had any connection with heavy metal. According to *Oi Polloi*'s vocalist Deek Allan (in Glasper, 2004: 407), when *The Exploited*'s 1987 12" long play record *Death Before Dishonour* was released, it raised questions among punk fans who thought it was "too

²⁰⁴ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3bZzM4s0Hgs> accessed on 06/07/2019.

²⁰⁵ In the 2001 *The Exploited* Documentary, *Rock n' Roll outlaws*, the narrator stated that the band used destruction in order to have fun; it did not come from malice (07:11).

heavy metal.” One of them complained to “Wattie” Buchan (at a local Scottish pub) that *Death Before Dishonour* was more in the heavy metal music tradition than in punk; Buchan responded by physically attacking this fan. *Death Before Dishonour* though included elements of heavy metal music genre, and this is evident in the music analysis of the song “Pulling us Down”.

No reviews of the 12” long play record *Death Before Dishonour* could be found in any of the magazines I analysed. However, the visual and musical analysis of *Death Before Dishonour* that I attempt now leads to the conclusion that The Exploited attempted to crossover (though not holistically, only partially) to heavy metal music genre.

In music terms, the inclusion of more heavy metal components is evident in the song “Pulling us Down,” from the 1987 12” long play record *Death Before Dishonour*. *Death Before Dishonour* was initially pressed by the UK label *Rough Justice* (JUST 6), a subsidiary of the heavy metal label *Music For Nations* (Sharpe-Young, 2005: 99) which focussed on releasing the “more metallic sounding punk bands”, according to Glasper (2004: 199) such as *Broken Bones*, *GBH* and the *English Dogs*. Digby Pearson, while reviewing the UK punk scene for *Maximum Rock n’ Roll* (no.38, July 1986), took a stance against the UK punk bands that signed record deals with *Rough Justice* records (“Meanwhile on the heavy metal front [...] As predicted, *GBH*, *Onslaught* and *English Dogs* have crossed over the edge into being full bloom metal acts [...] They signed to *Music for Nations*, a major UK metal label and its off shoots (*Rough Justice / Under One Flag*)”, blaming them for being ignorant of the punk subculture from which they initially arose (“Any poor soul still labouring under the misapprehension that these bands are in any way still connected with the intelligent, caring UK hardcore scene...”), calling out for punk fans not to support them.

Continuing with the analysis of “Pulling us down,” the first issue to mention is that the song runs for 04:30 minutes, a length that is typical for heavy metal music culture. From the first notes of the song, it is evident that the production of the record is in the heavy metal tradition (as formulated by Weinstein, 1991), where all instruments are easily discernible, the production emphasizes a lower-key sound result that offers the band the chance to expose the sonic element of “power,” a trademark for heavy metal music culture. The production of *Death*

Before Dishonour was undertaken by both “Wattie” Buchan and UK producer Dave Pine²⁰⁶. With the exception of *The Exploited*, Dave Pine did not produce any punk band throughout his career²⁰⁷ and a fact that corroborates the assumption that *The Exploited’s Death before dishonour* 12” long play record had a production most suitable for heavy metal is that the production resembles that of UK band *Onslaught’s* 1986 12” long play record *The Force*. Dave Pine was the producer for *The Force* and in a previous chapter I described how in this specific era *Onslaught* became a full-on heavy metal band in all ways.

“Pulling us down” starts with a guitar intro that evolves into a power chord reminiscent of thrash metal (as it is fast but at the same time still belongs in the guitar playing style of heavy metal) for the first 00:36 seconds of the song, where Buchan sings the verse of the song. Then, the guitar playing alternates to a slightly different power chord, still in the heavy metal tradition (00:36-00: 49) and the chorus of the song takes place, only to return to the first power chord guitar played. The above order is repeated two more times, and at 01:54 a slower power chord guitar played reminiscent of heavy metal takes place until 02:06. Afterwards, the song returns to the “verse/chorus” guitar playing style, with no alternations, for two more times. Then, at 03:23 a guitar lead playing solo takes place, until 03:45 in the tradition of heavy metal guitar soloing. The “verse/chorus” guitar playing style is repeated for one more time, and at 04:06 the song fades out with the same slower guitar power chord playing that was used at 01:54. The drumming playing style is fast, with alternations in playing style, exhibiting the drummer’s proficient playing and there are two cases where the tempo followed changes from fast to mid-tempo, at 01:54 and 04:06. The bass guitar playing is indiscernible. The vocals of “Wattie” Buchan, being high-pitched, are in the tradition of punk.

In terms of musical ekphrasis, “Pulling us down” is a song that expresses its message in a very oppressive and direct manner; the “oppressive” manner derives from the fact that *The Exploited* leave no room for any other thoughts given their emphatic use of sonic power. Their message has to find effect as quickly as possible. The vocal power of “Wattie” Buchan’s singing style gives the song persuasiveness and directness whose lyric content deals with the “Rich vs Poor” issue. However, due to its low-tuned production and sound, the song also

²⁰⁶ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Exploited-Death-Before-Dishonour/release/6837165> accessed on 10/07/2019.

²⁰⁷ Data retrieved from https://www.discogs.com/artist/270371-Dave-Pine?filter_anv=0&subtype=Technical&type=Credits accessed on 10/07/2019.

sounds scary, as if it comes out of another world, one where there is little or no hope at all. The impression that “Pulling us down” offers is as if it was recorded in a mundane, lightness place. Finally, the song doesn’t offer any hope for a better future, either in lyric terms (“They are driving us completely insane”) or in music terms, since it doesn’t contain any component that could reflect any kind of hope – the rhythm is frantic and the musical landscape is dark. The prospect of an inevitable end for everybody except the rich is conveyed to the listener.

The music crossover of *The Exploited* with heavy metal music genre is significant, because it represents *The Exploited*’s tendency to create a musical output that it is more extreme-sounding than their earlier recordings; *The Exploited* target for audience in heavy metal too, but in the more extreme subgenre of thrash metal (that was very popular among the heavy metal fans at that time). Even though the music press (as well as the punk fans and musicians) regards *The Exploited* as “faux” and “cartoon punks”, it can’t be denied that their crossover with heavy metal created a more extreme-sounding output.

In terms of lyric style, “Pulling us down” belongs to the punk music culture of social commentary and the message conveyed about there being “No Future” is a primary punk message, but the musical landscape has many things in common with heavy metal (specifically, thrash metal). “Pulling us down” has production and guitar playing reminiscent of thrash metal and the vocal style of “Wattie” Buchan is one that contributes to the song crossing over to punk music genre, giving the song strong punk and heavy metal genre content.

In terms of visual style, *The Exploited* remained a band dressed in the punk stylistic tradition throughout the 1980s, but heavy metal components were added also in this case. This is evident in the photograph below taken from the back sleeve cover of the 1987 12” long play record *Death before Dishonour*. Whereas three members of *The Exploited* remained in the punk fashion tradition sporting spiked or multi-coloured hair, the first one on the left adopts a more heavy metal dressing style. He has a hairstyle reminiscent of heavy metal (note his fringe) and wears a heavy metal band’s T-shirt (*Metallica*’s 1984 12” single record cover *Jump in the Fire*). The cover of *Jump in the Fire* was partly used by UK artist Les Edwards and initially was created by Edwards for the cover of Graham Masterton’s novel, *Devils of D-Day*²⁰⁸. The

²⁰⁸ Data Retrieved from <http://www.lesedwards.com/galleries/vintage/the-devils-of-d-day/1177> accessed on 10/07/2021

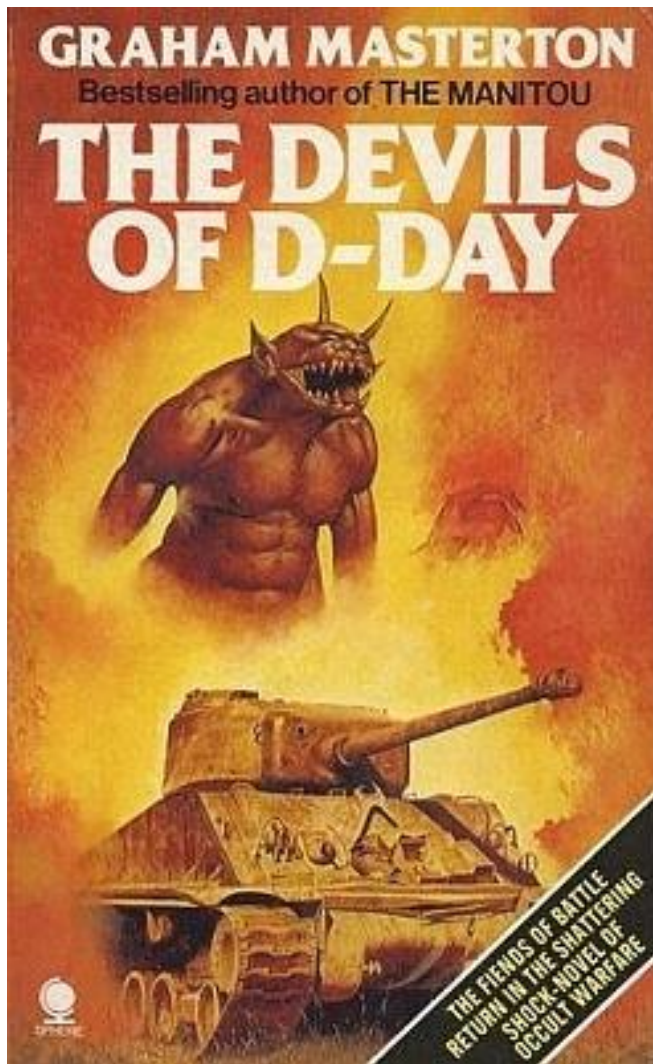
metatext gained from the back cover band photograph from *Death before dishonour* conveys the message that *The Exploited* is a punk band, but that other elements such as heavy metal could be apparent in the record's music.



(Image 126. *The Exploited's* back cover of *Death before dishonour* 12" long play record. Courtesy of Rough Justice. JUST 6)



(Image 127. Metallica's 1984 Jump in the fire 12" single record cover. Courtesy of Music For Nations. 12 KUT-105)



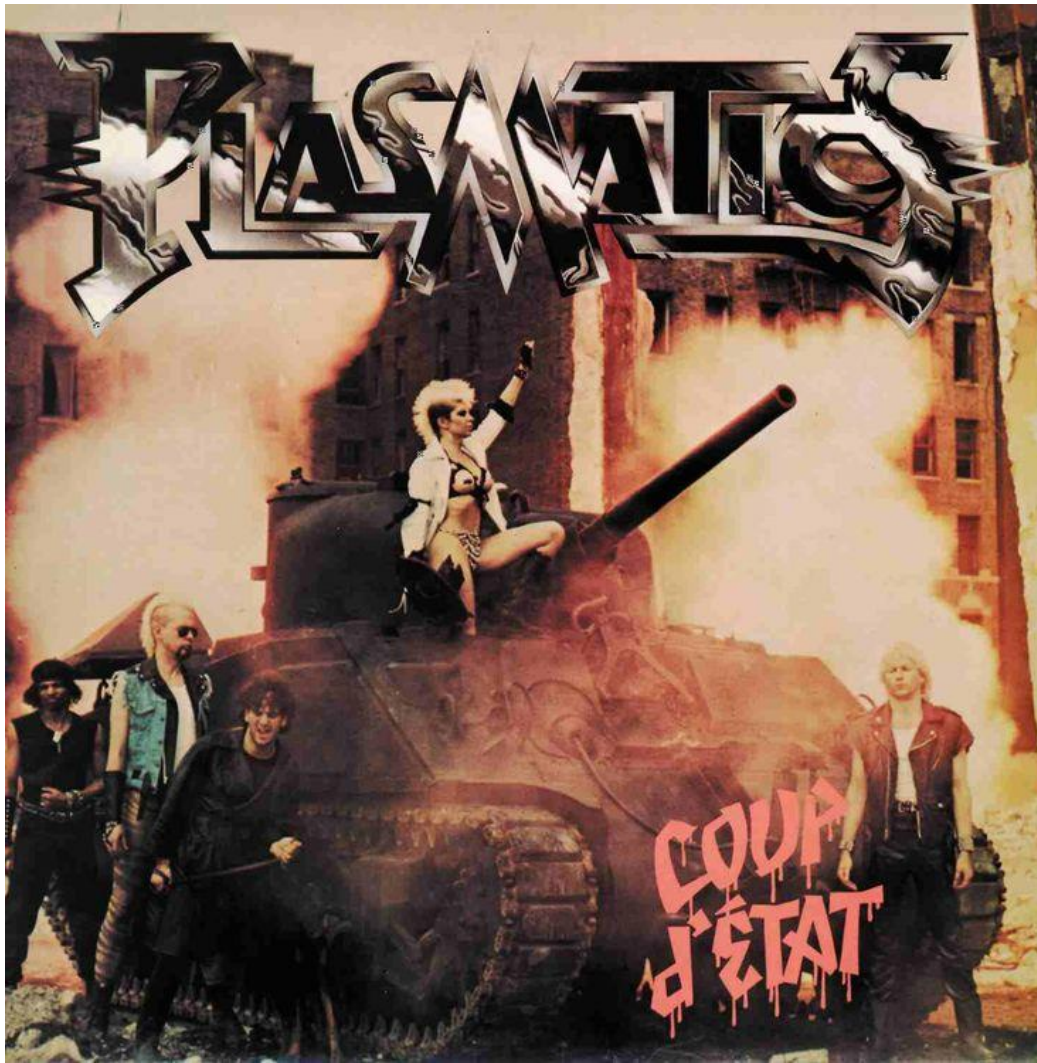
(Image 128. Graham Masterton's 1978 novel book cover for *The Devils of D-Day*. Courtesy of Pinnacle Books)

The theme of Masterton's novel appealed both to heavy metal and punk bands given the lyric's position within both genres. *The Devils of D-Day* is a fantasy based on the battle of La Vey Bridge in July 1944 between US and German forces. In the story the Americans employ 13 demons to help them defeat the Germans. The demons destroyed 13 black tanks and hundreds of Germans find an unpleasant death. However, thirty-five years later, Dan McCook (the novel's hero) visits the area and dares to open a sealed tank, containing those who remained from the battle. A demon then releases chaos and destruction in the area, and McCook travels back to the United States in order to find a priest named Father Anton, one of the priests responsible for the employment of the demons in 1944, in order to help him stop the demon released by McCook's actions.

The theme of the novel appealed to both heavy metal and punk bands, since it contains both historical facts (such as the Normandy battles, war and its consequences) as well as the fantasy/horror components. The book therefore seems to have a crossover appeal to both genres, as well as its cover – the depiction of a screaming demon replicates heavy metal imagery, while the depiction of a tank (implying violent destruction) converged with both punk and heavy metal imagery. This is evident in the next two record covers illustrated here; the first from the NWOBHM band *Tank* and the second from the US punk/metal band *The Plasmatics*.



(Image 129. *Tank's* record cover for the 1984 12" long play record *Honour and Blood*. Courtesy of Music for Nations, MFN 26)



(Image 130. *The Plasmatics*; record cover of their 1982 12" long play record *Coup D'Etat*. Courtesy of Capitol Records. ST-12237)

Continuing this discussion of *The Exploited*'s gradual use of heavy metal stylistic components, it is clear that their imagery also indicated a punk/heavy metal crossover. The cover of the 1987 *Death before Dishonour* record (created by Tim Gravestock, British designer, illustrator and photographer),²⁰⁹ employs imagery components from both genres. On the one hand, there is a depiction of punk's political interests, with the image of a Margaret Thatcher appearing to be scared in front of the Grim Reaper that has grabbed her in a threatening way – the image of a Grim Reaper being a heavy metal image representing Death). The cover's background is painted black and grey, in the tradition of heavy metal (Weinstein, 1991: 29), bordering on the grotesque. The title *Death before dishonour* combined with the depiction on

²⁰⁹ Data Retrieved from <http://www.takumigroup.net> accessed on 01/07/2021.

the cover could explain its punk/heavy metal crossover. The title deals with two major heavy metal and punk themes: “Death,” a heavy metal topos, and “Dishonour,” which, according to *The Exploited*, indicated Thatcher’s disgraceful political actions. Therefore, *The Exploited* proposed death for the Prime Minister, before her politics led to even more disgrace.



(Image 131. *The Exploited*’s 1987 record cover for the 12” long play record *Death before Dishonour*. Courtesy of Rough Justice. JUST 6)

The Exploited even included a song on this album with a lyric in the vein of the Dionysian theme of heavy metal; this song was “Sexual Favours”. Even though there is a lack of data, since no lyrics for “Sexual Favours” appear to exist, the song’s title itself diverges from punk’s lyric tradition.

However, in terms of analysis of the music video, *The Exploited* remain in the tradition of punk subculture. For the “Sexual Favours” song, *The Exploited* had also issued a video clip in 1987²¹⁰ from punk video label *Jettisoundz*.²¹¹ The “Sexual Favours” video is 03:40 in length²¹² and depicts *The Exploited* live, accompanied by a female punk on vocals. The song’s mid-tempo speed, nearly hypnotic in approach, is reflected in the band members; there is no such issue as the “power” of the song “USA” and the appearance of *The Exploited* in this song is straight punk, both in terms of fashion and in terms of the on-scene delivery of the song. The addition of a female punk, singing along with the chorus of the song (“sexual favours”), however, could be described as ambivalent. On the one hand, women in the punk scene had had a strong presence since its early days (Coon, 1977), with that presence being so significant that it went on to transform the Riot Grrrl punk movement that emerged in Washington in the late 1980s, in a female movement that combined feminist views with radical politics (Garrison, 2000: 142).

The Exploited employ a female punk guest to sing in their song “Sexual Favours.” The song, however, lacks the usual “power” of *The Exploited*’s songs and this could be related to their choice of a female co-vocalist. The song focuses on glorifying the role of woman as “sex object”, a topic prevalent in many heavy metal bands’ lyrics (Weinstein, 1991: 67) and also a theme of major criticism in the punk subculture (especially, anarcho-punk²¹³) that rejected sexism in all respects, thus creating a controversy in the case of *The Exploited*.²¹⁴

7.4.2.2 Motorhead’s Anti-Americanism; crossover issues expressed by the first fusion metal/punk band.

Through my research into the lyrics of 526 UK heavy metal bands from 1969 to 1989, it appears that there were only a few cases where America was criticized (though not in the

²¹⁰ Data Retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Exploited-Sexual-Favours/release/783308> accessed on 10/07/2021

²¹¹ Data Retrieved from <http://jettisoundz.co.uk> accessed on 10/07/2021

²¹² Data retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_QA5Mw6o0Fc accessed on 08/07/2022

²¹³ Such as the case of Crass and their 1981 12” long play record *Penis Envy*, that stands as a paradigm of an all-out-attack on sexism as an “institution of the system” (Raha, 2005).

²¹⁴ However, the case of sexism in lyrics was also apparent in some more UK82 Punk bands. This is evident in GBH’s 1982 song “Slut” (“Slut...dirty bitch”), or *Anti-Nowhere League*’s 1982 song “Woman”, leading to criticism by reviewers such as Ruth Schwartz, who stated in *Maximum Rock n’ Roll*, #03 (1982: 49) that “there’s one song about getting drunk and fucking a ‘slut’. Needless to say, that makes me wonder about these guys,” while reviewing GBH’s 12” record *City Baby attacked by rats*.

way that *The Exploited* attacked and denounced pro-American attitudes). Among these cases the band *Motorhead* is included and will be analysed later on, but there is also another one inclination in heavy metal's lyrics style towards America; this is the pro-American stance proposed by heavy metal bands such as *Cloven Hoof*²¹⁵, *Def Leppard*²¹⁶ and *Black Rose*²¹⁷, while the case of pro-American stance in UK punk lyrics was absent. Returning to the original exploration of anti-Americanism in UK heavy metal, the criticism of *Motorhead* on America was mostly based on regional lifestyles, and did not refer to the whole of America as a nation, and didn't include any political references.

- *Motorhead's history and style*

Motorhead are an English heavy metal band formed by bass guitar player Ian "Lemmy" Kilmister in 1976 (Bayer, 2009: 189). In terms of *Motorhead's* musical style, the band has been given many definitions. Walser (1993: 25) describes *Motorhead* as the band that created the speed metal subgenre, although they had many punk leanings. Waksman (2004: 2) describes *Motorhead* as a music hybrid of heavy metal and punk, balancing equal parts of heavy metal's power with punk's noise. Pierre Perone, in his article in *The Independent* newspaper on *Motorhead*, states that the band's bass guitar player, Kilminster, always considered *Motorhead* to be a rock n' roll band, not heavy metal²¹⁸. Finally, reviewers such as John Mendelsohn for *Creem* magazine (December 1983) stated that *Motorhead* were a heavy metal band. *Motorhead's* manager Dough Smith, however, while interviewed by Adam Sweeting for *Trouser Press* (May 1981), stated that *Motorhead* had nothing to do with heavy metal and were a hard rock band²¹⁹, whereas Paul Morley while reviewing *Motorhead's* 1981 12" live long play record *No Sleep Till Hammersmith* (on *New Musical Express*, 13 June 1981) categorised *Motorhead* as a "glorious heavy metal rock" band. Sylvie Simmons in her articles in *Fastway*

²¹⁵ *Cloven Hoof*, in their 1982 song "Back in the USA," taken from the 12" extended play record *The Opening Ritual* (*Elemental Music* – E.M 001), indicate their admiration for the US and describe their dream to succeed as a band in America.

²¹⁶ *Def Leppard* hailed America in their 1980 song "Hello America", taken from the 1980 12" long play record *On Through the Night* (*Polydor* 1101) in the same way *Cloven Hoof* did, praising America and showing their desire to break into the US market.

²¹⁷ *Black Rose*, in their 1987 song "California USA," (taken from the *Walk it how you talk it* 12" long play record, *Neat Records*, NEAT 1034), praised the American lifestyle and landscape.

²¹⁸ Data Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/lemmy-kilmister-mot-rhead-frontman-who-embodied-the-rocknroll-lifestyle-a6789906.html> accessed on 09/07/2022.

²¹⁹ Even though Adam Sweeting refers to *Motorhead* as a part of the heavy metal phenomenon in the same interview.

and *Motorhead* for *Creem* magazine (December 1983), described *Motorhead* as the best “heavy metal band on the face of the Earth”, while Danny (Shredder) Weizmann describes them in *LA Weekly* magazine (13 January 1984) as a “a strictly brass knuckles 90 m.p.h. heavy metal trio”.

It's actually very interesting to add the opinions of different musicians, from both musical genres, regarding *Motorhead* and their crossover with heavy metal and punk. From interviews conducted, Si Cobb (vocals, bass and founding member of the 1980's UK crossover band *Anihilated*) mentions that “*Venom*, *Discharge* and *Motorhead* to begin with, followed by *Atomkraft* were the first ones to pursue the crossover, with *Motorhead* being almost universally accepted by fans of both genres”. Malcolm Stephen Lewty, guitarist and vocalist of the 1980s UK crust/punk band *Hellbastard* adds that “in short on a musical level it was *Discharge*, *Motorhead*, *Hellhammer* and *Metallica*”, while Ian Glasper, musician and author mentions that “I loved punk, but thought heavy metal was ridiculous in the main – apart from *Motorhead* and *Iron Maiden*... who punks were always ‘allowed’ to like!”.

On the metal side, I got about the same responses, while interviewing UK musicians that were there (in that era in the 1980's). David Wilkinson, vocalist of *Spartan Warrior*, mentions that “I think that the first bands who combined the genres and who contributed to make the crossover of the two genres more acceptable in the UK are without doubt *Iron Maiden* and *Motorhead*. I think that you could extend that sentiment to just about every NWOBHM band of the day but in terms of profile and success *Iron Maiden* and *Motorhead* are probably the two that I would highlight. In terms of a crossover following, I honestly couldn't say with any certainty. I would hazard a guess by saying *Motorhead* because their style of playing and attitude (particularly in the late 1970s to mid-1980s) I think was very well received by fans of both genres. It wasn't at odds with anything in either movement...it was a hybrid”. Jeff Baddley, drummer of the NWOBHM band *Troyen* narrates that “*Motorhead* may not have been quite NWOBHM in some eyes but certainly had many NWOBHM bands as support. They were definitely the first ones that crossed over with punk. I once saw them with the *Damned* supporting them too!” while Cameron Vegas, vocalist of the NWOBHM band *Metal Mirror* adds simple and straight: “*Motorhead* is the first band that comes in mind when thinking of who mixed punk and heavy metal first”.

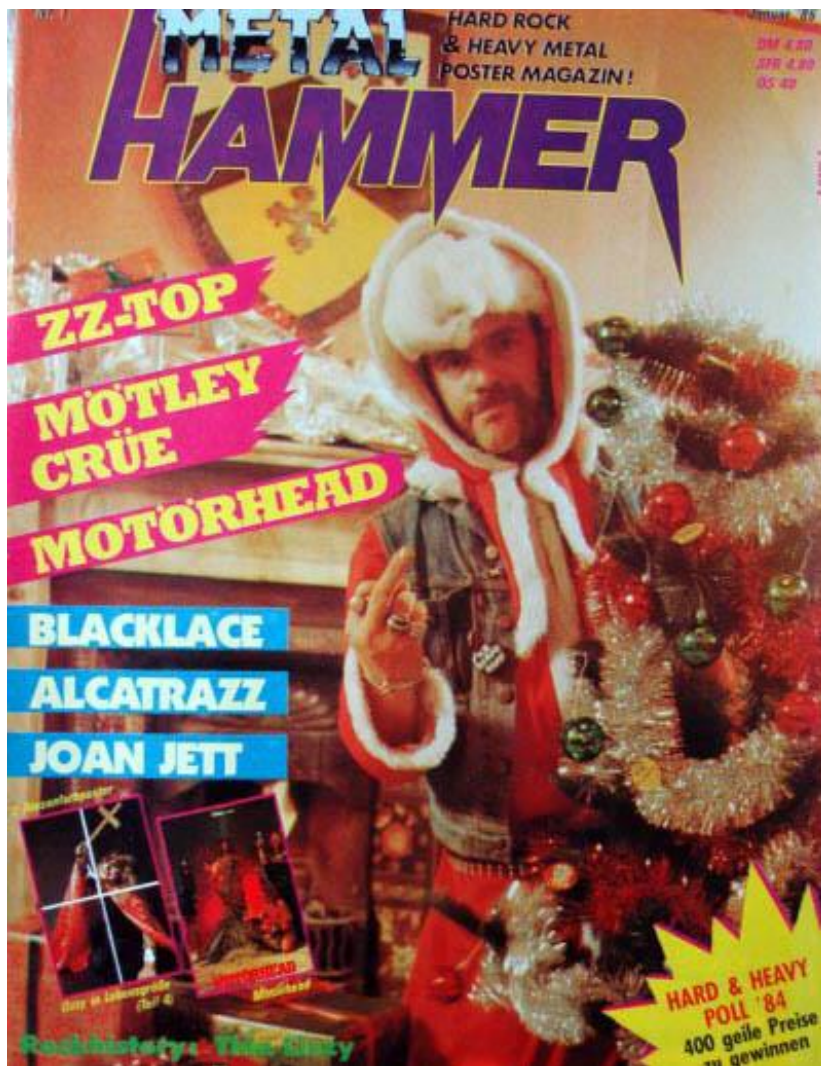
Even though *Motorhead*'s musical style is ambiguous – even by the band's own reckoning – since opinions differ, describing them as punk, heavy metal, rock n' roll and hard rock, I choose to include *Motorhead* in the heavy metal genre. My choice is determined not

only by the fact that many reviewers throughout the band's existence referred to them as heavy metal, but is also based on an analysis of the music that I will undertake later. *Motorhead*, in addition, is included in the world's largest heavy metal database (Metal Archives)²²⁰, and described as a "hard rock, heavy metal" band, even though Metal Archives has strict rules²²¹ about the bands included in its database that exclude punk and rock n' roll bands (among others). *Motorhead* appeared on the front covers of heavy metal magazines throughout the 1980s, including *Metal Hammer*, *Kerrang!*²²² and *Heavy Metal Marauders*, as illustrated below, indicating that *Motorhead* was identified as a heavy metal band.

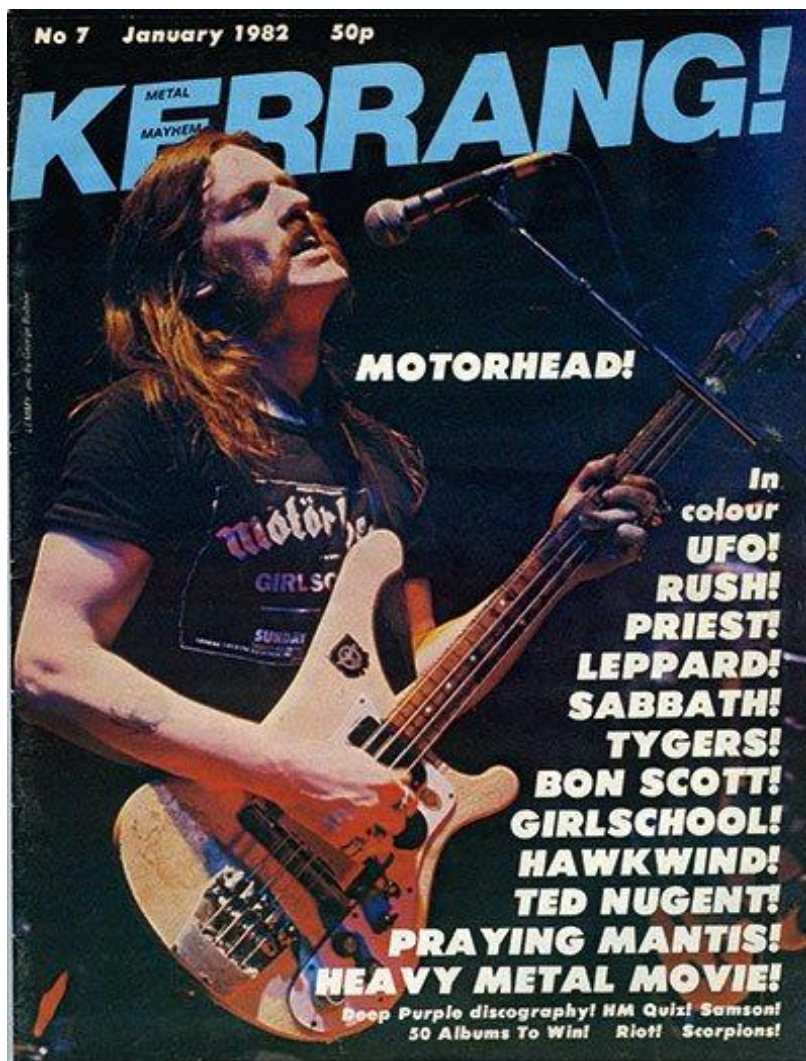
²²⁰ By 01/09/2023 the database of Metal Archives included 11082 heavy metal bands from all over the world. Data Retrieved from <http://www.metal-archives.com/stats> accessed on 01/09/2023.

²²¹ In the rules section of the Metal Archives database concerning which bands are accepted in the database, there is a detail that explains the criteria upon which a band is or isn't included. The criteria for a band to qualify are: a) they must have metal riffs and the metal elements must outweigh possible non-metal ones; b) compelling evidence that a band is metal through audio samples; c) the band must have at least one fully, unambiguously metal, album. As a result, bands that belong to the following sub-genres are not included in the database of Metal Archives: mallcore/nu metal, metalcore and deathcore (unless the element of metal out weights the element of hardcore), glam rock, classic rock, progressive rock, hard rock, hardcore, grindcore, punk, gothic rock, industrial, alternative/modern hard rock, j-rock, visual kei rock, djent, touhou, ambient, drone, noise, post-rock, post-punk, post-hardcore, cover, tribute and gimmick bands. The relevance of these criteria in my account is crucial, since via these criteria I can include Motorhead as a heavy metal band within my research, because the element of heavy metal outweighs other elements (such as punk, rock n' roll, blues rock) in Motorhead's music style. Data retrieved from <http://www.metal-archives.com/content/rules> accessed on 01/09/2023.

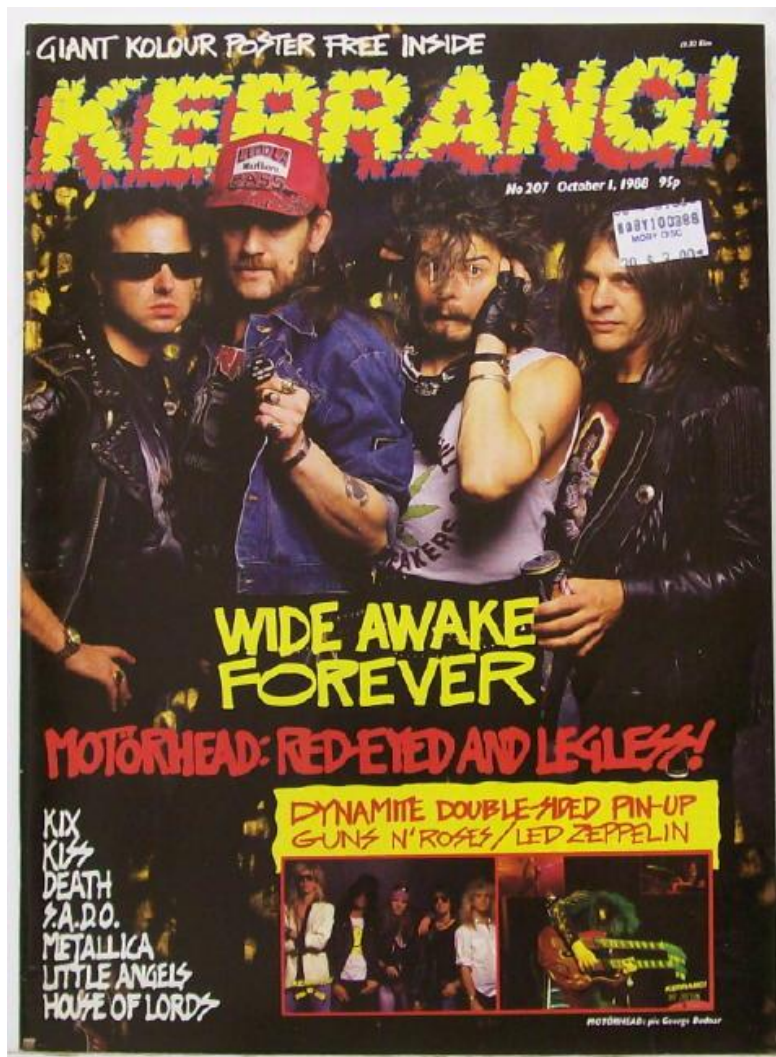
²²² According to Paul Brannigan, *Kerrang!* in its early stage (in 1981) was a magazine mainly focused on promoting heavy metal and hard rock bands exclusively (*Kerrang!*, 6 June 2006).



(Image 132. January 1985 front page cover of the German version of Metal Hammer magazine, with Motorhead's Kilminster appearing as Santa Klaus. Courtesy of Metal Hammer)



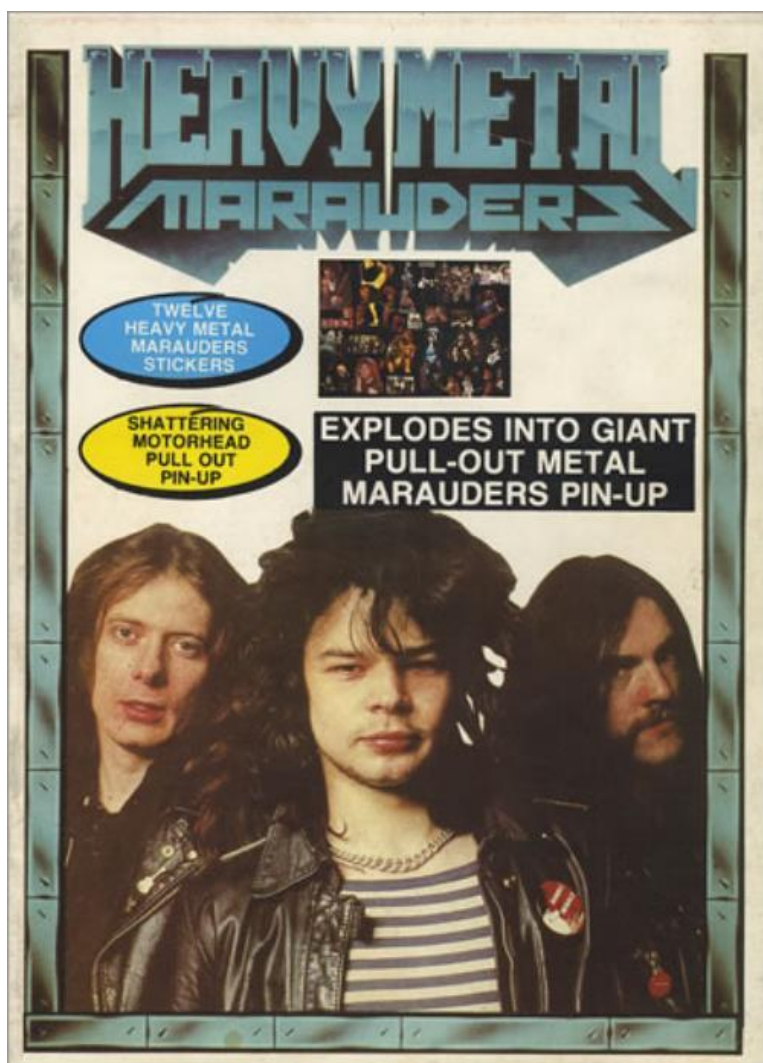
(Image 133. Front cover page of January 1982 Kerrang! magazine with Motorhead's Kilminster on stage. Courtesy of Kerrang!)



(Image 134. Front cover of October 1st, 1988 Kerrang! magazine featuring Motorhead. Courtesy of Kerrang!)



(Image 135. Front cover of Kerrang! magazine no.2, 1981, featuring Motorhead. Courtesy of Kerrang!)



(Image 136. Front cover page of *Heavy Metal Marauders* UK magazine, 1980, featuring *Motorhead*. Courtesy of Heavy Metal Marauder)

However, *Motorhead* appealed to punk and heavy metal musicians and fans. UK punk band *G.B.H.*, while interviewed in *Sounds* magazine (20 March 1982) by Garry Bushell, mentions that they were happy being compared to *Motorhead* even though they were a punk band and not heavy metal (“I’m quite happy about the *Motorhead* comparisons. It’s just that we don’t go out of our way to sound like them and we’re a punk band first and foremost”), and that, at least for a heavy metal band, *Motorhead* had a good visual profile (“At least *Motorhead* look good”).

On the other hand, Colin Irwin, while interviewing UK heavy metal band *Saxon* for *Melody Maker* magazine (26 June 1982), mentioned that *Saxon*’s lead vocalist “Biff” Byford was a great fan of *Motorhead*’s Ian Kilminster, even having an on-stage resemblance to him, and that *Saxon* and *Motorhead* had in mind putting out a split single record (“He looks like

Lemmy. He admires Lemmy. *Saxon* and *Motorhead* are even planning to record a single together, titled *Dogs Of Hackney*"). However, Byford in the same interview stated his aversion to punk music culture ("I don't think bands like *The Clash* or The Sex Pistols did get rid of the gap between the band and the audience. I remember *The Clash* booking into Park Lane, Dorchester. Not exactly street level is it? It's just bullshit. Bullshitting so many kids"), regarding it as erratic, cheating on the fans that had faith in it.

UK punk bands like New Mills' *Attak*, while interviewed for *Sounds* magazine by Gary Bushell (9 October 1982), stated that they would like their band to find acceptance with heavy metal fans ("I'd like to see a heavy metal fan with 'Attak' on his leather jacket"), and at the same time indicated their heavy metal musical preferences, *Motorhead* included ("You can't beat *Iron Maiden* and *Motorhead* and *Venom*"). Gary Bushell, again, while reviewing the UK heavy metal band's *Tank* 1982 12" long play record *Filth Hounds of Hades*, for *Sounds* magazine (6 March 1982), mentions the similarities in sound to *Motorhead*, describing *Tank* as "heavy metal that takes everything to the limit, strictly *Motorhead* style [...] heavy metal for maniacs," and stating that this resemblance becomes apparent while listening to *Tank*'s record many times ("Sure the word *Motorhead* springs to mind on various occasions").

But *Motorhead* didn't only appeal to a number of UK punk and heavy metal musicians, but had a worldwide following. This is evident in the photographs below, where both heavy metal and punk musicians indicate their support for the band by sporting T-shirts with the *Motorhead* logo.



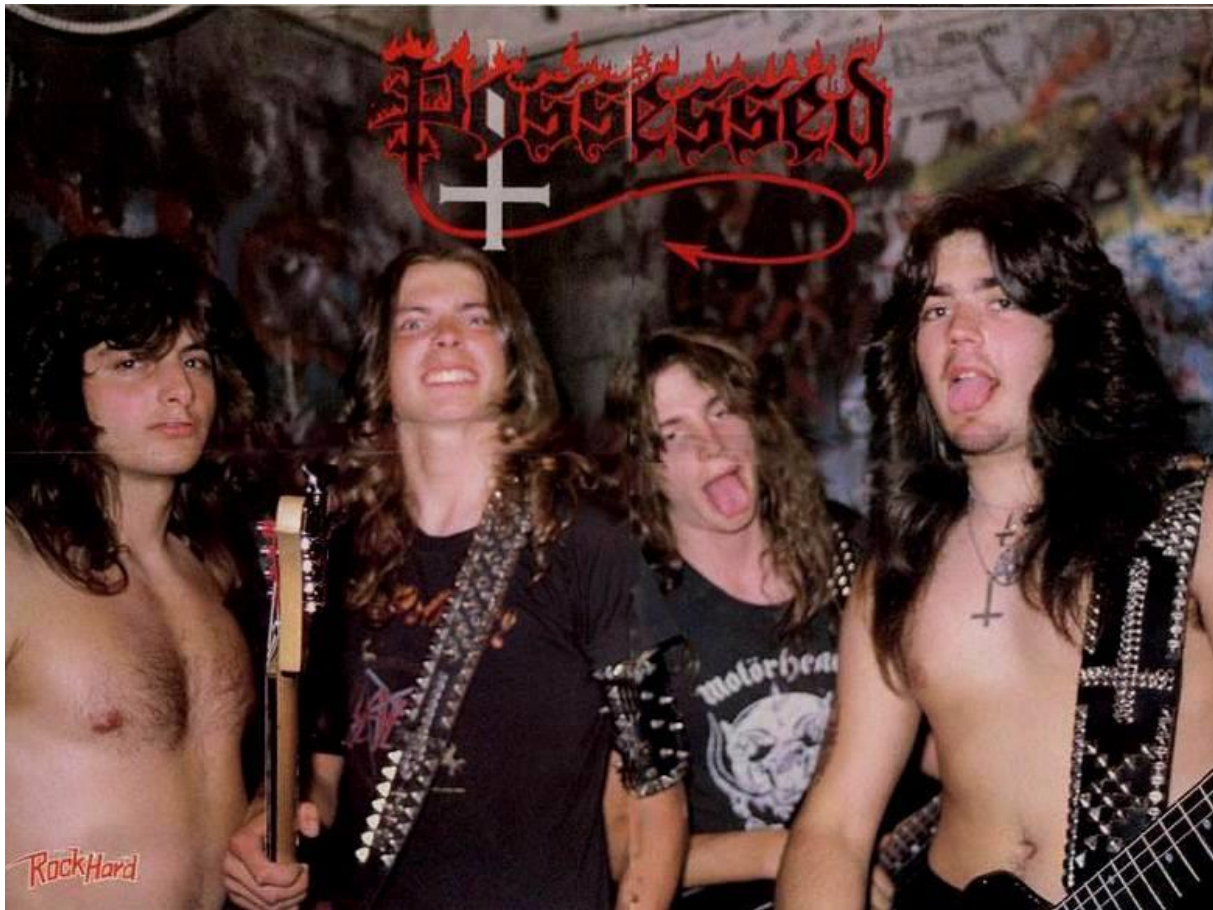
(Image 137. UK punk band GBH, 1983. The second member from left sports a Motorhead T-shirt. Photo courtesy of GBH)



(Image 138. 1986 band picture of US heavy metal band Metallica, where drummer Lars Ulrich sports a Motorhead T-shirt. Courtesy of Shinko Music)



(Image 139. US punk band Bad Religion on stage in 1982. 2 members of the band sport a Motorhead T-shirt. Courtesy of Bad Religion)



(Image 140. US Death metal band Possessed, 1985. One member sports a Motorhead T-shirt. Courtesy of Rock Hard Magazine)

As is evident from these pictures, one of the prevailing artworks for *Motorhead*'s T-shirts was the image of "Snaggleteeth" (or "War-Pig"), designed by Joe Pentagno in 1975 (McIlver, 2011: 65) and first used by *Motorhead* in their premier (1977) 12" long play record, the homonymous *Motorhead* on *Chiswick Records*.²²³ Prior to working for *Motorhead*, Pentagno designed record sleeves for southern rock bands including *Black Oak Arkansas*²²⁴, hard rock band *Nazareth*²²⁵ and classic rock bands such as *The Kinks*²²⁶. After creating *Motorhead*'s "Snaggleteeth" and continuing working for *Motorhead* on most of their

²²³ WIK 2, data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Motörhead-Motörhead/release/1294792> accessed on 09/08/2019. However, it is significant that *Chiswick Records* (London-based) released records by punk, pub rock and power pop bands (including *Skrewdriver*, *Radiators From Space* and *Dr. Feelgood*), rather than heavy metal.

²²⁴ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Black-Oak-Arkansas-High-On-The-Hog/release/3925406> accessed on 07/08/2022.

²²⁵ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Nazareth-Rampant/release/2564562> accessed on 07/08/2022.

²²⁶ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/The-Kinks-Soap-Opera/release/387777> accessed on 07/08/2022.

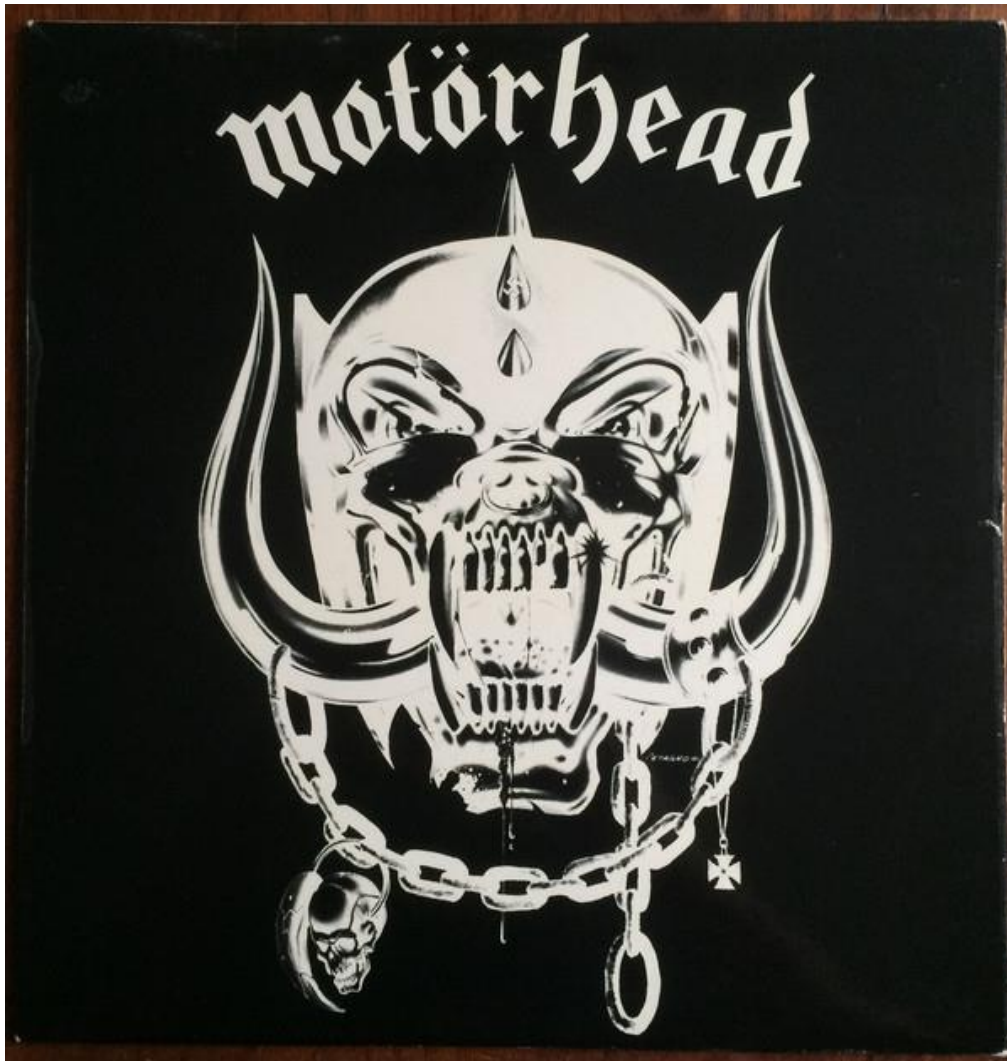
subsequent long-play records until the end of the band's career,²²⁷ Pentagno gained popularity in the heavy metal territory and was responsible for the artwork of both many and different (in terms of style) bands of the genre. Amongst these were Germany's *Paradox* (thrash metal), Denmark's *Pretty Maids* (heavy metal), Australia's *Nothing Sacred* (power metal) and Sweden's *Marduk* (black metal)²²⁸. One could conclude from this that it was *Motorhead*'s visual style that made Pentagno recognisable all over the world and that the image of "Snaggletooth" became recognisable among heavy metal fans (and bands), thus confirming that *Motorhead* were a band whose fan base included a good proportion of such devotees. Even though "Snaggletooth" was also popular with punks, there was a strong heavy metal affiliation with *Motorhead*.

According to Pentagno, "Snaggletooth" symbolises "the primordial nature" that Ian Kilminster represented and while drawing it he researched various types of skulls, only to decide to use a "cross-breed gorilla-wolf-dog" combination. Kilminster added his personal touch in the creation of "Snaggletooth", adding "a helmet, spikes, chains"²²⁹. "Snaggletooth," therefore, stood as a symbol of "power", a symbol indicating both the band's musical power as well as Kilminster's potent "original nature".

²²⁷ This conclusion derives from the fact that each and every *Motorhead* 12" long play record was investigated via the database of metal Archives in order to gain information about the creators of the *Motorhead* covers; in most cases, it was Pentagno.

²²⁸ Data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/artists/Joe_Petagno/20163 and Pentagno's official website on <http://petagno.dk/about.html> accessed on 07/08/2022.

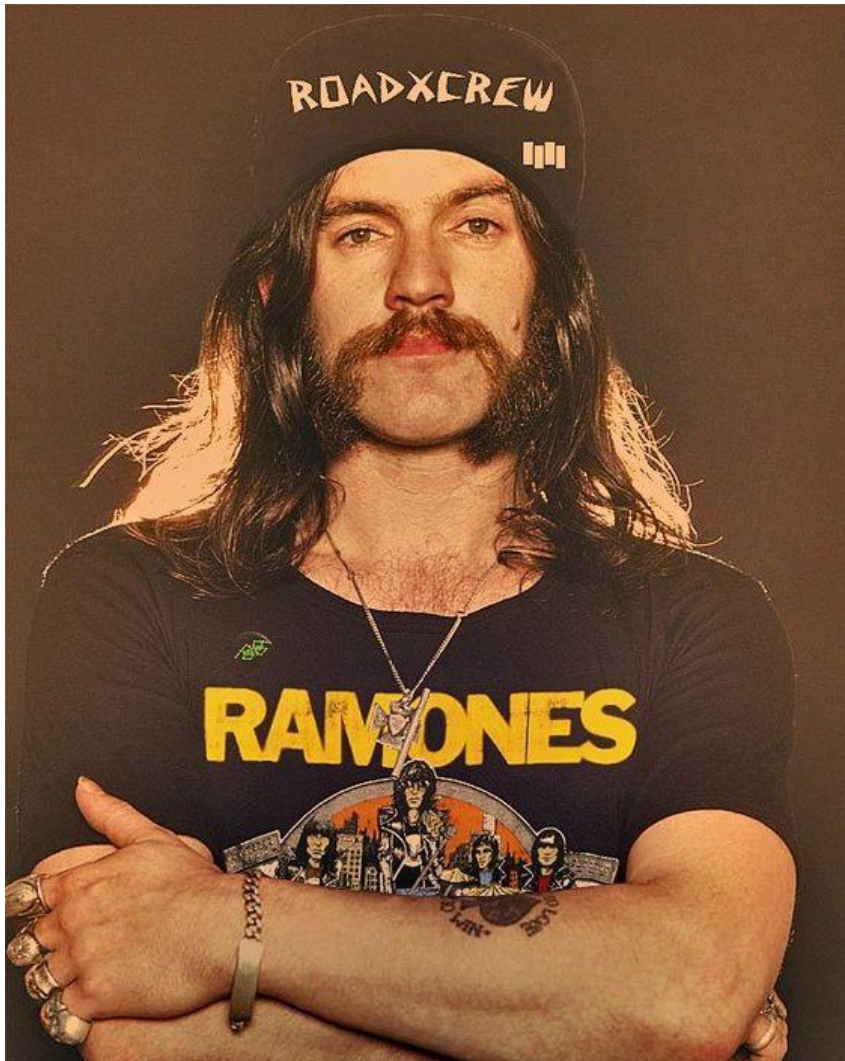
²²⁹ Data retrieved from <http://www.imotorhead.com/specialfeatures/petagno.htm> accessed on 01/06/2017 and from the "About Joe Petagno" interview section on *Motorhead*'s *Inferno* compact disc record, 30th Anniversary edition bonus DVD, SPV69748.



(Image 141. Motorhead's first 12" long play record cover,²³⁰ illustrated by Joe Pentagno. Courtesy of Chiswick Records. WIK2)

Even though *Motorhead*'s bass guitar player, "Lemmy" Kilminster, declared that *Motorhead* was neither punk nor heavy metal but a "plain rock n' roll" band, he personally had affiliations with both musical genres since he endorsed bands from both and this is evident in the photographs below where Ian "Lemmy" Kilminster is sporting T-shirts from heavy metal and punk bands.

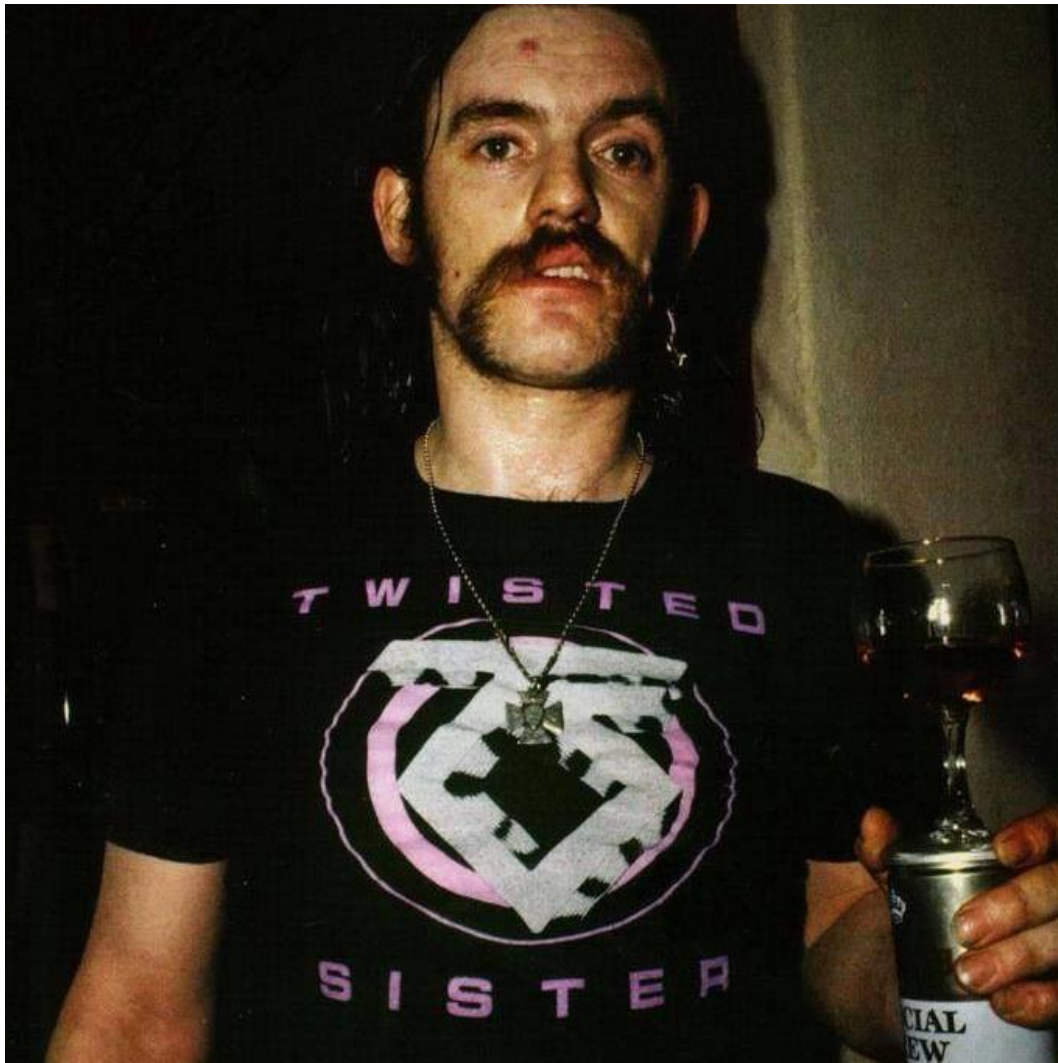
²³⁰ If one is very observant, it is possible to distinguish an image of the swastika on Snaggletooth, in the middle pyramid of his helmet. I will analyse and discuss later *Motorhead*'s use of the swastika and World War II memorabilia, in order to compare the band's case with *The Exploited*.



(Image 142. 1985 photograph of Ian "Lemmy" Kilminster with a T-shirt by US punk band Ramones. Photo courtesy of Motorhead)



(Image 143. Motorhead band photograph taken in 1982 of Ian “Lemmy” Kilminster with a T-shirt by US punk band Plasmatics. Photo courtesy unknown)

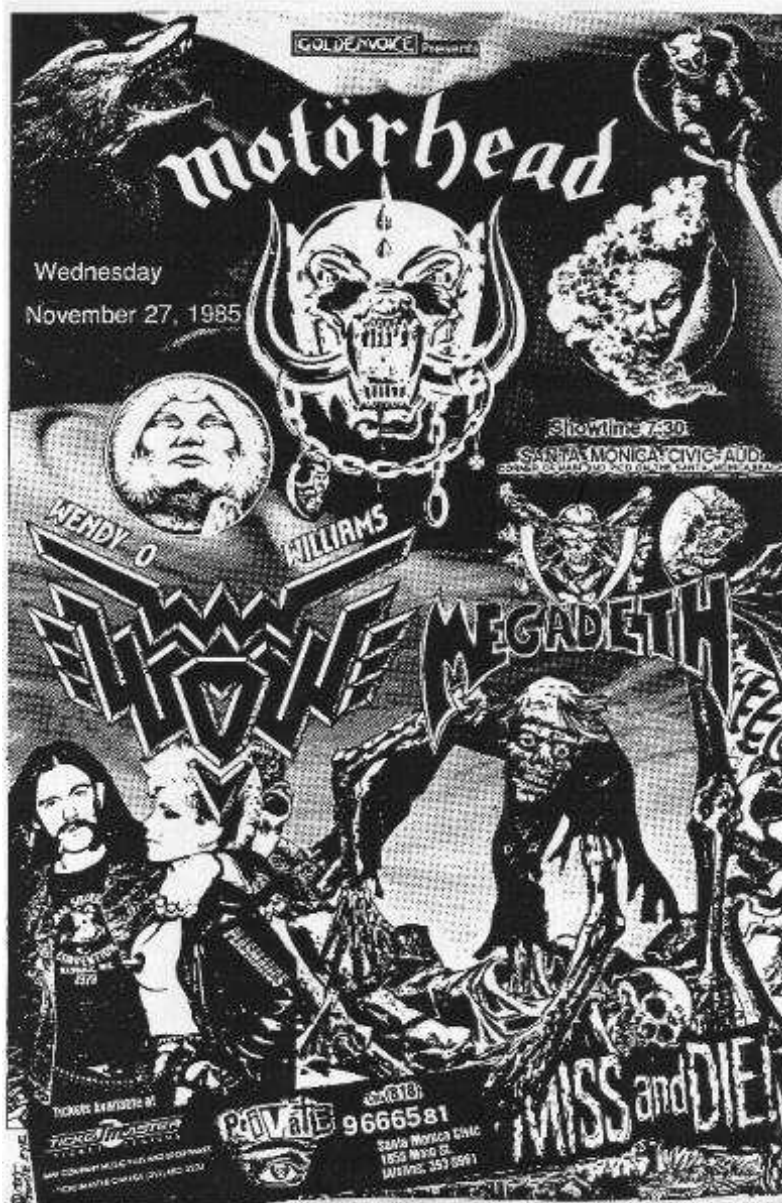


(Image 144. 1982 photo of Ian "Lemmy" Kilminster with a T-shirt by US heavy metal band Twisted Sister. Photo courtesy of Twisted Sister via their official website on www.twistedsister.com)



(Image 145. 1982 photo of UK heavy metal band Tank with Ian “Lemmy” Kilminster sporting a T-shirt with a logo of the band Tank. Photograph courtesy of Tank’s official website on <http://www.tankfilthhounds.net/history.htm>)

In conclusion, *Motorhead* played (in the period from 1976 till 1989) with both punk and heavy metal bands, appearing in billings with bands from both genres not only in the UK, but in the USA too. This is evident in the gig posters below.



(Image 146. 1985 gig poster of Motorhead along with punk/metal act Wendy O' Williams and thrash metal band Megadeth. Courtesy of Thrash Eaters website)



(Image 147. 1977 gig poster of Motorhead along with UK punk bands The Damned and The Adverts. Courtesy unknown)



(Image 148. 1985 gig poster of Motorhead along with US punk acts Necros, Die Kreuzen and White Flag, Thelionious Monster and Canada punk band D.O.A. Courtesy of concertposterart.com)



(Image 149. 1986 Gig poster of the exclusively Hard Rock/heavy metal “Monsters of Rock” UK festival with Motorhead along with heavy metal acts Ozzy Osbourne, Warlock and hard rock bands Scorpions, Def Leppard, Bad News, Tommy Vance. Courtesy of Ukrockfestivals.com archive)



(Image 150. 1986 gig poster of Motorhead appearing at the Ritz, NY, along with US hardcore/punk band Cro-Mags. Courtesy of Harley Flanagan)

Furthermore, bands from both musical styles covered songs by *Motorhead*. Both East-End skinhead Oi!/punk band *Cockney Rejects* and the all-female heavy metal band *Girlschool* covered *Motorhead*, expressing their affinity for the band. UK Oi!/punk band *Cockney Rejects* covered the homonymous “Motorhead” song on the 1981 12” live long play record *Greatest Hits vol. 3-Live and Loud!!*²³¹. UK heavy metal band *Girlschool* covered “Bomber” on the 1981 *St. Valentine's Day Massacre* 12” split extended play record they did with *Motorhead*.²³²

Even though *Motorhead* appeared to manifest crossover tendencies between the two subgenres, Waksman (2009: 165-171) goes further, claiming that *Motorhead* had those

²³¹ Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Cockney-Rejects-Greatest-Hits-Vol-3-Live-Loud/release/1873257> accessed on 09/07/2022.

²³² Data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Girlschool/St._Valentine%27s_Day_Massacre/297335 accessed on 09/07/2022

qualities that could identify them as perhaps the first heavy metal/punk crossover in the history of rock. It was the volume, the power that their music created, the whole issue of “power through loudness,” that was affiliated with heavy metal, according to Walser (1993: 45) and Weinstein (1991: 32). Based on all of the above, I categorize *Motorhead* as a heavy metal band.

- *Motorhead's anti-Americanism expressed in lyrics*

While the title of this subchapter might be considered to exaggerate the case of *Motorhead's* criticism of America, there are hints of Anti-Americanism in one of the band's songs. Anti-Americanism has lots of aspects to it. David Strauss's definition of “Americanism” also included the social issues that derived from the United States. In the case of *Motorhead*, although there are no hints of a political/cultural stance against the United States, there is criticism in terms of social life issues, even though this is by no means as fierce and condemnatory as in the case of the lyrics of *The Exploited*.

In general, *Motorhead* were more affiliated with the Dionysian/chaotic lyrics tradition of heavy metal (although there are exceptions, e.g., politically-themed songs such as “Eat the rich” and “Orgasmatron”) than with punk style of lyrics. One song, though, contains lyrics that could be regarded as crossing over with punk, and this is “America”, analysed below.

“America” is taken from their 1982 12” long-play record *Iron Fist*²³³. In terms of lyrics, the song's crossover derives from the fact that *Motorhead*, on the one hand, criticize various aspects of American social life (“America/hot as hell/hysterical/cold as death” and “Another killer on the wrong side of tracks”) in the punk tradition of social commentary, while at the same time they praise, in Dionysian heavy metal lyric mode, the pleasures of American drugs and alcohol (“America/liked it fine/sinsemilla/Ripple wine”) as well some other American elements (“Fast cars/the girls/the bars”). Even though the things *Motorhead* are singing about here are not exclusively available in America, the band seems to glorify those aspects as the good parts of America.

“America” represents Lyric Realism (defined by Frith, 1989: 82), presenting the interactive relationship between verse and the social conditions of a specific era, in the tradition of “Folk realism” rather than “Pop escapism”, even though *Motorhead* also approached the

²³³ *Motorhead's Iron Fist* 12-inch long play record was released by *Bronze Records*, 204 636-320.

song in terms based on their own experience of visiting America, presenting their point of view on other issues beyond prevailing social conditions. In the case of *Motorhead*'s "America" the outcome is authentic, even though *Motorhead* aren't left-wing intellectuals. The band's authenticity lies in the fact that *Motorhead* belonged to the working class and this is evident in their interviews. Kilminster, while interviewed by McIlver for the book *Overkill: The Untold Story of Motorhead* (2011), mentions that after school he followed the "working-class career path of the day", where he ended up failing, never to come back to his job as a lathe operator.

Motorhead's authenticity requires consideration from many aspects; the band had found acceptance from punk and heavy metal fandom, as well as the popular music press, all at the same time. Brian "Schroeder" Pushead referred to *Motorhead* (*Maximum Rock n' Roll*, #22, 1985: 62) as "the driving force for all the bands that produced a raw, savage sound, equal to the early hardcore/punk sound [...] and *Motorhead* eventually now are gaining acceptance", Mick Farren of *NME* magazine²³⁴ (6 June, 1981) mentions that it is "this directness that is the strength and mass magic of *Motorhead* in general and Lemmy in particular," and Geoff Barton refers to *Motorhead*, in *Kerrang!* magazine (#1, 1981: 21), saying "if one word epitomizes the phrase "heavy metal", then this is *Motorhead* [...] the well-deserved winners of this year's *Sounds* magazine reader polls [...] the music equivalent to the movie *Scanners*". *Motorhead* seem to have been appreciated by bands and fans of many music genres and even though the band went from *Chiswick* records to *Bronze* within two years (they released their homonymous *Motorhead* LP on *Chiswick* in 1977, and *Bomber* on *Bronze* in 1979), they were never considered to be "sell-outs". In fact, the band's authenticity could be pictured in reviews, such as Garry Bushell's for *Sounds* magazine²³⁵ (25 October, 1980), where he declares that there's "no two ways about it, *Motorhead* ARE heavy metal in the only meaningful sense of the term [...] everyone else is just pretending", emphasizing the band's authentic musical nature. The crossover of *Motorhead* is welcomed with warmth by the music press and isn't criticized as an attempt to commercialize their music. It is rather seen as an outcome of the band members' long-running history, that had been rooted in the 1960s and evolved through bands as diverse as *Opal Butterfly* and *Sam Gopal* (1960s psychedelic rock respectively), *The Rocking Vickers*

²³⁴ Retrieved from *Motorhead/1981/Mick Farren/New Musical Express/Motorhead: Scumbags Over USA/09/09/2019. 02:38:44/http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/motorhead-scumbags-over-usa* accessed on 09/07/2019.

²³⁵ *Motorhead/1980/Garry Bushell/Sounds/Motorhead: <I>Ace Of Spades</I> (Bronze)*****/09/09/2019. 02:50:00/http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/motorhead-iace-of-spades-i-bronze.*

(1960s beat) and *Hawkwind* (1970s space rock).²³⁶ It was Kilminster's dedication to rock n' roll and the acceptance of the band by fans and bands of various music genres that made *Motorhead* seem so authentic, regardless of their commercial tactics (*Top of the Pops* appearances, major label contracts, etc.).

Another technique that could be used in order to analyse "America" is the Values-Participants-Agency analysis that David Machin (2010: 77) proposes. On "America" the basic song structure describes *Motorhead*'s view about America, based on the band's own experiences. The song's narrative includes nine participants: 1) *Motorhead*; 2) Schoolgirl; 3) Killer; 4) America; 5) Girls; 6) Bars; 7) State Patrol car; 8) fast cars; and 9) Sinsemilla, Ripple wine, Crystal Meth. According to Propp (1968), each character represents a set of social principles. The character of *Motorhead* in this case is the narrator, who represents anomie ("White line fever/I think that state patrol car's still behind") and support for a Dionysian lifestyle. The "Schoolgirl" represents the side of America that is wealthy ("another schoolgirl with her daddy's Pontiac") but is also an image of fast maturing illicit sexuality. The "Killer" represents the violent side of the America ("Another killer from the wrong side of the tracks"). "Girls", "Bars", "Sinsemilla, Ripple wine, Crystal Meth" represent the "Sex, Drugs and Rock n' Roll" motive that *Motorhead* praises and which is prevalent in America. The "State Patrol car" is a symbol of law enforcement. Finally, "fast cars" could either represent *Motorhead*'s love for speed or America's fast, anxious and pressured lifestyle. "America," on the other hand, represents a place that is out of control ("Hysterical"), containing dramatic climate contrasts among regions/states ("Cold as death/hot as hell"). But *Motorhead* doesn't condemn the USA and praises parts of its lifestyle, although they have objections to the ultra-fast, nearly paranoid lifestyle. However, these objections cannot really be considered signs of "Anti-Americanism", but are merely descriptive reports of *Motorhead*'s experience while touring in the US.

Finally, consider Kilminster's attack on bands because of the "American factor". While interviewed by Gary Bushell for *Sounds* magazine (June 6, 1981), he stated "Put this in though, this is important [...] We're not going to be like *Slade* or *Def Leppard* [...] This American tour is strictly temporary [...] There's no way we'll forget the kids in England [...] We'll be trying our hardest to be back touring in October [...] And that's a promise." These words could be interpreted as an Anti-American stance, in terms of commercialization of their sound.

²³⁶ All of them being bands of which Ian "Lemmy" Kilminster was a member, prior to forming *Motorhead*. Data retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/artist/1226750-Ian-Fraser-Kilmister> accessed on 01/06/2019.

Kilminster discounts UK bands like *Slade* and *Def Leppard* for changing their sound in order to appeal to the American crowd and therefore rejects this kind of “Americanization” of their music, promising that *Motorhead* will remain true to its English roots, noting that touring in the USA is planned in order to spread *Motorhead*’s music, but not in order to become a band that will focus on the more commercial music market of the USA. The band’s authenticity consists in it rejecting the more commercial status of music in the USA in favour of its commitment to sonic power and artistic extremity.

- *Motorhead’s musical crossover issue*

“America” could be categorized as a heavy metal song in musical terms, with no hints of punk music culture. This conclusion is based on an analysis of it, as well as a review of song-by-song reviews of the 1982 *Iron Fist 12*” long play record. The song lasts a total of 03:38 minutes, residing in the heavy metal tradition where songs exceed three minutes and even though the song is not actually that long it is certainly longer than the typical punk song. The musical landscape of “USA” is lo-fi, in Schafer’s definition (1977), presenting a mixture of sounds that cannot be distinguished, reminiscent of a noisy urban landscape. “America” starts with a power-chord guitar intro reminiscent of hard rock/heavy metal style, while the same guitar intro is repeated (in a slight faster variation) throughout the song, with the exception of two lead guitar solo playing, one extended at 01:45-02:25 and the other at 03:23 until the end of the song, both of them exhibiting musical proficiency.

This power-chord guitar playing in its initial form accompanies the song’s verses and its variation accompanies the song’s chorus. The tempo of the song could be described as mid-tempo, not fast, nor slow. The drumming style is mid-tempo, demonstrating musical proficiency, since it includes a variety of alternations in cymbal and drum rolls, while at the same time it preserves a steady rhythm. The bass guitar sound accompanies the rhythm of the song and is discernible in the musical landscape of the song. The production of the song emphasizes the power of the band, in the tradition of heavy metal. Responsible for the production of the record were “Fast” Eddie Clark and William Reid-Dick.²³⁷ William Reid-Dick throughout the period under scrutiny was mainly a hard rock/heavy metal producer,

²³⁷ Data retrieved from http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Motörhead/Iron_Fist/942 accessed on 01/07/2022.

responsible for the production of bands such as NWOBHM *Tytan*²³⁸, hard rock/heavy metal *Thin Lizzy*²³⁹ as well as being responsible for technical production for bands like NWOBHM *Tank*²⁴⁰ and NWOBHM *Demon*,²⁴¹ thus empowering the heavy metal character of *Iron Fist*. Kilminster's voice is powerful in the heavy metal tradition (Weinstein, 1991: 26) and distinctive. As Frith (1987: 145) mentions, the role of voice in heavy metal is more tone-based than intended to articulate the words. This distinctive tone is more significant than the words: the tone transmits the identity of the band. *Motorhead* has surely achieved that, since Kilminster's voice, while lacking proficiency, is easily distinctive.

In terms of musical ekphrasis, "America" encodes the background of a social and cultural environment, presenting the experience of living in a modern society. "America"'s loudness contributes to an overall noisy, crowded landscape, and depicts images of a society always in a rush, constantly evolving as a natural environment that could be described as "extreme". However, "America" also transmits the sense of freedom of America through the vocal style of Kilminster – he sounds nostalgic, as if he misses America. In general, the ekphrasis of the song presents the dual meaning that *Motorhead* also offer in the lyrics; it pictures both the good side and the bad side of the USA.

Finally, I considered reviews from magazines that include information, both in general (for the *Iron Fist* 12" long record) and more specific (for the song "America"). Of all the magazine reviews (in *Kerrang!*, *Melody Maker* and *NME*), *Iron Fist* is regarded as a heavy metal record, but crossover references are included. Brian Harrigan for *Melody Maker* magazine (March 27, 1982) describes *Iron Fist* as "The great heavy metal album of 1982" and states that *Motorhead* through *Iron Fist* keep their throne as the absolute conveyors of heavy metal ("This record confirms *Motorhead* in their position of pre-eminence in the realms of heavy metal"). Paul Tickell, while reviewing *Iron Fist* for *New Musical Express* magazine (April 2, 1982), mentions that *Motorhead* is a band that combines the old-fashioned (and passé) heavy metal with punk ("Motorhead have been flogging the dead horse of heavy metal with punk speed and frenzy").

While reviewing "America" he says it is their most "Epic time", due to the fact that the song exceeds the usual song length ("the nearest the band have come to creating some epic

²³⁸ For the 1982 *Tytan* 12" extended play record *Heroes, Saints and Fools*, Kamaflage Records, KAM 6.

²³⁹ For the 1983 *Thin Lizzy* double 12" long play live record *Live Life, Vertigo*, VERD 6.

²⁴⁰ For the 1982 *Tank* 12" long play record *Filth hounds of Hades*, Kamaflage Records, KAM 1.

²⁴¹ For the 1982 *Demon* 12" long play record *The Unexpected Guest*, Carrere Records, CAL 139.

space in their music [...] mostly they are too tight for that since few tracks here are over two and a half minutes”), giving *Motorhead*’s song a different dimension and artistic feel. The metatext of Tickell’s review indicates it is representative of the music status of the *Iron Fist* 12” long play record; in fact, it transmits the message that *Motorhead* is something unique in its combination of sounds (of punk and heavy metal). Finally, Steve Gett, while reviewing *Iron Fist* for *Kerrang!* magazine (no. 13, April 8, 1982), mentions that *Motorhead* “have remained loyal and true to their cause [...] how they did battle against all odds to attain the current high ranking in the status of hard rock world,” thus attempting to describe how *Motorhead*’s music is still attached to its roots, not following any trend, and firmly focussed on hard rock/heavy metal.

Even though “America” has no inclusion of punk genre components, the musical crossover of *Motorhead* combining punk and heavy metal genres is evident in many of their songs throughout this period. Such is the case with their 1980 song “Bite the bullet.”²⁴² Even though there are no reviews of this song, I will attempt to analyse it in musical terms in order to indicate its heavy metal/punk crossover. Firstly, it only lasts 01:38 minutes, a song length typical of punk. The song starts with a hard rock/heavy metal intro guitar playing power chord lasting only three seconds, only to be followed by a 3-chord guitar that is repeated throughout the song’s verses, only to change in the chorus (“Bite the Bullet, I am leaving you”) into the initial introductory power chord. A guitar solo appears at 01:21 ending at 01:35 and then the song fades away with the initial introductory power chord repeated one more time.

The tempo is fast, the drumming style is simple with no changes in pace and the bass guitar playing accompanies the drumming tempo in the same simplified manner. Kilminster incorporates an element of irony into his vocal style, an element excluded in heavy metal according to Weinstein (1991: 26) and more fitting with punk. Vic Maile, the producer of *Ace of Spades*, during this period was also responsible for the production in bands from both genres, such as UK punk *The Vibrators*²⁴³, UK punk *The Lurkers*²⁴⁴, NWOBHM *Girlschool*²⁴⁵ and UK heavy metal *Rock Goddess*²⁴⁶, thus strengthening the view that *Ace of Spades* musically included components of both genres.

²⁴² Taken from the 1980 12” long play record *Ace of Spades*, *Bronze Records*, BRON 531.

²⁴³ For the 1978 7” single play record of *The Vibrators* named *Automatic lover*. *Epic Records*. S EPC 6137.

²⁴⁴ For the 1979 7” single play record of *The Lurkers* named *New guitar in town*. *Beggars Banquet*. BEG 28.

²⁴⁵ For the 1980 12” long play record of *Girlschool* named *Demolition*. *Bronze Records*, BRONC 525.

²⁴⁶ For the 1983 12” long play record of *Rock Goddess* named *Rock Goddess*. *A&M Records*. AMLH 68554.

“Bite the bullet” portrays a love story that ends up with Kilminster explaining how he left this relationship, and that this was inevitable, even though his ex-partner was broken. In terms of musical ekphrasis, “Bite the bullet” depicts a kind of relationship in an urban landscape that is fast, with pathos, but ends in failure. The surroundings are messy and the urban confusion does not positively affect the whole situation. Emotions are stressed until one of them sounds ironic, ending the unpleasant situation. However, verbal images of someone being happy or making fun of a broken relationship appear in the song too; this is due to its whole uplifting tempo that can drive someone to dance to it rather than sit around being melancholic about the issues it raises.

- *Motorhead’s visual crossover: long-hairs and spiked hairstyles, the swastika and use of Nazi memorabilia*

Motorhead did not exhibit any Anti-Americanism or even criticism of America in any of their record sleeves, nor in their gig posters in the period with which I am concerned. Instead, I will here consider their visual apparel, in order to prove that *Motorhead* were a band that crossed over heavy metal and punk visual style.

In terms of fashion, *Motorhead* mixed elements from both heavy metal and punk subcultures. This is evident in the 1982 photograph below of the band. “Fast” Eddie Clark (the first from the left) and Kilminster follow the dressing style of heavy metal, wearing sleeveless leather jackets, bullet-belts, stretch pants and sporting long hair in the tradition of heavy metal. One could assume that these two *Motorhead* band members followed the heavy metal dressing style (defined by Weinstein) totally. However, Phil “Philthy Animal” Taylor (the first from the right) includes other elements in his appearance. First of all, his hairstyle is a mix of punk’s uneven cuts with heavy metal’s long hair. Also, he wears a sleeveless T-shirt that appears to be cut in an uneven way too, in the punk tradition. However, he also wears tight leather trousers in the heavy metal tradition, and has a spiked belt. He wears leather gloves that have been cut, and this could be regarded, too, as a punk/metal visual crossover since it combines punk’s approach with heavy metal’s fondness for leather.



(Image 151. Photograph of Motorhead, 1982. Courtesy of Rolling Stone magazine)

The metatext of this picture (published in *Rolling Stone* magazine in 1982, though the number of the magazine remains uncertain), is as strong as the music of *Motorhead* in *Iron Fist*. It is obviously the message that *Motorhead* is a heavy metal/punk crossover, judging by the dressing style of the band's members. The pose of the band includes gestures expressing its powerful nature. The gaze of the band members suggests a mix of fun and seriousness. The medium distance shot reveals a small amount of intimacy between the band and the viewers, while the photograph seems to be taken into a professional studio.

Contributing to *Motorhead*'s crossover with punk subculture comes the band's use of the swastika (as well as other symbols connected to Nazi memorabilia such as the Iron Cross). As in the case of *The Exploited* (and punk in general), the image of the swastika was used by Kilminster in order to shock and confuse people. It was not a political statement, but had its roots based in the shock value of punk subculture, which was something unfamiliar for a heavy metal band of the time, and is an issue I analysed earlier, in the case of *The Exploited*. This is evident in Kilminster's interview with Chris Salewicz, in *New Musical Express* magazine (25 August 1979), where he mentions that the whole swastika issue was used by him to have fun ("Because it's obviously a joke") and even though such an important issue could lead to confusion, he mentions that "confusion is good for the soul sometimes", thus presenting his attempt to shock and cause interest via such apparent endorsement of the swastika. However, he mentions that Nazis were fanatics ("The power of bigotry") and that if Nazism had prevailed,

he would have been on the opposite side (“If there were Nazis around today, I’d be in the concentration camp immediately”).



(Image 152. Kilminster in the middle, wearing a swastika necklace, 1976. Courtesy unknown)

However, Kilminster continued till the end of his career to wear Nazi-affiliated memorabilia. This is apparent in the photograph below, where Kilminster wears a Waffen SS uniform, with the symbol of Totenkopf, appearing on his collar twice; even though the Totenkopf symbol is a symbol that was used firstly by the Prussian Army (Reid, 2010) in the War of Austrian Succession (1740), its variation in the case of Kilminster’s uniform is reminiscent of the symbol that the 3rd SS Panzer Division used in the World War II. However, the symbol of swastika does not appear on his uniform.



(Image 153. 2008 photo of Kilminster posing dressed as a Nazi in front of a tank. Courtesy of The Guardian)



(Image 154. Photo of original Wafen SS uniform that is available for sale from <http://www.waffen-ss.no>. Courtesy of <http://www.waffen-ss.no>)



(Image 155. The Totenkopf symbol appearing in the collar of Kilminster's uniform. Photo retrieved from Lemmy: The documentary, video, 46:35, on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kp2aZkqFdJs>)



(Image 156. Symbol of the 3rd SS Division Totenkopf. Image retrieved from <http://www.auschwitz.nl/en-holocaust/perpetrators-and-victims/ss>)

Another issue of visual crossover, compared with *The Exploited* (and punk in general), was the fact that *Motorhead* didn't hesitate to collaborate musically with female artists – contrary to the usual heavy metal macho attitude that regarded women as inferior – and were keen to embrace punk subculture's acceptance and encouragement of women. This is evident in the band's 1981 collaboration with all-female UK heavy metal band *Girlschool* in the video for "Please don't touch".²⁴⁷ The video song (also issued as a 7" split single record that year) depicts both bands on stage, covering a classic Rock n' Roll tune as a homage to their roots. The performance of the song is highly energetic and the feeling that this video gives is that the barriers of gender have been transcended. The impression that the video offers is that both bands enjoy the live performing of the song, with no hint that gender issues present an obstacle.

²⁴⁷ Data retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0PtWL3C7LA> accessed on 07/08/2022. Please don't touch" was a cover of the UK 1959 rock n' roll band *Johnny Kidd and the Pirates*. Data Retrieved from <https://www.discogs.com/Motörhead-Girlschool-St-Valentines-Day-Massacre/master/43216> accessed on 06/07/2022.

There is another crossover evident from a video from the *Top of the Pops* BBC show²⁴⁸ in 1981. This is the collaboration of *Motorhead* with a heavy metal band covering a rock n' roll song (originally by the 1950s band *Johnny Kidd and the Pirates*) resurrected in the mid-1970s by *The Pirates*, considered now to be a precursor of punk rock.

The evidence of *Girlschool*'s high-energy appearance exhibiting no limits in terms of their female gender is evident in Mark Cooper's review of *Girlschool*'s live appearance in Hammersmith, London for the *Record Mirror* magazine (22 May 1982). Cooper concludes that *Girlschool* shows that "If sex makes a difference, *Girlschool* are sexless [...]. In fact *Girlschool* exploit their sex less than any hard rock band I've seen [...]. No sex, please, this is good clean fun."

Finally, evidence of *Girlschool*'s appreciation of *Motorhead*, *Motorhead*'s encouragement and respect for an all-female band, and the band's authentic crossover is presented in Chris Salewicz's interview with *Girlschool*, in *Creem* magazine (July 1982). *Girlschool* states that the "Please don't touch" song and video "gave us a real leg-up [...]. It was such a good record, one of the best things we've ever recorded. *Motorhead* are a real laugh: we had a fantastic time doing it [...]. 'Please Don't Touch' was such a crossover record [...]. so many different people bought it," thus indicating the appeal of the song to a variety of audiences. Finally, *Girlschool* in the same interview mentions *Motorhead*'s support for them since their early beginnings ("They gave us our first big break when they asked us to support them. We'd been scraping pennies together for over a year, but Lemmy showed such enthusiasm. He was always behind us, and encouraged us very much. He's really great"), showing their respect for them too. *Motorhead* clearly were not the classic heavy metal band of their period, which left no space for women in the heavy metal subculture; to the contrary, they supported women, in a way reminiscent of punk subculture's anti-sexist attitude.

²⁴⁸ A very interesting fact is that *Motorhead* appeared several times in the *Top of the Pops* show even early in their career in the late 1970's (e.g., the appearance in 25/10/1978 with the cover of "Louie, Louie", or the 09/03/1979 appearance with "Overkill"), and there is no evidence of them being accused as "sell-outs" like in the case of *The Exploited*. This though, might be owed to the fact that *Motorhead* were regarded as a heavy metal band, with all the commercial tendencies that heavy metal includes; therefore, it was not a problem for a heavy metal band playing at commercial shows, in contrast to punk's attitude of embargo on those shows by any means.



(Image 157. Motorhead's and Girlschool's 1981 stage video for "Please don't touch". Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0PtwL3C7LA>)

Analysing the video of *Motorhead's* and *Girlschool's* joint appearance on *Top of the Pops*²⁴⁹ I will present its metatext. The live appearance of both bands is under a light show reminiscent of one at an arena, pointing out the commercial ethos of the show and the bands. The crowd is still, watching the two bands performing together on stage, without any physical expression. The poses and attitudes of both bands reflect the lyrics of the song, where, for instance, "Philthy Animal" Taylor makes the gesture of shaking ("Don't you touch me baby cause I'm shaking so much"). The song is a version of the old rock n' roll classic by *Johnny Kidd and the Pirates* and both bands give this song a new, more powerful heavy metal direction. The alternation of vocals between Kilminster and Kim McAuliffe gives the song a special feel where the hard and brutal vocal style of Kilminster alternates with the more melodic, feminine style of McAuliffe. The metatext of the video is that both bands are in heavy metal music genre (even though the appearance of "Philthy Animal" Taylor is reminiscent of both punk and heavy metal); the pose of the bands, their dressing style is in the heavy metal tradition. However, they chose to cover a 1959 rock n' roll song re-recorded in the mid-1970s (by *The Pirates*), which

²⁴⁹ Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m0PtwL3C7LA> accessed on 05/08/2022.

appealed to both punk and pub rock²⁵⁰ scenes²⁵¹. A crossover of punk and heavy metal thus appears to take place through a re-visioning of one of the earliest UK rock n' roll bands.

The crossover in the case of *Motorhead* is significant, since they put through their filter the different rock music genres that seemed to admire (ranging from 1950's rock n' roll to psychedelic and space rock, to early blues and hard rock/heavy metal to punk), and created a musical output that could find acceptance not only to fans of heavy metal and punk subcultures, but to a wider rock audience, even though they were considered a heavy metal band. Therefore, *Motorhead* achieved (maybe unintentionally?) the broadening of their audience, by not commercializing their sound, through a crossover that made their music more accessible to various audiences.

7.4.2.3 Conclusions

In this case study I have examined the crossovers of punk and metal music cultures in relation to the issue of bands that are commercially driven and within the socio-political context of "Anti-Americanism". The cases considered appear to have produced antithetical results in terms of the problem of "authenticity". In the case of *The Exploited*, the band's authenticity is questionable (both in my critical opinion, as well as the punk Press and fans opinions), even given the working-class background of the band's vocalist (and major lyrics writer) "Wattie" Buchan. *The Exploited* do not enjoy acceptance from punk journalists and musicians, who consider them to be "poseurs"; their commercial tendencies (indicated through playing on *The Top of The Pops*) don't help either. *The Exploited* are considered inauthentic, accused of "rock-starism" by the punk press even though they didn't lack extreme sonic power. The band's "Anti-Americanism" could, however, be considered authentic (from my point of view), judging by the band's history (they continued throughout the 1980s to attack America not only in terms

²⁵⁰ Consider the case when *The Pirates* appeared with *Eddie and The Hot Rods* at the Roundhouse, London, and Charles Shaar Murray, in the *New Musical Express*, 11 December 1976 reported: "They work a vein of late '50s/early '60s blues/country/rock boosted by volume and technique until it becomes a kind of heavy metal rockabilly," presenting the special nature of the band. Eddie & The Hot Rods/1976/Charles Shaar Murray/New Musical Express/Eddie and the Hot Rods/The Pirates: Roundhouse, London/06/09/2022. 00:13:41/<http://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Article/eddie-and-the-hot-rodthe-pirates-roundhouse-london>.

²⁵¹ According to Pierre Perrone of *The Independent*, 16 January 2010, "*The Pirates* proved a natural fit with the pub rock and the punk generation and enjoyed success with their own *Out of Their Skulls* album in November 1977 and the Hope & Anchor Front Row Festival, a double set documenting a three-week event at the London pub venue which also featured *The Wilko Johnson Band*, *The Stranglers*, *XTC*, *X-Ray Spex*, *The Saints*, 999 and *Dire Straits*, which was released in March 1978" retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/mick-green-guitarist-with-johnny-kidd-the-pirates-who-also-played-alongside-paul-mccartneyand-van-1869554.html> accessed on 20/08/2022.

of lyrics, but in their visual style too), along with the feelings of hate expressed by “Wattie” Buchan’s singing style in the song “USA”. On the other hand, this attack on America could be described as hypocritical, judging by the commercial tactics of *The Exploited*. The band’s crossover with heavy metal could be seen as a commercially driven move and their whole attitude is considered by punks to be a betrayal of the punk ethics, having more in common with heavy metal. This is also evident in the appeal that *The Exploited* had for heavy metal fans that will be discussed later.

In contrast, *Motorhead* was a band that, even though it appeared on *Top of the Pops* several times and signed contracts with medium/major sized records labels, is considered to be authentic. *Motorhead*’s authenticity derives from the band members’ social background, but also from the history of the band as musicians. Even though *Motorhead* expressed commercially driven attitudes, their crossover of heavy metal and punk is regarded as authentic (by both the punk and heavy metal Press). *Motorhead* was affiliated with both the first-wave punk scene and heavy metal (NWOBHM), and, in terms of authenticity, articulated criticism of America in the lyrics of the song “America.” Furthermore, even though *Motorhead* was a heavy metal band, it refused to adopt a more American-driven strategy to promote their music. *Motorhead* indicated a commitment to the UK in terms of satisfying their British fans who preferred their music raw and unpolished. *Motorhead* seemed to enjoy the acceptance of both punks and heavy metal fans in their musical crossover, and this also confirms the band’s authenticity.

Concluding Remarks

The amount and quality of the findings in this thesis indicate abundant cases of musical, lyrics, visual and image crossovers of UK punk and heavy metal music cultures. Amongst these, in context of lyric analysis, were cases connected to the political and social climate of the era in regard to a) gang violence (*Samson*²⁵² and *Blitz*²⁵³), b) ecological issues and sensitivities (*Atomkraft*²⁵⁴ and *Oi Polloi*²⁵⁵), c) criticism of religion (*Thin Lizzy*²⁵⁶ and *Subhumans*²⁵⁷), as well as songs against d) plutocracy (*Warfare*²⁵⁸, *Tysondog*²⁵⁹ and *The Soledad Brothers*²⁶⁰) and unemployment, nuclear war, fox hunting and anti-Americanism.

There was also significant crossover in musical terms. This was proven via the identification and analyses of songs from bands including *Iron Maiden*, *Tank*, *Warfare*, *Jaguar* (heavy metal) and *Skeptix*, *Heresy*, *Attak*, and *UK Subs* (punk), among others. These cases, however, were not examined here as there was a lack of evidence (in terms of imagery, visual material and lyrics), and in most cases these couldn't be sufficiently grounded in the socio-political context of the era.

Visual crossovers were identified in both genres: *Iron Maiden*, *Millenium*, *Tank* (heavy metal) and *Cockney Rejects*, *Disorder*, *Doom* and *English Dogs* (punk), among others. These cases were not examined, again because of the lack of evidence that could ground them in specific socio-political circumstances.

Imagery crossover cases were numerous, in both genres; *Jaguar*, *Demon* (heavy metal) and *Attak*, *Destructors* and *Mayhem (UK)* (punk) among others. All these cases couldn't be analysed holistically or grounded in the contexts of the era, so they were omitted from my research.

As aforementioned, one limiting factor was the lack of data, in terms of official videos of the bands in the era examined. In all cases, I identified a holistic crossover between punk and heavy

²⁵² Regarding their 1985 song "The fight goes on."

²⁵³ Regarding their 1981 song "Warriors."

²⁵⁴ Regarding their 1985 song "Death Valley/The planet's burning."

²⁵⁵ Regarding their 1990 song "The Whale song."

²⁵⁶ Regarding their 1983 song "The Holy war."

²⁵⁷ Regarding their 1982 song "Religious wars."

²⁵⁸ Regarding their 1984 song "Burn the King's Road."

²⁵⁹ Regarding their 1983 song "Eat the rich."

²⁶⁰ Regarding their 1984 song "Burn the rich."

metal, and the cases of *Judas Priest*'s "Breaking the Law" video clip and *The Clash*'s "I fought the law", expressed the crossover tendencies of a heavy metal band (*Judas Priest*) heading for a punk approach in their videoclip, in an era and time (1980) that punk in the UK was already in its second wave, and can be considered as an attempt to cross over to other audiences too, not just heavy metal fans.

In my research, I embraced a dual role, functioning both as a researcher and a fan of punk and metal. This unique perspective enriched my study in several ways. As a fan, my deep connection to the punk and metal scenes allowed me to approach the research with genuine enthusiasm and a nuanced understanding of the cultural context. However, while my passion fueled my research, I remained committed to academic needs, ensuring that my analyses were grounded in objective methodologies and supported by empirical evidence. Alongside, I continuously reflected on my dual role to maintain a balance between my subjective experiences and the objective requirements of scholarly research, and this balance (even though it wasn't an easy task to maintain), was something that offered a unique vantage point, allowing me to contribute original insights and a richer narrative to the academic discourse on punk and metal. This dual perspective enhanced the depth and authenticity of my research but also highlighted the importance of passion and personal connection in academic inquiry.

The most significant finding of my research was that punk and heavy metal bands shared a criticism of Thatcher's politics (to do with unemployment and nuclear disarmament), as well as of the elite class (in the case of fox hunting). However, their criticisms of the US and ideologies of Americanism were different; *The Exploited* (punk) attacked America as a whole (lifestyle, political and social context), whereas *Motorhead* (heavy metal) appeared to criticize only regional lifestyle issues of America, and this only half-heartedly.

Alongside, it has to be mentioned, that this crossover between heavy metal and punk, that started in the late 1970s, led to something new, a new subgenre; the extensive blending of compositional, visual, performative, discursive, and ideological aspects of metal and hardcore/punk in the mid-to-late 1980s was significant enough to establish crossover as a distinct subgenre—simply named as 'Crossover', with bands either falling under the heavy metal or hardcore/punk genre tag, based on the proportions of musical elements. However, this new subgenre that blended heavy metal and hardcore/punk was just the initial, first subgenre that appeared through crossover; the subgenre of metalcore (that appeared later in the early 1990s), took its cues from crossover, and went on to create a subgenre that "demolished all barriers

between metal and hardcore” (Wiederhorn and Turman, 2013: 557), leading to the later evolution of other subgenres that blended metal with hardcore (such as e.g. deathcore).

Concerning lyrics, when there is a crossover specific to a social or political context, in every case the punk band followed the punk lyric tradition of social/political commentary, whereas the heavy metal band was almost entirely oriented towards the chaotic category, as proposed by Weinstein. Frith’s definition of lyrical realism (the critical relationship between a lyric and the social conditions of a specific era, grounded in the definition of “Folk realism”) was evident every time there was a crossover of punk and heavy metal band in terms of a specific social/political issue. The question of authenticity/inauthenticity of lyrics was examined in line with Harker’s perspective (this being that only working-class musicians or left-wing intellectuals could write politically authentic songs, even though this is a harsh definition of authenticity). Authenticity in terms of lyrics was also based on Eagleton’s ideas, but I approached the issue also through examination of the “commercial vs. commitment” division, which included an analysis of a band’s history, the reactions of the press towards their crossover, as well as their commercial tendencies (if these were evident).

In all cases, the outcome of this analysis led to a recognition of crossover of punk and heavy metal, though sometimes the result leaned more to punk (*Judas Priest*, *Amebix*, *Discharge* (1), *Onslaught*, *The Business*, *The Exploited* (1), *Motorhead* (1)) or more to heavy metal (*Discharge* (2), *Raven*, *The Business* (2), *Sacrilege*, *The Exploited* (2), *Motorhead* (2)) – based on the musical definitions of heavy metal given by Weinstein and of punk given by Laing. Other bands from both styles appeared in my analysis in order to strengthen the assertion of the existence of a musical crossover. A significant finding is that in some cases (e.g., *Discharge*, *Onslaught* and *Judas Priest*) the producers of specific songs worked with both heavy metal and punk bands of the era that my research focuses on.

When it comes to the visual content significant crossover was identified. In the case of the punk bands such as *Amebix*, *Discharge*, *The Business* and *The Exploited* the visual crossover took place by incorporating heavy metal elements in terms of fashion or even endorsing T-shirts by heavy metal bands (e.g., *The Exploited*). In the case of heavy metal bands, with the exceptions of *Raven* and *Judas Priest* that didn’t incorporate any element of punk into their fashion, two bands (*Sacrilege* and *Onslaught*) had absorbed punk elements into their visual appearance earlier in their career, whereas in the case of *Motorhead* a member of the band (i.e., Phil “Philthy Animal” Taylor) incorporated a style that was rather a fusion of both

punk and heavy metal, in a band that combined both music styles rather than starting as a definite heavy metal or a punk band that later in their career included elements of the other.

Other bands from both styles appeared in the analysis in order to strengthen the assertion of the existence of a visual crossover; these bands were (amongst others) *GBH*, *Broken Bones* and *English Dogs* (punk) and *Iron Maiden* and *Cerebral Fix* (heavy metal).

An important finding of analysing the visual imagery of the bands' album designs is that in some cases (e.g., Grim Reaper icon in the cases of *Grim Reaper* (the band) and *AOA/Oi Polloi*) the use of a simile icon/graphic could have a totally different meaning. In the case of *Grim Reaper* the figure represented a biker, whereas in the case of *AOA/Oi Polloi* it represented death as an outcome of nuclear waste pollution. In the case of *Grim Reaper* the icon of Grim Reaper was used in order to present an image of a menacing biker, in the tradition of heavy metal's extravagant visual status (with no political/social messages, just being shocking), whereas in the case of *Oi Polloi* the image of Grim Reaper stood above a grave with the acronym B.N.F.L (that stands for British Nuclear Fuels Limited), and implies that deadly nature of nuclear waste, both for humans and fauna as well as for the environment.

However, it is significant that in some cases, such as some *Iron Maiden* record sleeves (not including "Women in Uniform" and "Sanctuary") there was a crossover with punk imagery, even though there was no evident political or social issue, but just based on some imagery components from punk. The obverse is also apparent, in, for example, the case of *The Exploited's Troops of tomorrow* record sleeve, which in effect is a punk sleeve with a heavy metal imagery style. Another interesting finding is that the artists responsible for the artwork of the case studies used were in some cases (e.g., *Judas Priest*, *The Exploited*, *Motorhead*, *Discharge*) the artists who worked both with heavy metal and punk bands of the era.

Finally, my analysis of gig flyers where punk/heavy metal bands appeared in the same billing (e.g., *Motorhead*, *Sacrilege*, *Onslaught*) only strengthens the assumption that there was a holistic crossover between those apparent conflicting cultures during this era.

Heavy metal fans were not so critical of punk tendencies/crossovers into heavy metal, whereas crossovers in punk with metal appear to have generated mixed reviews and acceptance. There are, it seems, "moral code rules" for crossover between punk and metal, where, for instance, *Amebix* is deemed acceptable by the punks, while *Discharge's Grave new world* is considered to be a "sell out". In the case of heavy metal those "rules" are not so strict

as we saw in the case of *Judas Priest* and *Motorhead* and this is based on the fact that heavy metal is a more commercial music style and its ethic is not based on DIY and anti-consumerism.

Crossover is accepted by both punks and metalheads when it retains “authenticity,” meaning containing the raw, non-commercial approach of punk filtered through heavy metal elements, all focused in order to present a form of musical extremity; in the case of glam metal, though, this is not acceptable, because it focuses on the commercial side of things. Crossover is accepted by both sides when it is sincere, artistically driven or when it retains a rawness in sonic terms and the non-commercial attitude, not being by any means commercially driven. And this is maybe the most significant finding of my research; a “hybrid” can be authentic, if it retains specific characteristics, that vary in each case of a “hybrid”.

Overall, the thesis’ originality and the significance of my research’s findings was that they were not just focussed on one aspect e.g., music; approaching the crossover between heavy metal and punk holistically and grounding it into specific social and political issues is the most significant aspect of my research, since there has never ever been before a research among two music subcultures that would include all those parameters. The importance of my findings in terms of academic study rely on the fact that based on my holistic research approach, there could be examined various other crossovers between subcultures/music genres in specific time periods, regarding specific social and political issues. In my research, I managed to identify crossover taking place in different subgenres of heavy metal and punk, and this fact could lead to a better understanding of how various youth cultures interacted, through social or political changes; this style of research could lead to valuable conclusions regarding the position of the subcultures in specific social-political times. From the most sympathetic to each other (e.g., anarcho-punks with crust punks) to the most hostile to each other (skinheads with peace punks), and from the most similar (straight edgers with hardliners) to the most antithetical (hip-hopers with heavy metal fans), there are always aspects that have not yet been examined, in order to identify how these subcultures interacted into a holistic crossover, grounded into specific social-political issues. Therefore, my findings are crucial because they could commence a new type of research into academic studies of subcultures, but it’s not only that; in terms of wider world, subculture studies into specific time frame and social/political background, could examine how people from different backgrounds, even different class, could interact in order to produce something that could apply to both examined Youth Cultures. And there lies the significance of my research, that presents, examines and analyses a period of time that was so crucial for the two youth cultures (heavy metal fans and punks), that any opposition was left

behind in many cases, in order to produce something that was critical of specific social and political issues.

Regarding the focus of the present research, the crossover's importance relies on many facts; As it was analysed in all cases, the heavy metal bands got a healthy dose of punk's social and political commentary, and wrote lyrics that were socially and politically concerned, abandoning the un-political heavy metal lyric style. This was apparent from the biggest-selling heavy metal bands (like *Judas Priest*, *Motorhead*) to smaller heavy metal bands (such as *Raven*). Punk bands also benefited from this crossover, in music terms; the crossover between punk and heavy metal created more proficient musicians (as appearing in cases as *Discharge*, *Exploited*, *The Business*). Also, due to heavy metal's much growing popularity through the decade of 1980's, punk bands benefited from this crossover by refreshing and growing their fanbase-it was not only punks, a proportion of heavy metal fans was added. Finally, in terms of subculture, the crossover was beneficial, because it helped for the elimination of the tension and the conflicts among punks and heavy metal fans. Even though this crossover might had some disappointing (regarding music changes) results (e.g. the case of *Discharge*), this fact does not affect its importance, especially in the aspect of social and political awareness.

A case of expansion of my research could be based on the regionality; for example, research can be conducted on both old scenesters/bands of the 1980s and younger fans and bands, in regional scenes that contributed to the creation of the crossover phenomenon in the 1980s. Such a case is e.g., Birmingham, UK, with its history of well-known bands from both genres that incorporated punk or metal elements through their career, such as *Sacrilege*, *Benediction*, *Napalm Death*, *Cerebral Fix*, *Warlord U.K.*, *Godflesh*, *Warwound* and *GBH* that remain active until today (2024).

Further research could be undertaken in a variety of ways. One dimension could include an ethnographic account of bands and music fans of punk and heavy metal in developed countries. The development in regional scenes during the last decade in countries like India, China and Indonesia could be investigated through ethnographies in order to identify the political and social issues that concern both scenes and the existence (or not) of any kind of crossover through these contexts. Alongside, another point of view is to focus on the "aging" youth cultures; research could be undertaken in countries where the crossover of punk and heavy metal initially took place (UK and USA), in order to identify either the opinions of aging/aged punk rockers and metalheads who were active during the Thatcher/Reagan era or

to identify and analyse the opinions of today's fans of punk and heavy metal (that have been active the last decade) on the crossover of the genres given today's socio-political context.

Also, cross-cultural analysis in the crossover of the current metal and hardcore/punk scene could investigate instances of cross-cultural collaboration and exchange within the crossover scene, such as tours, split releases, and international festivals. It can be explored how bands from different cultural backgrounds collaborate creatively, share influences, and contribute to the global spread of crossover subgenres. Consider how these collaborations facilitate cultural exchange, challenge stereotypes, and foster a sense of solidarity and community within the metal and hardcore/punk scenes.

Another expansion of this research could also take place by focussing on subsequent musical genres of punk and metal (for example, the late 1990s/early 2000s neo-crust movement, that is/was based on the mixture of the politics of anarcho-punk with the music of d-beat punk and metal-especially black metal, as well as the visuals that combined punk with extreme metal), in an attempt to identify their authentic nature, and the reception that they got among people that belonged to different youth cultures.

Finally, the issue of authenticity could be an issue of research in other cases of crossover in Art (films, music genres, etc). For example, it could expand to the research of the rap-meets-rock phenomenon of crossover that took place in the 1980s and gained mass exposure in the 1990s, in order to have a further investigation of the nature of this crossover, and to set an argument regarding its authenticity (or not).

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