SHOCK IMAGERY IN TURKISH HEAVY METAL FANZINES:

A REACTION TO CRITICISM FROM THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA?

ADNAN ALPER DEMIRCI

AUGUST 2015

SHOCK IMAGERY IN TURKISH HEAVY METAL FANZINES:

A REACTION TO CRITICISM FROM THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA?
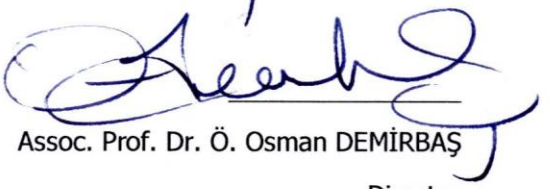

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

OF

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

BY

ADNAN ALPER DEMIRCI

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF DESIGN

IN

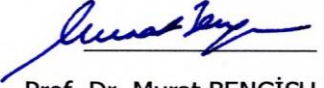THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

AUGUST 2015

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences
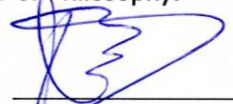
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ö. Osman DEMİRBAŞ

Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science/Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Murat BENGİSU

Head of Department

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science/Doctor of Philosophy.
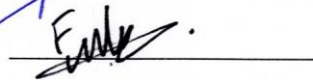
Prof. Dr. Alexander van ECK

Supervisor
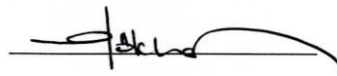
Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Alexander van ECK

Asst. Prof. Dr. Fulya ERTEM BAŞKAYA

Asst. Prof. Dr. Gökhan MURA

ABSTRACT

SHOCK IMAGERY IN TURKISH HEAVY METAL FANZINES:

A REACTION TO CRITICISM FROM THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA?

Demirci, Adnan Alper

MDes, Design Studies Program

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Alexander Van Eck

August 2015, 70 pages

As a musical genre, heavy metal started to appear in Turkey by the 1980s; and the metal audience started to produce products about that music. Publishing is one of the acts of the production. Thus, the 1990s saw the birth of Turkish heavy metal fanzines as independent publications. These fanzines inevitably produce discourses about heavy metal as well as occasionally incorporate the shocking elements found in the heavy metal iconology. This study aims to analyse the heavy metal fanzines in Turkey in terms of these kind of elements. Therefore, discourse analysis is selected from various visual analysis methods. *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* are selected as the fanzines to analyse. Through the intertextuality of discourse analysis, the shock imagery in these fanzines are interpreted from different perspectives. As a result of the analysis, it is found that the use of shock elements follows several patterns (such as binary opposition, media criticism, and heavy metal iconography) and is motivated from several factors (such as production techniques and the criticism from society and media in Turkey).

Keywords: heavy metal, fanzine, shock, discourse, media

ÖZET

TÜRKÇE HEAVY METAL FANZİNLERİNDE ŞOK EDİCİ İMGELER:
ANA AKIM MEDYANIN ELEŞTİRİSİNE BİR TEPKİ Mİ?

Demirci, Adnan Alper

Tasarım Yüksek Lisans, Tasarım Çalışmaları Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Alexander Van Eck

Ağustos 2015, 70 sayfa

Bir müzik tarzı olarak heavy metal, 80'li yıllardan itibaren Türkiye'de de kendisini göstermeye başlamış, bu müziğin dinleyicileri bu müziğe dair üretime geçmiştir. Yayıncılık da bu üretimin bir parçası olmuştur. Böylece 90'lı yıllardan itibaren, bağımsız yayınlar olarak heavy metal fanzinleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu fanzinler kaçınılmaz olarak heavy metal üzerine söylemler üretmekte, zaman zaman heavy metal ikonografisinde bulunan şok edici öğelere yer vermektedir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki heavy metal fanzinleri sahip oldukları bu tarz öğeler üzerinden analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunun için görsel analiz yöntemleri arasından söylem analizi seçilmiştir. Analizin uygulanacağı malzeme olarak da *Laneth* ve *Non Serviam* fanzinleri belirlenmiştir. Metinler arası yaklaşımı benimseyen söylem analizi aracılığıyla bu fanzinlerdeki başlıca şok edici imgeler, konuyla alakalı bilgiler ışığında farklı açılardan yorumlanmaya uğraşılmıştır. Analizin sonucunda, şok edici öğe kullanımının (ikili karşıtlık, medya eleştirisi ve heavy metal ikonografisi gibi) çeşitli örüntüler üzerinden ilerlediği ve (üretim teknikleri ile Türkiye'deki toplum ve medyanın yönelttiği eleştiriler gibi) birtakım etkenler tarafından güdülendirildiği bulgularına ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: heavy metal, fanzin, şok, söylem, medya

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

Heavy metal music is an international phenomenon despite the fact that it was born in England, popularised in the US, and highly contributed by German bands. As in the case of such countries as Brazil, Japan, India, China, Indonesia, Israel, and United Arab Emirates[1], it also breached the borders of Turkey. People in Turkey formed metal bands, organised metal concerts, and collected LPs and cassettes of foreign metal music artists starting from 1981 (see Section 3.1). They also wrote about their music taste, reported the musical events around them, and expressed their lifestyle through photocopied fanzines and independent music magazines since 1991. Considering the fact that heavy metal is a controversial music genre due to its unusual and even shocking characteristics, these publications were also unusual and shocking for the public.

Aim of this thesis is to explore the elements which incorporate shock value in the fanzines and identify the prejudices thrown at these publications. The prejudice is mostly the result of one-dimensional thinking, in the sense of one-to-one matching. Then, for example, any fanzine in which an evil sign is printed is produced by a group of Satanists as a result of such thinking. Examples can be multiplied in a similar structure for either violent, obscene, or abusive images matched to antisocial, pervert, or impertinent. Therefore, this thesis also aims to examine the subject matter from a broad perspective, using an intertextual methodology that evaluates multiple aspects. By doing this, possible motivations behind the usage of shock elements in Turkish heavy metal fanzines is investigated. Nevertheless, the research does not intend to justify the agents who produce heavy metal discourse in any form, including fanzines.

Chapter I makes an introduction to the subject by recalling the literature about heavy metal, rock music in Turkey, subcultures, and fanzines. The hypothesis and research questions construct the framework of the thesis. Visual methodologies are introduced to

---

[1] See the video documentary "Global Metal", directed by Sam Dunn and Scot McFadyen, 2007.

reader in order to explain the theoretical background and the tools used during the research. A visual image is divided into a total of 9 areas which result in the combination of three sites and three modalities under these sites. Different types of methods are placed over these areas according to technical relevance. Among these methods, discourse analysis is selected. Methodology section explains how the method is selected and how discourse analysis works.

Chapter II gives conceptual background of the subject. These are universal concepts such as the country and nationality, heavy metal music, subcultures, and fanzines. The thesis is about the fanzines in Turkey, thus, a brief history of the modern Turkey is offered in order to understand the dynamics. Heavy metal music section explains the early origins, main characteristics, and typical iconography of the genre as well as the consequent subgenres. Descriptions of subcultures and fanzines are cited from literature; function and production techniques of fanzines are summarised.

Chapter III constructs the context with the contextual background information. Heavy metal history in Turkey is narrated. Examples from the reactions of society to heavy metal fans were laid out based on several experiences of witnesses. And finally, the style of mainstream media is examined in cases that the newspapers were reporting the heavy metal events.

Chapter IV includes an analysis of shock imagery in *Laneth* and *Non Serviam*, after the opening section in which the shock imagery is defined. The reason behind selecting these two fanzines are the fact that both fanzines can produce discourses using visual language. According to my observation through personal archive, most of the fanzines tend to produce their discourses through textual elements, especially the fanzines which has been produced by a computer software in the 2000s. In this case, *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* were the most appropriate publications as the research uses visual methodologies. What is more, the two fanzines are related to each other as almost the same editor team is behind the production. Therefore, they can represent a school of a fanzine style.

Before heading to the next section, there are few things to be justified. First, the distinction between fanzine and magazine. One can argue that *Non Serviam* was not a

fanzine because it was produced in computer and because it became a registered legal publication around the tenth issue. It is also possible to carry the same doubts for *Laneth* because of the similar production methods after the third issue. For convenience, however, I call both publications as "fanzines" during this thesis.

The second thing to be justified is the distinction between punks and metal fans, because an important number of literature mentioned in the thesis is about punk music, punk subculture, and punk fanzines. Experiences by several Turkish punks are also cited in the subsequent chapters. One can claim that audiences of punk and metal often represent different subcultures in terms of musical taste, lifestyle, and political views; despite the similarities of both music genres such as the instruments used, street clothing, and aggressive attitude. This claim can be verified by observations in the musically pioneering countries such as the UK, the US, and Germany. In Turkey, though, both audiences faced similar difficulties almost simultaneously. For this reason, at least until the mid-1990s, there was a unity of punks and metal fans. In an interview, Hakan Nurcanlı[2] answers if there was a distinction between two genres in Turkey[3]:

> There was absolutely no such thing back then. Because there was no such thing as the market. Metal and Punk fans were hanging out at the same places and the conditions were the same for everyone. The only places were Kemancı and Köprüaltı. For instance, the DJ would play Slayer after a Punk song. There was no differentiation because there was no music industry anyhow.

According to this statement, punk and metal share almost the same context in Turkey. Therefore, the literature focused on punk culture can be adopted in such research.

1.2. Literature Review

Contrary to its contemporary musical genres, the academic interest in heavy metal music is relatively new. "Metal Studies" is a term which has been starting to be discussed in the recent years. The first scholarly conference for heavy metal music was held in 2008; the

---

[2] Founder of Deathroom, the first death metal band in Turkey.
[3] Sezgin Boynik and Tolga Güldallı, *Türkiye'de Punk Ve Yeraltı Kaynaklarının Kesintili Tarihi 1978-1999* [An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999](İstanbul: BAS, 2007), Book., 499.

first refereed journal *Metal Music Studies* published its first issue in October 2014[4]. Between these two milestones, questions like "What is metal studies?" and "How can we define and characterize it?" have been asked by Andy R. Brown (2011)[5]. Brown wrote an article based on Guibert and Hein's research *Les Scénes metal: Sciences sociales et pratiques culturelles radicales* and the Metal Studies Bibliography Database (MSBD), which "is the most complete listing of published scholarship on heavy metal music and culture to date"[6]. These sources provide a listing of publications that mention heavy metal music from 1978 to 2010. While Brown does not give an explanation of why the year 1978 is selected as one side of the scope, it coincides with the naming convention of heavy metal music[7]. The time span for bibliography seems wider than expected. However, Brown points to a consensus that the first two books in the literature to have "scholarship and research values" is considered to be Deena Weinstein's (1991) *Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology*[8] and Robert Walser's (1993) *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*[9]. Hence, Weinstein and Walser's works are considered milestones in heavy metal literature.

While a number of publications about heavy metal music has been emerging on the international scale, Turkey lacks a variety of works in this field. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the presence of heavy metal music in Turkey dates back to 1981 and spreads more rapidly by the end of 1980s. It is a delay more than ten years from Black Sabbath's eponymous debut album (1970), which is agreed to be the formal beginning of heavy metal genre[10]. Even so, the first Turkish book to include the word "metal" as a music genre in its title was Mustafa Öztürk's *Müzik Ailesinin Nefreti: Heavy Metal, Punk, New Wave* in 1985[11]. Öztürk's work, whose title can be translated as *"The Hatred of the Music Family: Heavy Metal, Punk, and New Wave"*, criticised the entitled music genres which were new for

---

[4] Brian Hickam, "Amalgamated Anecdotes: Perspectives on the History of Metal Music and Culture Studies," Metal Music Studies 1, no. 1 (2014).

[5] Andy R. Brown, "Heavy Genealogy: Mapping the Currents, Contraflows and Conflicts of the Emergent Field of Metal Studies, 1978-2010," Journal for Cultural Research 15, no. 3 (2011).

[6] Ibid., 214.

[7] The term "heavy metal" started to be used as a name of the music genre in the late 70s, and popularized in the 80s. See Section 2.2 for further details and references on naming of the genre.

[8] Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture* (Da Capo Press, 1991; repr., 2000).

[9] Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Mustafa Öztürk, *Müzik Ailesinin Nefreti: Heavy Metal, Punk, New Wave* (AYKO, 1985).

Turkish society. Öztürk handled the subject from the mainstream cultural perspective of that time, which can be seen in many newspaper articles (see Section 3.3). Öztürk's criticism of heavy metal culture is founded on two basic points. First of all, he defines art from a one-dimensional perspective: "Music pieces as artwork should be constructive and connective. They should contribute positive values to human relationships and society, and let existing values prosper"[12]. In this view, heavy metal cannot be perceived as a form of art, as it is an effort that "drives people away from thinking, producing, encourages antihuman violence and aggression supporters, and normalizes violent themes such as rape, head crushing, murder, war"[13]. The other basic point for Öztürk's criticism is clearly Marxist and depends on a fear of cultural imperialism, which is a common reaction of Turkish society at the times. He finds such controversial music movements a tool of modern capitalist governments that will enable them to break into other cultures. His conclusions deny the possibility of spontaneous, instinctive youth culture and sound like conspiracy theories: "All of these [efforts to promote controversial music commodities] are no more than a trap by which the capitalism can catch two birds with one stone. First, the disposal of the spawning dissatisfaction in the systematic relationships, which is the 'poison' to be transformed into an action and become destructive for the government is achieved and the masses are thus pacified. Second, the wheels of a horrible, profitable system of exploitation are already working"[14]. The lack of primary sources, quick judgements about the topic, and a number of factual errors in the section about rock and heavy metal music history makes *The Hatred of the Music Family* a highly subjective work. But as we shall see it can be useful for contributing to the discussions about the panics and concerns of Turkish society and media. Furthermore, Öztürk's commentary on whether heavy metal music is art reminds us of the distinction between high culture and popular culture.

Before mentioning other key books in Turkish heavy metal literature, it can be useful to point at a convention in naming the products and projects involving heavy metal music.

---

[12] Ibid., 103; my translation.
[13] Ibid., 103; my translation.
[14] Ibid., 107; my translation.

In Turkey, "rock" music was used as an umbrella term to describe the concepts related with the music with electric guitars. Therefore, it was common to see heavy metal content under the "rock" term. Many festivals incorporating mostly heavy metal bands have "rock" in their names, instead of "heavy metal": Rock Station (1998-2010), Rock the Nations (2003-2005), Rock Republic (2005), Uni Rock Festival (2008-2011), Rock Off Festival (2014). Heavy metal fanzines and magazines such as *Rock Reaction*, *Rock Kazanı*, *Rock!*, *Rock*, *Rockalite*, and *Rock Station* continue this convention. In this sense, it is natural to come across Turkish literature which has "rock" in its title even though most of the content is about heavy metal in Turkey. A Turkish book with the translated title *"Rock Lifestyle in Istanbul: A Sociological Look"* is an example for this situation[15].

Ten years after Öztürk's work, sociologist Ali Akay from Mimar Sinan University and his students Derya Fırat, Mehmet Kutlukan, and Pınar Göktürk (1995) examined the rock music lifestyle in Istanbul. They used a more scholarly approach and tried to analyse the characteristics and practices that differ from that of Western culture. The research was published as a book that is separated into four parts. Each part is authored by one name of the credited people. Akay's part provides an introduction for the book, which focuses on the survey and research techniques used, as well as an interview with Ege Madra[16] about the rock music venues. Fırat's interviews were conducted with selected rock music magazines and fanzines such as *Stüdyo İmge*, *Çalıntı*, *Laneth*, *Rock*, *Rock Dünyası*, *Rock Kazanı*, *Garaj*, and *Mr. P*. Kutlukan's part consisted of articles and interviews about the collision between rock music fans and the society. Lastly, Göktürk reflected on the commercial aspects of the topic through interviews and research. The book provides a comprehensive report on the rock music subject in the first half of the 1990's in Turkey. It also contributes to the discussion of style in which the Turkish rockers act through imitation. According to Akay, they imitate the Western examples of rock music society without adopting and developing much ideology. In the final paragraphs of his part, he asks questions which reflect the extracted conclusions of their research such as "Is the rock culture in Istanbul depended on

---

[15] Ali Akay et al., *İstanbul'da Rock Hayatı: Sosyolojik Bir Bakış* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Bağlam, 1995).
[16] Radio personality, best known for his programs in a former Turkish radio channel "Açık Radyo"

a youth who is sensitive about military service and nationalism, conform to the traditional morality and norms, but carries rock music themes in an only stylistically way?"[17]

Unlike Western countries such as the USA, the UK, and Germany, punk rock audience has been more associated with heavy metal audience in Turkey as both groups faced similar problems with society. Turkish "punks" started listening to heavy metal before they discovered punk music in the late 80's, or defended themselves in the streets against occasional fights which are caused by their stylistic looks among conservative aggressors. Therefore, interviews with punk rock witnesses in Turkey can be useful for a study about heavy metal music. In their book "*An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999*", sociologist Sezgin Boynik and insider Tolga Güldallı (2007) made an attempt to create a profile of punk music and lifestyle in Turkey by conducting an important number of interviews with various actors/agents of the movement[18]. These people included musicians, shopkeepers, zinesters[19], journalists, insiders and outsiders, that is, all of those people who had contributed to the sources of Turkish punk music scene. Boynik and Güldallı's work mostly consisted of these interviews, while adding commentaries through several articles by themselves and guest authors. The interviews and articles were based on memories, opinions, and experiences. One of the most common subjects in the interviews and articles was the presence of subculture in Turkey. Some of the people in the book claimed that the movements such as punk or heavy metal took place only as a visual style, not as a subculture. These claims support the previously mentioned conclusion from the book by Akay et al. (1995), which is about the imitation of style.

The topic has also drawn interest outside of Turkey. For his book "*Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society*", sociologist Pierre Hecker (2012) conducted a research in Istanbul by observing the heavy metal music movement in the city and doing nearly 70 interviews[20]. The interviews offered a broad variety of people who are

---

[17] Akay et al., *İstanbul'da Rock Hayatı: Sosyolojik Bir Bakış.*, 25; my translation.
[18] Boynik and Güldallı, *Türkiye'de Punk Ve Yeraltı Kaynaklarının Kesintili Tarihi 1978-1999*.
[19] A person who produces fanzine is called a "zinester".
[20] Pierre Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society*, Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series (Farnham: Ashgate Pub, 2012), Book.

musicians, journalists, radio/TV personalities, organizers, shopkeepers, record label owners, and fans. Using these interviews, Hecker tries to examine several issues of heavy metal music in Turkey, which provides a unique context differing from Western countries as well as from the Middle Eastern Islamic countries such as Iran, Iraq, or Egypt that has a Muslim identity and mostly secular metropolitan society. These issues are separated in chapters that discuss, for instance, the moral panic caused by several murder and suicide cases as well as the mainstream media, the paradox of the black metal subgenre in Muslim context, gender, and daily struggles for the heavy metal fans. In the introduction, Hecker also explains his research method and process, and provides a brief heavy metal history in Turkey in the aspects of underground tape trading, fanzines, radio programmes, concerts, and bands. As Hecker is a heavy metal fan himself, he uses this to his advantage and is being accepted among the heavy metal places, which makes it more efficient in observing the lifestyle and getting replies to the interview questions. However, this fandom also prevents him from drawing ultimate conclusions from his findings. Thus, *"Turkish Metal"* is useful as a complete report with many discourse analyses on the quotes from the interviews.

Other Turkish publications incorporating heavy metal subjects are worth to mention. Author Taner Ay (1994) published his writings under the name *"Rock and Violence"*[21] in which he examines case studies from various parts of rock music history. One of the chapters in the book is based on the cases of heavy metal bands Black Sabbath, Led Zeppelin, and Danzig. Editor-in-chief at *Çalıntı* magazine at that time, Metin Solmaz (1994) wrote *"Rock Dictionary"*[22]. He explains almost all of the concepts under rock music, after a section about rock music history. Music writer Can Atacan (1998) prepared an encyclopaedic book *"Heavy Metal: From Its Start Until Today"*[23] which gives biographic information about the international bands, definitions of subgenres, and an editorial story of heavy metal music. Music researcher Münir Tireli (2007) published *"Band Music in Turkey: The 80s"*[24] as

---

[21] Taner Ay, *Rock Ve Şiddet* (İstanbul: Korsan Yayıncılık, 1994).
[22] Metin Solmaz, *Rock Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1994).
[23] Can Atacan, *Başlangıcından Bugüne Heavy Metal* (İstanbul: Stüdyo İmge, 1998; repr., 2).
[24] Münir Tireli, *Türkiye'de Grup Müziği: 1980'ler* (Arkaplan, 2007).

a sequel to his previous book about the band music in 1957-1980. Heavy metal bands play an important role in the book as they were something new to Turkey.

Up to this point, the majority of Turkish literature about rock/heavy metal music is addressed. The publications mentioned in detail commonly discussed the subcultural values of Turkish youth, which leads us to the need for further reading about the subculture studies. Dick Hebdige (1979) put out a milestone work for this field, in his book *"Subculture: The Meaning of Style"*[25]. Apparently, he is not the first person to introduce the "subculture" term into the literature (as his bibliography contains some titles including "subculture"). However, his work is one of the first books to take the subject as a whole and include contemporary subculture cases –even the then-recent punk movement. Hebdige separates the book into two parts. He introduces some of the subcultures as "Some Case Studies" in Part 1 (the phrase in quotation marks comes from its self-explanatory title). Punks, reggae, hipsters, beats, teddy boys, mods, and glam/glitter rock are among the movements he introduces. Later in Part 2, he examines the subcultures in terms of style. He focuses on style and searches for different aspects such as "style as intentional communication", "style as bricolage", "style in revolt", "style as homology", and "style as signifying practice". Although heavy metal as a music genre and audience is not included except for two mentions and a brief note, the theories and observations made by Hebdige are valid and applicable for heavy metal, even for the situation in Turkey.

Another notable study on subcultures is by Chris Jenks (2005), who writes about subcultures in a more theoretical way than Hebdige (1979)[26]. In his book *"Subcultures: The Fragmentation of the Social"*, Jenks makes it clear in the introductory part[27]:

> My aim here is not to modernize Hebdige and produce an up-to-date inventory of subcultures containing youthful resistance. Rather, I would like to demonstrate the place of subculture as a concept in the development of social and cultural theory, to point to the reasoning behind its selection as an analytical and descriptive vehicle, in a variety of locations, and to reveal its ambivalent and perhaps unintentional contribution to the deconstruction of the concept 'society'.

---

[25] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979).
[26] Chris Jenks, *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2005), Book.
[27] Ibid., 4-5.

Fanzines are the communication medium of subcultures which also provide primary documents from the active agents. Inevitably, they have become a topic under scholar interest. In his book "*Alternative Media*", Chris Atton (2002) studies the topic which the book's name suggests, mainly focusing on the period starting from 1990s[28]. Atton evaluates the alternative media in all its possible form and by all possible social groups, providing an overall look, which can be a base for any alternative media study with the engagements of concepts like economics of production, anti-copyright, and open distribution. As a subtopic, fanzines are also discussed in a wide variety, without being limited only to music fanzines: literature, science fiction, and football fanzines were also of interest to Atton. He supports the theoretical framework presented in the section with several case studies about fanzines from different interests.

There are also some articles about fanzines to be noted. Chris Atton (2001) took his interest on how some fanzines in 1990s specialized on a music genre that had not been popular for 25 years in his article "*Living in the Past?: Value Discourses in Progressive Rock Fanzines*"[29]. Teal Triggs (2006) studied 3 punk fanzines that were started right after the first British punk fanzine *Sniffin' Glue*, and published for a variety of years (3 years for *Ripped & Torn*, 8 years for *Chainsaw*, and 16 years for *Panache*). In that article named "*Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic*", Triggs also discussed *Sniffin' Glue* as a reference point to other three fanzines, mainly focusing on the visual aspects of DIY (do-it-yourself) aesthetics[30]. More recently in their article "*A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound*", Brett Lashua and Sara Cohen (2012) used Liverpool-based post-punk fanzine *Merseysound* (1979-1982) in order to examine how such a fanzine provides a grassroots account of Liverpool's post-punk scene during its publishing period[31].

---

[28] Chris Atton, *Alternative Media*(London ; Thousand Oaks [Calif.]: SAGE, 2002).
[29] "'Living in the Past'?: Value Discourses in Progressive Rock Fanzines," *Popular Music* 20, no. 1 (2001).
[30] Teal Triggs, "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a Diy Aesthetic," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006).
[31] Brett Lashua and Sara Cohen, "A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes," *Punk & Post Punk* 1, no. 1 (2011).

1.3. Hypothesis and Research Questions

Heavy metal music fanzines directly reflect the visual styles of heavy metal culture in which some fractions are concerned only with having fun, enjoying the music, and living the lifestyle while others also carry shocking imagery that depicts anti-social, anti-religious, hedonist, gory, and violent themes. In heavy metal fanzines, the fans find a space to express themselves freely without public exposure, as they are found "harmful publications" by people who do not belong to their circle. It is my hypothesis that the fractions that incorporate extreme themes in their artworks do that in some particular patterns and get their motivation from the pressure from society and the mainstream media.

The goal of this paper is to verify the hypothesis explained above using the study of several related topics and experiences, as well as the methodologies discussed in the next section. Through this verification process, some questions will be answered which constitute a structure to the research. These questions are determined in a logic that is interested in methods and factors rather than reasons or intentions. As this research is based on the patterns and motivations, it is desired to ask questions starting with "how" and "what". "Why" questions are avoided because it needs different methodology and tools to answer. All of the research questions can be presented in such structure:

- How do the Turkish heavy metal fanzines create their discourse?
  - What generic examples of heavy metal imagery are they based on?
  - How do the production techniques influence their discourse?
- With what motivations are shocking images used in Turkish heavy metal magazines?
  - What are the consequences of being published in a Turkish geographical and cultural context compared to the international counterparts?

1.4. Methodology

1.4.1. Researching Visual Materials

Because the subject of this research is printed publications which are linked firmly with images and visual styles, it is convenient to use the analytic tools for "visual culture". Gillian Rose (2001) brings the discussions about the quoted term in the introductory chapter of her book "*Visual Methodologies*"[32]. She summarizes the recent debates and literature that engages with visual culture in the groups of five aspects from which she brings out five major points. In search for understanding how images work, these points (indicated in italics below) form a framework of visual culture[33]:

- An image may have its *own visual effects* (so it is important to look very carefully at images)

- These effects, through the *ways of seeing* mobilized by the image, are crucial in the production and reproduction of visions of *social difference*

- But these effects always intersect with the *social context of its viewing* and *the visualities its spectators bring* to their viewing.

Rose reduces and iterates this general approach into what she calls "critical approach" in three principles. Thus, a critical approach to visual images "thinks about the agency of the image, considers the social practices and effects of its viewing, and reflects on the specificity of that viewing by various audiences including the academic critic"[34]. At this point, Rose suggests tools for analysing images: sites and modalities.

The meanings of an image are made in these sites and it is essential when interpreting visual images according to the critical approach. Thus an image has a site of production, the image itself, and audience. Each site of an image has a process with different aspects such as technology, composition, and sociality. These aspects are called "modalities", which is the concept of a further division in a site and contributes to a critical

---

[32] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 2001), Book.
[33] Ibid., 15.
[34] Ibid., 32.

12

understanding of image by adding layers. Thus, visual methodologies can focus on specific areas that are defined by combination of sites and modalities. Basically, modalities can be matched to the sites in their meaning: Technological modality to site of production, compositional modality to site of the image itself, and social modality to site of audience. However, each modality is found in all three sites. Therefore, it can be suggested that the border of areas divided by sites and modalities is gradual to each other.

Figure 1: "An Oblique Look", Robert Doisneau, 1948

Rose reproduces a photograph by Robert Doisneau (Figure 1) in order to illustrate the sites and modalities as an example. She repeatedly interprets the picture and goes through all three modalities for each site. In the site of the production, she mentions that technology matters "to how an image looks and therefore to what it might do and what might be done

to it"[35]. A description by John Berger about the uniqueness of oil painting supports this argument[36]:

> What distinguishes oil painting from any other form of painting is its special ability to render the tangibility, the texture, the lustre, the solidity of what it depicts. It defines the real as that which you can put your hands on.

Knowing about the technology can bring factual ideas about the production of the image. The photograph by Doisneau, which was taken in 1948, is considered by the kind of the camera, film, and the developing process in this sense. By the time the picture was taken, cameras were relatively portable and film was more sensitive to light compared to the first decades of photography. Therefore, the photographer had the chance to have quick, spontaneous shots with the camera, which he/she carried easily. As a result of its technology, photography is known for its truthfulness contrary to paintings. However, the truthfulness is still open for debate as it is unknown whether the couple in the photograph posed or they were unaware of being photographed.

Talking about the second modality under the site of production, the compositionality, Rose comes up with the term "genre" of images, which can be related to the conditions of an image's production. She defines the word "genre" in the following sentences[37]:

> Genre is a way of classifying visual images into certain groups. Images that belong to the same genre share certain features. A particular genre will share a specific set of meaningful objects and locations and, in the case of movies for example, have a limited set of narrative problematics.

Attributing a genre to an image requires knowledge about those classifications of "specific set of meaningful objects and locations"[38]. In order to determine the genre of the photograph under consideration, for example, conventional genres of photography should be known. Thus, Rose thinks the photograph fits into the genre of "street photography", which is connected to the "documentary photography" through "the desire to picture life as it apparently is"[39]. The distinction of street photography from documentary is the mood over

---

[35] Ibid., 17.
[36] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*(London: British Broadcasting Association and Penguin, 1972)., 88.
[37] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.*, 19.
[38] Ibid., 19.
[39] Ibid., 20.

the picture. While most of the documentary photographs have the tendency to picture the poor, oppressed or marginalised people with the horrors of their lives, street photography does not carry such tendency. It is more likely for street photography to incorporate the extraordinary moments and witty images, or at least be not too disturbing for the viewers.

Before leaving the site of production, Rose points to the author of the visual image under consideration for its social modality of production. She partly agrees with the "auteur theory", which is "the notion that the most important aspect in understanding a visual image is what its maker intended to show"[40]. However, it is important to note that there is also an uninterested approach to this theory in many recent works on visual matters, especially triggered by Roland Barthes' famous claim "the death of the author" in which the meaning is produced by the audience's own ways of seeing instead of the author's intentions[41]. Thus, Rose suggests taking the information about the author serious in order not to interpret his/her images, but to understand the modalities that shaped the production.

For the second site of the Doisneau photograph, Rose discusses site of the image itself. She refers to the type of the film used for technological modality, as the black and white film directly determines the tonality of the photograph. Doisneau's career and social background influenced the style of the photograph under consideration through a social mode. He was a freelance photographer who made a living from his photographs and worked mostly in advertisement photography. As it is important not to offend the potential buyers, a photograph by Doisneau can be expected to have an emotionally pleasant content. The compositional modality in the site of the image itself encourages talking directly about the subject. Griselda Pollock brings a feminist discussion to this photograph and criticizes its complicit effect to the viewer[42]:

> It is [the man's] gaze which defines the problematic of the photograph and it erases that of the woman. She looks at nothing that has any meaning for the spectator. Spatially central, she is negate in the triangulation of looks between the man, the picture of the fetishized woman and the spectator, who is thus enthralled to a

---

[40] Ibid., 22.
[41] Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), Book., 145-6.
[42] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988)., 47.

masculine viewing position. To get the joke, we must be complicit with his secret discovery of something better to look at. The joke, like all dirty jokes, is at the woman's expense.

As mentioned before, the meaning of an image is produced on the way of seeing of the viewer. Thus, one can suggest the most important site as the site of the audience, as John Fiske (1994) does[43]. He also uses the term "audiencing" in reference to a process that puts particular audience into specific circumstances while presenting the image, thus has the meanings renegotiated, maybe rejected in the end. In this sense, we can think of a presence of a power in the image that induces the audience into certain reactions. All three modalities concur with this assumption. Compositionality of an image guides the audience with the formal arrangement it contains. For this kind of formal arrangement, the "guidance" is a very light term according to the several methods mentioned in Rose's book, as they suggest that the arrangement dictates how an image is seen. In the case of Doisneau photograph, the gazes from the man and woman draw guide lines for the audience while they are watching the image. Gaze of the woman draws a shorter line and goes "nowhere", as that of the man takes the viewer to a perceptible and relatively attractive ending. Our eyes end up on the naked woman in the painting with the guidance (or dictation) of the line drawn by the man, which is probably why the audience is pulled into complicity, as Pollock suggests. Technology of reproduction also affects the reaction of the audience and thus the meanings they extract. Rose gives an example of movies asking "How does seeing a particular movie on a television screen differ from seeing it on a large cinema screen with 3D glasses?"[44]. Combined with the social modality of audiencing, viewers are forced to act and behave in an appropriate way: People behave differently in an art gallery, a cinema, a living room, or a church even if the image in consideration is common among these different places and mediums of presentation. Reproduction of the Doisneau photograph in a book in terms of interpretation makes the viewer look at it often and carefully, unlike the case it is reproduced in a magazine or an exhibition.

---

[43] John Fiske, "Audiencing," in *Handbook of Qualitative Methods*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln(London: Sage, 1994).

[44] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*., 25.

1.4.2. Finding a Method

The previous section examined Rose's approach to the visual images before choosing a method for further interpretation. Sites and modalities were explained with the example from a photograph by Robert Doisneau. However, it is not necessary to look at all of the sites and modalities in a research because further methodological tools, such as compositional interpretation, content analysis, semiology, psychoanalysis, discourse analysis, and audience studies naturally focus on particular sites and modalities. Unnecessary areas of interpretation do not worth examining after one appropriate method is chosen. Otherwise, the research is likely to be inconsistent as Rose expresses her opinion: "(…) there are very few studies of visual culture which attempt to examine all the areas outlined in the previous section, and those that do suffer from a certain analytical incoherence"[45]. Rose also attempts to suggest how these methods she discusses each have their own analytical assumptions and empirical focus in Figure 2, which distribute the sites, modalities, and methods on the same plane.

---

[45] Ibid., 29.
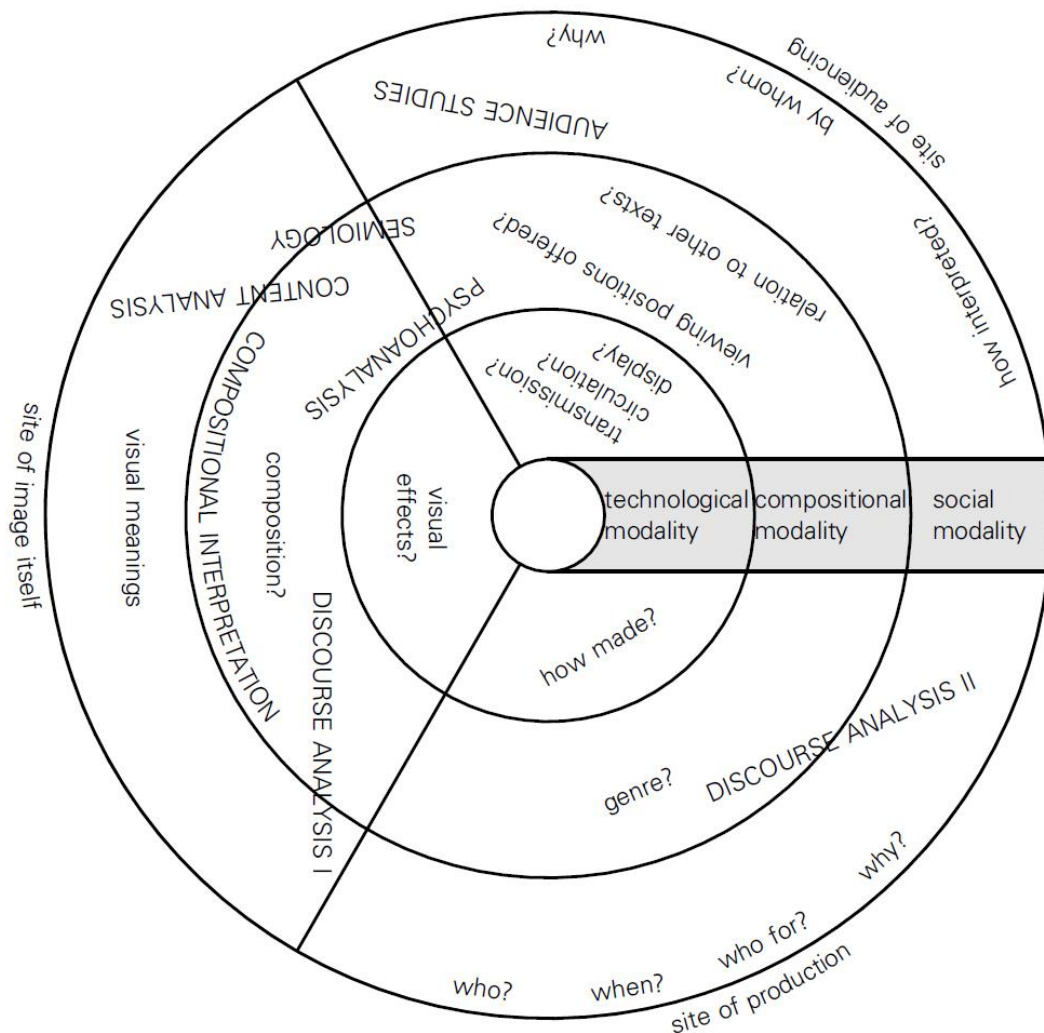
Figure 2: Sites, Modalities and methods for interpreting visual materials[46]

Even though the selection of a method requires a reduction in the scope of interpretation and there is a danger of analytical incoherence in an attempt to examine all areas, the excluded areas should not be omitted completely according to Rose[47]:

> (…) all of these methods require some sorts of contextual knowledge about the imagery you are interested in. It is always important to know something about all aspects of the image you want to research; even if the audience is your main analytical focus, it is often useful to know something about the production of the image too. (…) Search for what others have written on the medium in which you're interested – say, photography, in the Doisneau case – and on the genres which you think are relevant to the images you're concerned with – in this case, street photography.

---

[46] Ibid., 30.
[47] Ibid., 29.

It is useful to note the two terms from the quotation above: medium and genre. We can define their own values for this research as a first step of application after all the theoretical summary up to this point. The medium in this case is the fanzines, which are about (or, at least, connected to) heavy metal music and are produced in Turkey. Therefore, the genre can be defined as Turkish heavy metal music fanzines.

Having the medium and genre defined, any research examining this topic requires knowledge about the following concepts, which are briefly summarised in Chapter II:

- Turkey (socio-political dynamics that shape the relationship of youth and elder society)

- Heavy metal music (development, characteristics, and common iconography of the genre)

- Subcultures (behaviours and interaction of the agents as society)

- Fanzines (production techniques, function as an alternative media organ)

When this research is considered as country-specific, the latter three concepts are universal and valid to any similar researches focusing the situation in other countries. Taking it further, we also need to have the knowledge about the location-based context of those universal concepts. We have to discuss, as in Chapter III, the reception of heavy metal music in Turkey from different perspectives: history, difficulties of the lifestyle, media appearances, and the reactions of heavy metal audience.

1.4.3. Discourse Analysis

Before defining the term "discourse" and summarizing the interpretational strategies, selection of discourse analysis as a visual research method needs to be justified for this thesis work. Figure 2 provides a map of suggestion even if the particular method has not been studied. The research questions are about the fanzine representation of the shocking imagery and the intentions behind it. Thus, the area of the research is not mainly interested with the production process, or the meanings that occur on the audience site. It is the "content" of the fanzines for which the research questions look: The visual meanings carried and the composition constructed through the collages of elements such as photographs,

graphics, illustrations, logos, and text columns and labels. In other words, my research questions point the site of the image itself with its compositional and social modalities. Considering Rose's distribution of methods in Figure 2, "discourse analysis I" is the most appropriate method for conducting such research. One can ask at this point why "content analysis" is not appropriate as it is written over the same site and modalities in Figure 2. Content analysis requires a quantitative approach to the research materials. Even if the complete set for back issues of the fanzines under examination is obtained, I do not think it would be a consistent source for such approach. The reason for this claim is that fanzines are produced more spontaneously and depends on more dynamics than regular magazines; therefore standardisation of data may be a critical issue.

The meaning of the term "discourse" can be helpful for an effort associated with discourse analysis. Rose defines the discourse in the following words[48]:

> Discourse has a quite specific meaning. It refers to groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking. In other words, discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it.

Lynda Nead opens the definition of discourse with the examples from the fields of medicine and art[49]:

> [Discourse is] a particular form of language with its own rules and conventions and the institutions within which the discourse is produced and circulated. (…) in this way, it is possible to the special language of medicine, the form of knowledge it produces and the professional institutions and social spaces which it occupies. (…) The discourse of art in the nineteenth century [consisted of] the concatenation of visual images, the language and structures of criticism, cultural institutions, publics for art and the values and knowledges made possible within and through high culture.

At this point, Rose points at another important term, "intertextuality" in order to understand discourse. Discourse is intertextual because "discourses are articulated through all sorts visual and verbal images and texts, specialized or not, and also through the practices that those languages permit". She continues about the intertextuality, as it "refers

---

[48] Ibid., 136.
[49] Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988)., 4.

to the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image, but also on the meanings carried by other images and texts"[50].

By doing discourse analysis, it means that a discursive production from authoritative content is pursued, because, as Rose suggests "Discourses are articulated through a huge range of images, texts and practices, (…) and all of these are legitimate sources for a discourse analysis"[51]. Range of sources for a discourse analysis can be naturally wide. Rose's example for the discourse analysis is about the discursive construction of the East End of London in the 1880s. Recurring resources for such analysis are newspapers, travel diaries, novels, poems, maps, cartoons, and photographs. Thus, intertextuality is one obvious property of discourse analysis and such eclectic set of sources "are not constrained by notions of genre, or technology"[52]. Even if a study is concerned to the production such as Nead's (1988) work, there is a wide range of sources such as paintings, engravings, and drawings, but also journalism, reports, and other writings. Nicholas Green's words summarizes that discourse is "a coherent pattern of statements across a range of archives and sites"[53].

Talking about finding sources for a research which uses discourse analysis, Rose introduces some "starting points" that will help finding sources. My research has a starting point that fits in her following statement: "Your key sources may already be to hand; perhaps stumbling across them was what started you off on this research in the first place"[54]. My personal archive of fanzines, newspaper articles, photographs, albums, and concert posters and tickets from Turkish heavy metal history started me on this research. For the sake of the stress that Rose makes on its importance, widening my "range of archives and sites" has been a part of the data collecting process. However, there is a difficulty in this process; one should know where to stop. According to Fran Tonkiss,

---

[50] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.*, 138.
[51] Ibid., 142.
[52] Ibid., 136.
[53] Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France*(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993)., 3.
[54] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.*, 143.

quantity of the material analysed is not that important in discourse analysis, as she says "What matters is the richness of textual detail, rather than the number of texts analysed"[55].

When conducting discourse analysis, according to many discourse analysts, it is not necessary to follow a list of rigorous instructions. Even so, there have been efforts to make these procedures more explicit. Rose recalls them over the studies about the discursive construction of the East End of London and summarizes in seven strategies[56]:

1. Look at your sources with fresh eyes

2. Immerse yourself in your sources

3. Identify key themes in your sources

4. Examine their effects of truth

5. Pay attention to their complexity and contradictions

6. Look for the invisible as well as the visible

7. Pay attention to details

---

[55] Fran Tonkiss, "Analysing Discourse," ed. Clive Seale, *Researching Society and Culture* (London: Sage, 2004)., 253.

[56] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.*, 158.

CHAPTER II: CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Politics and society in Turkey

In order to pursue an answer to the questions concerning the reactions of society and mainstream media on the images represented and discourses found in Turkish heavy metal magazines during the analysis, we must understand a few things about the workings of Turkish society and the history of government. Knowledge about contemporary Turkish politics is also important because, as will be discussed, it could either create or prevent the opportunities of particular developments in the Turkish rock and heavy metal music scene.

The characteristics of Turkish social fabric in the 1980s and 1990s can be traced back to the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923. Led by the founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a rapid westernisation and reforming process was started in many different areas. These reforms aimed for the new republic to conform to the modern world. Then, the style of the reforms would be in primarily Western standards, with less emphasis on Islamic traditions[57]:

> (…) abolishing the Sultanate (1 November 1922) and the Caliphate (3 March 1924), granting equal civil rights to male and female citizens (17 February 1926), adopting a secular legal system based upon the Swiss Civil Code (17 February 1926) and the Italian Criminal Code (1 March 1926), removing the constitutional provision designating Islam as the state religion (9 April 1928), and replacing the Arabic alphabet in favor of the Latin alphabet (1 November 1928) (...)

In addition to these reforms, closing the traditional religious seminaries (medrese) in favour of a unified educational system in 1924, prohibiting the fez and the veil in 1925, recognizing full political rights of women in 1934, and introducing secularism as a constitutional principle in 1937 were also effective[58]. However, most of these reforms were not the result of requests from below but brought from the top of the government in order to create a national state, with an emphasis on "Turk" unlike the idea in Ottoman Empire which consisted of many different nations. Another problem was that, according to Hakan Yavuz (2007), "the elite tried to engineer a modern society by making full use of the mechanisms of the state, without, however, a genuine commitment to pluralism and critical

---

[57] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society.*, 27.
[58] Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)., 48-49.

thinking"[59]. Then, there was no such atmosphere that different ideas, representation, and lifestyles could be emerged and developed by public. The state was untouchable, as well as any other foreign sources were unacceptable unless they were legitimised by the state. Therefore, the population in the cities were close-minded about contemporary European ideas, although they were visually European.

Beginning with the Democrat Party (DP) government in 1950, migration from rural to urban areas grew fast. According to the numbers Yavuz (2007) conveys, over 18 percent of the population moved away from the provinces in which they were born between 1950 and 1970 in the direction of urban centers, virtually without exception. 60 out of every 100 people living in Istanbul in 1980 originally came from another part of the country, while 40 percent of the 1980 population of Ankara was born outside the provincial borders according to a report of the Statistic Institute. Official state statistics also bear out the result of that demographic transformation: in 1950, only 25 percent of the population lived in cities; by 1993, this figure had increased to 59 percent[60]. This huge amount of migration was uncontrollable for the municipalities and defied the city-planning policies by the random construction of squatter houses ("gecekondu") by the immigrants. This type of housing created a space for the immigrants near the city; however, this space was not integrated into the city. Therefore, cities were surrounded with a mass of people who both live the routines of city life and keep their traditions from the village. Yavuz (2007) explains the transformation and consequences caused by that formation[61]:

> One of the major implications of this pattern of urbanization has been the growing dominance of the social practices of the provincial town. This social adaptation to urban life is constituted by the confluence of imitation and innovation. In the process of mass migration from villages to cities, the first groups to leave the village were notables and other economically well-off groups. Reflecting traditional Islamic culture, with its close-knit families, the patterns of migration reveal that families migrate as a whole rather than as individuals. Therefore, family and village kinship networks tended to reconstitute themselves within their own quarters (*mahalle*) in large urban centers. Squatter housing further promoted the development of communal ties because people needed help to build squatter houses and to protect them from the state bureaucracy. These family-based migration patterns created a new ring of

---

[59] Ibid., 48.
[60] Ibid., 82-83.
[61] Ibid., 85.

24

conservative clusters around the cities, and this in turn reinforced the conservativism of urban centers.

Combining the state ideology and immigration, we can see that, regardless of being secular or Islamist, society of Turkey is conservative in terms of ideas and movements that are of foreign origin.

The military coup of 1980 made an impact on daily routine of Turkish society. It brought strict rules and excessive state control. People were discouraged to be interested in politics; also many leftist movements were cleared off. Publications promoting these ideologies were prohibited and destroyed by the regime through sudden raids to houses. Even music albums were found harmful by the government. Sercan, a member of punk band Headbangers, recalls his memories in an interview[62]:

> I was a little kid and we were burning Cem Karaca's records in the stove, it didn't make any sense. I kept asking my parents why we were burning them and they told me that these were banned and if the soldiers came and found those in the house my parents would end up in jail. Well, what's wrong with them? I liked listening to them. Those little pieces of petroleum didn't hurt anyone. The books and albums burnt in the stove created a huge emptiness.

The strict government also prohibited groupings in the public spaces. This ban not only contributed to the disinterest in the politics, but also harmed to the social fabric. Murat Ertel, founder of the bands Zen and Baba Zula, explains his observations: "The group thing ended towards the end of the '70s in Turkey. They'd put an end to gatherings. I remember that more than four people could not come together in public, the law forbade it. The curfew began at midnight every night"[63].

Later policies such as neo-liberalism introduced by Motherland Party (ANAP) in the 1980s combined the nationalist, conservative and anti-politic construction of society with consumerism. These policies brought an overall feeling of freedom after the suppression in the first few years of the 80s, therefore it is possible to talk about a duality. Searching for the cultural climate of the decade, Nurdan Gürbilek suggests the terms "suppression of the word" and "explosion in the word" for the military coup era and ANAP government

---

[62] Boynik and Güldallı, *Türkiye'de Punk Ve Yeraltı Kaynaklarının Kesintili Tarihi 1978-1999.*, 379.
[63] Ibid., 494.

respectively[64]. According to Gürbilek, this explosion was possible as "the culture had been involved into the market to an extent that is previously unseen, advertising rapidly put an unlimited number of images into circulation, and there became a new public opinion and language style due to the introduction of news magazines"[65]. This language was defined as it "rescues images from their historical responsibilities, reduces the history to quotation, and is arbitrary"[66]. Gürbilek further describes[67]:

> This language was incited by the advertising in the first place. Language of advertisements not only made words serve to images, but also converted the whole culture into a raw material that can be used in the marketing of the goods and into an accumulation of quotations. It reduced the interaction with the culture to a relationship of a gesture and the fascination, a pulse and the shock, and a display window and the observation.

2.2. Heavy metal music

Heavy metal is one of the few genres that has created its own culture and kept it living for decades. With the new subgenres emerging from time to time, the origins of the music are also preserved loyally by fans and musicians, by paying homage to the originator bands and still producing new songs in older fashions. Throughout the history of heavy metal, which spans over 45 years, many different generations from many different countries listened to this music with passion, and many collaborated in writing and playing songs in this genre. With this fact in mind, heavy metal is now a culture consisting of personalities and backgrounds of great variety.

Tracing back to the genre's origins, it is possible to face many different stories about birth of heavy metal. Weinstein (1991) explains this situation as "heavy metal has many stories. There is no consensus on its precursors, basic influences, first full-fledged songs and bands, or developmental stages"[68]. The musical elements that are known to be usually in heavy metal songs could be encountered before the genre's crystallisation in the first half of the 1970s. Therefore, just like a quotation made by Weinstein, a commentator can come up

---

[64] Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992).
[65] Ibid., 21; my translation.
[66] Ibid., 24; my translation.
[67] Ibid., 24; my translation.
[68] Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture.*, 14.

with a statement like "Blue Cheer was the first of all heavy metal bands" because of some instrumental and stylistic elements found in the band's debut album *Vincebus Eruptum* (1968). Weinstein follows the majority of commentators in her discussion and grants precedence to both Black Sabbath and Led Zeppelin as founders of heavy metal[69]. She supports this decision by claiming that "the first albums of these two groups include much that later formed the sonic, visual, and verbal code of heavy metal", however, this claim sounds problematic as Led Zeppelin's first album (1968) incorporates strong blues influences that does not sound as evolved to a distinct, new, heavier style yet. At least, Led Zeppelin still fit into the origin of heavy metal timeline, as their heavier albums were published in the early 70s[70].

Thus, I follow the idea that the first band to define heavy metal musically was Black Sabbath, Birmingham-based music band[71]. The industrial atmosphere and surrounding factories in Birmingham influenced these musicians heavily to build their sound and incorporate dark themes. This style of music spread through 70s and caught people generally from suburbs and working class as listener or musician. The poor and hard conditions in the lives of such people led them through escapism and made them write lyrics ranging from their working-class lifestyle to the fantasy, which is mostly fed by the heavy industry. Weapons of steel, heroes/antiheroes made from metal, factory conditions such as extremely high heat, pressure, dirtiness, foggy, dark sky were some of the main elements in these fantasies[72]. Their first album (1970) provided transcendence from heavy blues influences that found in the early phase of heavy metal music. The record introduced the tritone interval which was considered as "the Devil in music" and avoided in medieval singing because of its tonal characteristics and effect on the listener. The horrifying music of Black Sabbath was supported with horror lyrics such as the opening words of the album

---

[69] Ibid., 15.

[70] This discussion is also an example of the point that Weinstein makes: "Constant concern with drawing fine distinctions between who is within and who is without the pale of heavy metal is a staple of discourse among heavy metal critics and fans." (Weinstein, 1991: 15)

[71] Robert Walser (1993) also promotes this idea: "If metal could be said to have gotten started in any single place, it would be Birmingham, England, the industrial city whose working class spawned Ozzy Osbourne, Black Sabbath, and Judas Priest in the late 1960s and early 1970s."

[72] Leigh Michael Harrison, "Factory Music: How the Industrial Geography and Working-Class Environment of Post-War Birmingham Fostered the Birth of Heavy Metal," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 1 (2010).

"What is this there stands before me?", as well as the album's artwork which depicts a "figure in black" in front of the Mapledurham Watermill in Oxfordshire, England[73].

According to Weinstein, heavy metal was not identified as a genre in its early formative phase. She refers to the words by Geezer Butler, bassist of Black Sabbath, in contribution to the origin of the term "heavy metal". According to Butler's memories, the term was first seen in a Black Sabbath concert review by an American critic around 1972, defining the performance as it "wasn't rock music. It was the sound of heavy metal crashing"[74]. The other possible origins of the term are found in several different media: in the lyrics of the 1968 song by Steppenwolf, "Born to be Wild", in the novels by William Burroughs such as *Naked Lunch* and *Nova Express*, and in a review in *Creem* of Sir Lord Baltimore's 1970 album, *Kingdom Come*[75].

(a)

(b)

(c)

Figure 3: Band photographs depicting different fashion styles of heavy metal.

---

[73] Andrew L. Cope, *Black Sabbath and the Rise of Heavy Metal Music*, [Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series] (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), Book., 34
[74] Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture*., 18-19.
[75] Ibid., 19.

By the mid-1970s, heavy metal was crystallised as a genre not only with its sonic dimension, but also its visual and verbal dimensions. Its fashion started to distinguish from the hippy culture, in which people used to wear soft, loose and colourful dresses. Jeans and T-shirts, which are considered as "street clothes" became a uniform (Figure 3a). Judas Priest, the Birmingham-based band who enhanced the twin-guitar style introduced by the Irish band Thin Lizzy, also brought the metal-studded leather fashion (Figure 3b) which was reminiscent of an earlier British youth culture, the rockers. In the 1980s, it was also common to see bands wearing spandex pants (Figure 3c) which "allow greater freedom of movement on the stage and better display the athletic bodies of the performers, thereby promoting an image of vital power"[76]. Except for this latter costume, the dominant colour in heavy metal crowd became black. It is "used as the background for the other artwork. Red is the second most important colour. The colour scheme is not gentle, relaxing, or merely neutral. Rather, it is intense, exciting, or ominous[77]". Using this colour scheme, many common themes of heavy metal music such as horror movies, tales, heroic fantasies, science-fiction, motorbikes, and dystopia settings are depicted in the related artworks, especially the album covers. Combined with logos "incorporating a multitude of oblique angles and rather squared off ends", or resembling runic, Teutonic lettering, album covers play a vital role defining the band's music[78]:

> Heavy metal crystallized in the era when the album was the major medium for recorded music and when the album cover not only performed a marketing function but also served as part of the total aesthetic experience of being part of rock culture. Had the genre crystallized in mid-1980s, when audio cassettes, with their much smaller surface area, supplanted albums, an important part of the genre would never have emerged.

In the artworks, it is also common to see a mascot specific to each band. They reflect the conventions in the heavy metal imagery as most of them depict a creature that takes place either in an epic warfare, in dungeons as the victim or the tyrant, in a situation with high energy that it is about to explode, or simply on stage playing instruments with exaggerated passion. With these depictions, depending on the album being a classic, the

---

[76] Ibid., 30.
[77] Ibid., 29.
[78] Ibid., 28.

mascot can contribute to the heavy metal iconology: Fire-breathing mechanical beasts, buff Middle Age warriors holding sword in their hands, biker gang member who has no remorse, undead creatures, skulls, and sharp symbols derived from thunder, blade, and cross (Figure 4).

Figure 4: A collection of heavy metal album covers that represent the main topics for the imagery of the genre.

By the end of 1970s, stylistic developments in heavy metal music caused a variety of diversions. New Wave of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), in which the bands play more fast-paced rhythms and fluent melodies mostly based on twin guitar solos, emerged and vitalized the genre. This was one of the first subgenres of heavy metal which would be famous for the future fragments of styles. During the 1980s and 1990s, many key subgenres of heavy metal erupted, each having different playing styles and distinct philosophical attitudes.

Thrash metal, for example, erupted in the early 1980s brought aggressive rhythm sections to the song structures and mostly dealt with social issues rather than escapist themes. Their binary opposite, glam metal functioned in a pop music mentality with easy-listening songs and endless fun with parties, girls, and alcohol. Doom metal slowed the tempo down in the mid-1980s and inspired by the early work of Black Sabbath, preaching a depressive mood. Death metal took thrash metal's aggressive approach to an extreme style by introducing a brutal vocal technique and penned violent lyrics accompanied by violent artworks. Black metal combined the extreme music with anti-Christian themes. Power metal took the epic narrative of heavy metal further with melodic vocals and guitar-playing. It is possible to mention dozens of subgenres in heavy metal, even subgenres under subgenres such as melodic death metal, symphonic black metal, and traditional doom metal, etc.

Today, with the continuous production of musical styles and subcultures, heavy metal manages to revitalise itself and remain popular. It is also a phenomenon which is international and intercultural. It is possible to encounter heavy metal conventions in many different countries, yet they become unique to that area. In the following chapters, we will witness the genre in Turkey with its conventional characteristics and uniqueness to Anatolian region.

2.3. Subcultures

Heavy metal fans draw a profile that is separate from society by means of many aspects such as music taste, fashion, and lifestyle. However, before accepting a heavy metal community as a subculture, it is helpful to bring definitions of the term "subculture" from the literature. In one of the earliest definitions of subculture, Gordon (1947) defines the term as[79];

> a subdivision of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functional unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual.

---

[79] Milton Gordon, "The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application," *Social Forces* 26, no. 1 (1947)., 40.

Contemporary with Gordon, Komarovsky and Sargent (1949) bring another definition to subculture[80]:

> The term "subculture" refers ... to "cultural variants displayed by certain segments of the population". Subcultures are distinguished not by one or two isolated traits – they constitute relatively cohesive social systems. They are worlds within the larger world of our national culture.

Chris Jenks (2005) introduces subcultures by pointing at an evolution[81] which is observed in the first definition of the concept, from Mercer (1958) to Young and Mack (1959): 'A society contains numerous subgroups, each with its own characteristic ways of thinking and acting. These cultures within cultures are called subcultures'[82] to 'Such shared learned behaviors which are common to a specific group or category are called subcultures'[83].

Some of the modern definitions of subculture suppose a relationship with hegemonic culture. According to David and Julia Jary (1991), subculture is the whole of beliefs, values, and norms that are shared and practiced by the people who are accepted as a minority on a particular cultural level. When defining subculture, David and Julia Jary focused on the sharing of particular values by a minority and the power relationships with hegemonic culture. Subculture sets a power and obedience relationship with the dominant culture as it appropriates some codes of the society into itself. Marshall (2003) sees the essential idea of subculture theory as a collective solution of the problems which is about the inhibited dreams of the group members or the ambiguity of their position in society which is wider than their group. A subculture is separated from the hegemonic culture; however, it borrows the symbols, values, and beliefs (and usually manipulates, exaggerates, and inverts them).

---

[80] Mirra Komarovsky and S. Stansfeld Sargent, "Research into Subcultural Influences Upon Personality," in *Culture and Personality*, ed. M. Smith S. Sargent(New York, NY, US: Viking Fund, 1949)., 143.

[81] Jenks, *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social*., 7-8.

[82] Blaine E. Mercer, *The Study of Society*(New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958)., 34.

[83] Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack, *Sociology and Social Life*(New York: American Book Co., 1959)., 49.

In Marshall's terms, a subculture is the collective effort of a group of people who feel somehow disadvantageous[84].

2.4. Fanzine production

The term "fanzine" is defined as "magazine produced by fans" and can be considered as an amalgamation for "fan" and "magazine", in the most basic level. Many more definitions of fanzine can be found in literature. Duncombe (1997) describes the fanzines as "non-commercial, non-professional, small-circulation magazines which the creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves"[85]. According to Knobel and Lankshear (2002), fanzines are "systematically opposed to conventional norms and values associated with publishing, establishment views, and 'schoolish' reading and writing"[86]. Lashua and Cohen (2012) points on the functionality of fanzines as they "are artefacts that can provide insights into the critical discourses of the musical communities and events" relating to particular musical genre[87]. Then, it is possible to say as Derya Fırat suggests that fanzines are underground publications that are produced outside the mainstream media system and put out a rebellion against hegemonic culture by reporting a particular subculture[88]. Weinstein (1991) takes a step further connecting fanzines to the subcultures, especially for the case of heavy metal[89]:

> Like the metal show on college radio, the fanzine is a direct projection of the metal subculture(s) into the externalized mind of the media. In the Hegelian sense, it gives the subculture an objectivity, an ability to define itself to itself and, therefore, to gain control over its full range of expressivity. That is, the fanzine is the most specialized medium of all, in which gifted members of the audience take over the function of mediating between artists and audience without the help of external third parties with their own commercial interests.

---

[84] Definitions by Jary and Jary (1991) and Marshall (2003) taken from Nazlı Deniz Bayraktaroğlu, "Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrasında Bir Altkültür Grubu Olarak Punk'ın Oluşumu" (Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2011)., 3, my translation.

[85] Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*(New York: Verso Press, 1997), Book., 6

[86] Michele Knobel and Colin Lankshear, "Cut, Paste, Publish: The Production and Consumption of Zines," in *State of the Art Conference*, ed. Donna Alvermann(Athens, Georgia (USA)2001)., (para. 2).

[87] Lashua and Cohen, "A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes.", 89.

[88] Akay et al., *İstanbul'da Rock Hayatı: Sosyolojik Bir Bakış.*, 64.

[89] Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture.*, 179.

There are also definitions that approach the fanzines as printed periodic publications. Dick Hebdige (1979) defines fanzines as "journals edited by an individual or a group, consisting of reviews, editorials and interviews with prominent [people], produced on a small scale as cheaply as possible, stapled together and distributed through a small number of sympathetic retail outlets"[90]. Chris Atton (2002) summarizes fanzines as "the quintessence of amateur, self-published journalism"[91]. At this point, he separates "fanzine" from "zine culture", which he wants to explore from the perspective of social relations and brings very personal examples in this exploration. Fanzines become the target of criticisms by Atton in terms of being an "alternative" media[92]:

> [The fanzine] is typified for the most part by a single editor with a small pool of writers, though just as often entire issues are written by the editor. The editor will be responsible for the layout, design, typing, paste-up, and will arrange the printing and distribution and control the finances. It is almost superfluous to add that this editor will have the final say on everything that goes into the fanzine – as draconian a decision-maker as any tyrannical newspaper owner.

Then, despite Atton's individual-centric approach, it is convenient to say that fanzines provide media function for a particular subculture in its language, norms, and conventions. In this sense, the content of the fanzines differs from the sections found in hospitable mainstream publications (e.g., music magazines) in mediating news, biographies, and interviews about the interest of that subculture. They mediate these insights at first hand.

Fanzines are examined not only for their function, but also production methods. Duncombe (1997) updates his definition of fanzines adding aspects of production as they are "little publications filled with rantings of high weirdness and exploding with chaotic design" where producers "privilege the ethic of DIY, do-it-yourself: make your own culture and stop consuming that which is made for you"[93]. Roger Hill, producer of Liverpool-based

---

[90] Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style.*, 111.
[91] Atton, *Alternative Media.*, 55.
[92] Ibid., 55.
[93] Duncombe, Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture.

fanzine *Merseysound* (1979-1982), describes the process for producing the fanzine to Lashua and Cohen (2012)[94]:

> *Merseysound*, during that point in its history, was always about cut-and paste, you know. We didn't have desktop publishing, we sat down of a Saturday and we cut things up and stuck them into place, sometimes they weren't done well, sometimes they were. Eventually we took those pages to a printer, the printer produced the magazines, we brought them back, we had to fold each one of them, we had to make them all up until we paid the printer to do all that!

The procedure explained by Hill is an activity that requires very basic tools such as scissors, glue, paper, and pen. Then, regardless of their subjects either music, science fiction, literature, politics, or personal experiences, "fanzines are democratic in that they provide accessible forums for writing through their 'anyone can do it' production strategies", as Teal Triggs expresses[95]. In this sense, producing fanzines was the most basic method for heavy metal audience in Turkey to mediate their activities and opinions.

---

[94] Lashua and Cohen, "A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes.", 89.
[95] Triggs, "Scissors and Glue.", 81.

CHAPTER III: CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

3.1. A brief heavy metal history in Turkey

The first acts of heavy metal music in Turkey are witnessed in the early 1980s, according to the newspaper articles[96]. The musicians and audience of this era agree on a consensus that the milestone for the music is the concert by Devil (billed as Exorcist Child on concert tickets) and Egzotik Band in İstanbul Fitaş Cinema (30 May 1981)[97]. The performance brought much attention to the rock music listeners and was reported in one of the mainstream music magazine *Gong* with the title "Idols Collapse" ("Putlar Yıkılıyor"), referencing the famous musicians and singers in Turkey such as Barış Manço, Erol Evgin, Özdemir Erdoğan, Sezen Cumhur Önal, and Ajda Pekkan with their portraits published on the same page (Figure 5). The presence of Barış Manço among these artists is notable because he is known for being one of the "big four" of Anatolian rock music, along with Cem Karaca, Erkin Koray, and Moğollar. These four names pioneered the genre from the late 1960s through the 70s, combining rock music orchestration and style with traditional folk instruments, lyrical themes, and melodies. Anatolian rock bands published many singles; few of them managed to record long play (LP) albums, and toured Anatolian cities for concert shows. Activity of the whole genre was interrupted by the political instability in the late 70s. Some of them migrated abroad, some of them set their music to a less political level, and some of them even changed their genre. Military coup in 1980 put the genre on hiatus completely.

Recalling the article in *Gong*, the youth that "breaks down" the "idols" denies the music of previous generation and celebrates a brand new musical style in Turkey. As Barış Manço was one of the few surviving figure in Anatolian rock at that time, his presence on the *Gong* page became a sign of discontinuity between Anatolian rock and the new style that took place on the stage of Egzotik Band and Devil. The style these two bands played on

---

[96] "Bu gençlerde hayat var…", *Şey*, October 31, 1981; "Bunlar da bizim Heavy Metal'ciler", *Günaydın*, July 13, 1984; "Sevgi istiyoruz", *Posta*, November 20, 1984.
[97] Veysel Barışsever, "Egzotik Band: Heavy Metal'in Türkiye'deki Ağababaları," in *Deli Kasap 13. Yıl Koleksiyonu*, ed. Serpil Kurtay(İstanbul: Esen Kitap, 2014).

May 30th, 1981 was a form of heavy metal music, which had nothing to do with folk elements and reflected the Western formation of song writing. The bands played their own songs. While Egzotik Band's songs were written in English titles, despite their English name, Devil were singing in Turkish.

Figure 5: Article in Gong magazine with its title meaning "idols collapse"

The discontinuity between Anatolian rock and 80s' bands, according to Tireli (2007), is not only due to the political climate of the late 70s and the 1980 coup. Another reason for this discontinuity is the usual interrupted process of Turkey in the industry, politics, and cultural production. Speaking of music heritage, bad management of libraries which contains audio and textual materials, as well as the disinterest of musicians in their personal history causes interruption. Tireli (2007) comes up with another thesis which depends on commercial aspect of Turkish record companies. Economic instability in Unkapanı[98] forced companies not to take risks and to refresh their catalogue too often so that many records

---

[98] A district of İstanbul where many record companies keep their business.

could not be found in music stores easily. For this reason, after several years they were published, albums and singles by Anatolian rock bands were inaccessible for public.

In such explained background and by the help of the first steps by *Egzotik Band* and *Devil*, bands mostly from İstanbul and Ankara, who played Western-oriented rock and heavy metal, started to appear in the scene. From the late 1981 through 1985, a number of bands were formed or increased activity. In 1982, guitar virtuoso Asım Can Gündüz returned from the USA after 23 years and tried to keep Turkish rockers work together during the 2 years he stayed in Turkey. Along with his band *Ambulans*, Gündüz performed spectacular live shows in İstanbul and Ankara, provided the bands with sound equipment, and organised festivals bringing many bands together on the bill. The most notable organisation he involved was the first open-air rock festival in Turkey, on May 13th, 1984. Controversial to the audience, the festival contained performances by disco and dance groups before rock bands such as *Painted Bird*, *E-5*, *Clips*, *Denge*, *Axe*, *Whisky*, *Devil*, and *Asım Can Gündüz ve Ambulans*. However, the festival was unsuccessful due to weather conditions, letting only three bands to perform on stage[99]. This failure caused another disagreement among the bands between each other, which was a common reaction after several festivals[100]. Unable to find the interest for producing rock music from people in Turkey, Gündüz returned to the USA. The bands started to behave less collectively and by 1985, *Devil* and *Whisky* were pioneering the scene. *Whisky* managed to publish their first album *Babaanne* in 1986, as *Devil* published their self-titled album next year, both in cassette format. These were the first officially recorded materials played in heavy metal style. Both albums incorporated original songs from the bands with Turkish lyrics dealing with the joy of rock 'n' roll music, teenage rocker conflicts with parents, and also some social issues such as corruption, opportunism, and tolerance[101].

---

[99] "Rockçılar ıslandı!", *Hey*, May 21, 1984.
[100] "Rock'ta çatlak var!", *Gong*, July 6, 1983.
[101] Some of the song titles are self-explanatory about their themes: "Hoşgörü" ("Tolerance"), "Babaanne" ("Grandma"), "Rock 'n' Roll'u Bir Dinle" ("Give the Rock 'n' Roll a Shot"), and "Rüşvet" ("Bribery") by Whisky; "Haydi Rock and Roll" ("Let's Rock 'n' Roll") and "Delisin Sen Deli" ("You Are Lunatic") by Devil.

From this first generation of rock and heavy metal bands in Turkey, very few names managed to continue their music and record albums through the 1990s. *Whisky* often appeared on TV and recorded three albums on that decade. *Kramp*, who were a famous hard rock act among the listeners, published their only two albums in the 90s despite their formation in the mid-80s. Asım Can Gündüz returned to Turkey again and published his first solo album in 1992. *Devil* could only play in the concerts without managing to publish a second album. Most of the other bands from first generation disbanded before the 80s ended.

Before a second wave of heavy metal bands emerged in the late-80s, several codes and apparatus became apparent. It was common to see people with jeans, leather, and chains in the concerts, as well as *Whisky* on stage[102]. The audience practised heavy metal clichés such as the "devil horns", air-guitar, and wearing t-shirts with band artwork; although growing long hair was uncommon in the 80s as most of the metalheads were attending high school. In 1985, a heavy metal program in Police Radio was presented by Şener Yıldız, who actually works as a doctor. Two years later, *Hey* –one of the most popular music magazines in Turkey– started to give an eight pages heavy metal insert weekly. All of these initiatives fed the curiosity of Turkish audience upon heavy metal music.

Just like the concert on May 30th, 1981 triggered the first wave of rock and heavy metal bands, another one did it for a second wave. These bands were playing a more extreme form of heavy metal music with more aggressive visual imagery. Their song titles were dark, evil, and even Satanic in some cases. On November 4th, 1988, about 800 people gathered in İstanbul Moda Cinema and watched these younger bands such as *Pentagram*, *Metalium*, and *Metafor*. This concert provided a breakthrough for heavy metal music in Turkey, mostly in thrash metal style. Bands in similar style such as *Kronik*, *Hazy Hill*, and *Dark Phase* joined them with concerts, demo recordings, and albums. Thrash metal was a popular style in Turkey through the late 80s and the first half of the 90s. However, there was also a variety: traditional heavy metal band *Dr. Skull*, hard rock band *Akbaba*, glam

---

[102] "Kardeşlik zincire vuruldu!", *Hey*, November 19, 1984; "Listelerde bir Türk 'Hard-Rock'ı", *Sabah*, February 22, 1987.

metal band *Badluck*, punk rock band *Headbangers*, and the more extreme bands such as *Deathroom* (playing death metal) and *Witchtrap* (playing black metal).

Broadcasting options for metal-oriented programs were also broadened when private television and radio channels started to be established as alternatives to the state-controlled channels. This development made a big contribution to the popularity of heavy metal music. With the commercial success of Pentagram's self-titled debut album (1990), it became easier for the other bands to make an agreement with the record companies and a considerable number of heavy metal albums were recorded and published. It also encouraged initiatives to settle independent record labels such as Hades Records, Hammer Music, later Zihni Müzik and Yücel Müzik. These genre-oriented labels facilitated production of albums for local bands, also imported albums from foreign metal bands. As in the case of establishing record labels, the growing interest in heavy metal music encouraged people to bring foreign bands and organise concerts. The first attempts brought mostly German bands, however, a series of stadium concerts in 1993 set higher expectations for heavy metal audience, after seeing artists such as Metallica, Guns 'N Roses, Bryan Adams, and Jon Bon Jovi.

To sum up, a primitive ecosystem of heavy metal music was set in the early 1990s. It was possible to encounter many of the concepts that are found in heavy metal culture: Bands, albums, demos, fanzines, shops, café and bars, concert promoters, tattoo artists, television and radio programs, and a central point (Akmar Pasajı in Kadıköy, İstanbul). In the late 1990s, the ecosystem became very active again, probably because of the impact of another Pentagram album *Anatolia* (1997). In the following two years, the audience had one weekly (*Şebek*), one monthly (*Non Serviam*), and one aperiodic (*Enred*) metal magazine. Famous bands such as Deep Purple, Jimmy Page and Robert Plant (of Led Zeppelin), Iron Maiden, Slayer, Saxon, Moonspell, Overkill, and Metallica (for the second time) performed concerts in İstanbul and occasionally in Ankara.

However, this story was interrupted by three important incidents. By 1998 through 2000, murder and suicide cases related with Satanism caused the media to point heavy metal fans as a target. Moral panics of society were increased; police raided to shops and

houses, taking albums and fanzines as evidence[103]. A severe earthquake hit the Marmara region on August 17th, 1999 and caused many neighbourhoods and buildings fall down as well as huge amounts of deaths and injuries. And finally, the financial crisis of 2001 hit the economy. Any activity in the heavy metal ecosystem was affected by this crisis, and as a consequence of these three incidents, these activities were considerably muted down.

Heavy metal in Turkey recovered after some time. Methods and intensity of the activities were transformed as internet became popular; however, heavy metal fans gained new traditions such as summer festivals with many local and foreign bands on the bill. It is also possible to say that it is easier to join into the public with metal T-shirts, denim, and leather. Even so, the situation in earlier decades is interesting enough as it provides remarkable information for many fields such as sociology, communication, and design.

3.2. Encounters in the street

Public spaces were areas of potential conflicts between heavy metal fans and society in Turkey. With their unusual appearance such as long hair and earrings (of male audience), piercings, black-coloured T-shirts carrying heavy metal iconology, leather clothing and studded ornaments such as wristband and belt, heavy metal fans eluded from the social fabric and gained attention from the people they encountered in the street. The consequences of these encounters were depending on the neighbourhood, on occasion, and on the social condition both parties were in. Personal experiences and anecdotes by witnesses provide information about this issue.

As we have pointed out in the introduction, punk and heavy metal audiences in Turkey are not usually considered to be separate in terms of lifestyle, public perception, and access to musical sources. Thus, we can also refer to the experiences of Turkish punks as well as heavy metal fans. These experiences vary from verbal harassment, bullying, and quarrels to fights and even attacks with weapons such as knives. Aslı, vocalist of all-girl punk band Tampon, once experienced a knife attack to her friend group when they were

---

[103] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society*.

returning from Taksim, where they used to hang out and sell books on the street, to their homes in Şişli. Some of her friends were injured in their legs after the attack. This attack is an example of tolerance that the conservative society carries. Aslı recalls the memory: "But it didn't change anything. Just the opposite, it just got us even more fuelled up. We never took it as a lesson to be learned. We just went home. And nothing changed"[104]. She explains more incidents she had[105]:

> There are lots of other experiences that other people had. I was always having problems on the street where I lived in Kurtuluş. My brother ended up having to get into all kinds of fights because of it. I'd be walking down the street and someone would throw something at me from the apartments above. Of course, on the one hand, I had no desire to talk with or have anything to do with anyone in the neighbourhood. And so, thanks to my appearance, it was easy to ostracize myself from society. But by doing things like that, throwing stuff at you, what they're really trying to do is start up some kind of communication, or relationship. They expect you to react. Once there was this car full of guys from the East. They kept yelling stuff at me. I kicked their car, right there in traffic. I could tell they were going to come after me. I went straight back to our street and walked into the corner market. They'd turned into our street, too, and seen me somehow. They walked into the market, with a gun, threatening to kill me. The shopkeeper, İhsan, flew out from behind the counter and took the gun from their hands. I picked up a beer crate. We got rid of those guys.

Demet, from another all-girl punk band Spinners, not only gives insights about the family reaction, but also gender issues[106]:

> The most in my face example about the reaction of the society was when back at home I found a phlegm spit on the back of my jean coat. How I did not feel it at the time of the event is another mystery. I wonder on which rhythm, at which song, in what dream in my head was at. Or really they spit silently! My family was also not saying how nice it was to have such a cute, different girl. My family was one with a lot of "No"s, but with no real anger or aggression. They were only trying to show what the right way according to them was. For instance my father used to say "Look my girl I am not against your interest in music, but you could at least [play] the ud (oud) instead."

In the case of heavy metal fans, mostly male, there is one more factor that takes attention of the public: long hair. Even though it is currently not a problem in most cities as it was in the 1980s or 1990s, having long hair is a challenge to Turkish masculine identity. One of the interviewees in Pierre Hecker's work tells his observations: "If you had long hair

---

[104] Boynik and Güldallı, *Türkiye'de Punk Ve Yeraltı Kaynaklarının Kesintili Tarihi 1978-1999.*, 447.
[105] Ibid., 447.
[106] Ibid., 417.

ten years ago, people behaved towards you in a very conservative way. They called you gay, because you had long hair"[107].

The attacks were not only directed to punks or metalheads in the street, but also the musicians on the stage. The conflicts especially occurred in the festivals of mixed genre concerts or locally coincided events. In such a festival held in Gülhane Park in the early 1990s, *ülkücü*[108] people attacked thrash metal band Metalium on the stage by throwing bottles and stones. Metalium had to interrupt their performance, pass through the backstage, and escape from the crowd by a small car of their friends[109].

3.3. Metal in the headlines

The mainstream press is interested in heavy metal in a similar way as it behaves to the marginal minorities or actions in society such as hippies, LGBT, and topless sunbathing foreign tourists. The media declares itself a judge of morality. It becomes a manipulative authority while it shows the deviant or anti-social actions such as swearing, fight, excessive behaviours, and brutality to society. On the other side, the mainstream media starts to strive for either humiliating, or domesticating "the others" in relation to the perception by middle class of subcultures as "the others" and as dangerous[110].

We can observe this behaviour better in the printed media from 1980s compared to the later decades. Heavy metal was a new concept for the newspapers. Therefore it was common for any reporter to approach heavy metal fans as aliens. The concerts were the most reported subjects about heavy metal in the newspapers. In most of the news articles, the reporter would focus on the mostly discharging reaction given to the music by the audience and use statements such as "they look weird", "it is madness", and "they are losing themselves". The layout for such article would contain photographs of the audience more than the band(s) on stage, both in quantity and size. In some cases, there would not be any

---

[107] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society.*, 183.
[108] Radical nationalist youth who are seen as "street team" of Nationalist Action Party (MHP)
[109] Alper Demirci, "Metalium", *Boo!* 41, May 15, 2009. From an e-mail interview conducted in 2009 with Mazhar Şiringöz, frontman of Metalium.
[110] Hürriyet Konyar, "Popüler Kültürde Hegemonik Anlamların Üretilmesinde Gençlik Altkültürlerinin Önemi," [The Importance of Youth Subcultures in Reproduction of Hegemonic Meaning.] *İLETİŞİM Kurum ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 27 (2008)., 65-66.

performance photographs at all. The title and subtitles selected for the text incorporate moral judge and behave in either way to "the others", as previously mentioned.

Through the 1990s, behaviours of the mainstream media changed to be more aggressive in the heavy metal case. This time they would not only humiliate or domesticate the heavy metal audience, but also set target on them accusing of being anti-religion, anti-social, and even Satanists. After a crowded concert in the summer 1989, one of the mainstream newspapers, *Sabah* reported the event with the title as "Children of Satan" ("Şeytanın Çocukları")[111]. On the October 14th, 1990, Engin Ardıç, columnist of *Sabah* wrote a provoking article in which he insults heavy metal fans and makes a call to religious terrorist groups for take on them. Hecker (2007) leaves a comment about the impact of this article[112]:

> Ardıç's outspoken polemic made him not only an intimate enemy of the Turkish metal scene (even 15 years later, during research for this book, the mention of his name usually provoked heavy swearing from my interview partners), but also set up the prototype for all the other moral polemics that were to come. The pattern laid out by Ardıç was slightly modified and repeated, over and over again. It also contains what Cohen has described as the three key elements of a moral panic (exaggeration and distortion, symbolization, and prediction), and reveals some of the key fundaments of morality in Turkish society.

Ardıç's article was one of the most extreme cases found in the newspapers until the late 1990s. As it is mentioned before, murder or suicide incidents related with Satanism occurred. The media showed big interest on the subject and it rapidly related it with heavy metal music. They made lists about how to identify a Satanist, by referring to the heavy metal fashion and iconology. Therefore, people who are associated with heavy metal imagery became the target of society and the police. Many copies of albums and fanzines were destroyed, people wearing black t-shirts were taken under custody, males discouraged to have long hair and had a haircut, and many initiatives such as shop owners, fanzine editors, concert promoters, bands, and record producers were damaged economically.

---

[111] Çağlan Tekil, "Neden Laneth Diil!!", Non Serviam 1, January 1998
[112] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society.*, 82-83.

The media interest of heavy metal in a context of Satanism dissolved around 2002. Since then, newspaper articles about heavy metal music are conducted in a relatively more objective tone as a result of the fact that younger generations have been occupied in the media. Even so, it is still possible to find insulting statements to heavy metal listeners from the radical newspapers. For example, columnist Ali Bulaç, from the religiously conservative newspaper *Zaman*, defined the audience attended to Metallica concert in July 27th, 2008 as "secular, atheist, agnostic, and aczmendi[113] drafts" because of a simultaneous terrorist attack Güngören district of Istanbul, while the concert audience in Ali Sami Yen stadium were unknowingly having fun[114]. In another example from *Sözcü*, a newspaper which is popular among the secular middle-aged people, a summer music festival was put on target[115]. Although there was a wide range of rock music genres in the festival, the reporter projected only the two local black metal bands. The reporter accused the bands and their audience of reminding the Satanism by the clothing and make-up they carried. While the title of the article is "It is like a horror film" ("Korku filmi gibi"), layout of the article does not contain any stage performance photographs but a promo photograph of one of the black metal bands and two photographs of their audience.

---

[113] A religious order that is famous for its members shake their bodies and heads rhythmically during their rituals. Bulaç finds it similar to "headbanging", which the act of ferociously and rhythmically shaking the head to heavy metal music.

[114] Ali Bulaç, "Sözün Bittiği Yer!", *Zaman*, July 30, 2008, accessed May 23, 2015, http://www.zaman.com.tr/ali-bulac/sozun-bittigi-yer_720129.html .

[115] "Korku filmi gibi", *Sözcü*, August 20, 2007.

CHAPTER IV: SHOCK IMAGERY IN THE FANZINES

"LANETH" AND "NON SERVIAM"

4.1. Working with shock elements in fanzines

One of the characteristics found in heavy metal culture is the shock value. Through the history of heavy metal, many bands shocked the public by their imagery, stage shows, lyrics, and musical style. While this tendency is similar to shock advertising[116] and B-grade horror films, its use is adopted from the term "shock rock", which was popularised by American singer Alice Cooper in the late 1960s. He, along with his band of the same name, contributed to the image and stage aesthetics of heavy metal music. In their highly Dionysian concert performances, the frontman Alice Cooper "staged mock executions, threw live chickens into the audience, and played with a large snake while singing about 'loving the dead' and 'welcome to my nightmare'"[117]. Another notable example for bringing the shock elements to the stage performance is the American band Plasmatics, who were active between 1977 and 1983. Making an extreme form of music which spans from punk to heavy metal, the band was "more famous for such stunts as blowing up a car on stage, destroying a television set with a sledgehammer, or even blowing up a bus in a video as it went off a cliff, nearly taking lead singer [Wendy O.] Williams with it"[118].

In the light of these examples, William Phillips (2009) describes shock rock as it "is a term (…) to refer to bands that seemed less about musical talent than about simply raising eyebrows with outrageous behavior and tactics that are designed to upset the parents of the youth of America"[119]. According to this statement, then, shock elements found in the discourses about heavy metal are not intended to shock heavy metal fans. The reason

---

[116] Sara Parry et al., "'Shockvertising': An Exploratory Investigation into Attitudinal Variations and Emotional Reactions to Shock Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 12, no. 2 (2013).
[117] William Phillips and Brian Cogan, *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music*(Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009), Book., 210-211.
[118] Ibid., 211.
[119] Ibid., 210.

behind this implication may be the likeliness of the fans to get used to these elements, as Phillips summarizes[120]:

> While many bands do deliberately work on shock during their stage shows (…) the idea that a stage show can be shocking to the jaded metal audience seems almost passé. Even the animal corpses and real and fake blood that various death and black metal bands have used as stage props have been so done to death (so to speak) that they have lost any shock value and only seem shocking to the audience outside metal aficionados.

The statements of Phillips conform to the observation by Jeffrey Jensen Arnett (1996) in which virtually all of the boys in Arnett's study laugh off the suggestion that heavy metal promoted Satanism, which is one of the most encountered subjects when the shock value of heavy metal is examined. However, Arnett's observation takes that of Phillips one step ahead; having consciousness about what they see: "They recognized some Satanist elements in some of the lyrics of some bands, but they saw this as a ploy on the part of these bands to draw attention to themselves by shocking and outraging people"[121].

As a result of this discussion, we can say that people comfortable with heavy metal culture see the shock elements only the symbols of an iconology in most cases; and these elements are the tools for creating something belongs to heavy metal culture. Taking this claim further, disturbing the public by incorporating shock elements can be considered to be a matter of existence for the genre. According to Eric James Abbey (2014), "the only way for hardcore music and aggressive music in general to reach the masses is to be vulgar and to offend people"[122].

According to these statements, it is possible to call numerous heavy metal bands as they do not practice what they preach, despite the genre's evil impressions in the eyes of society and media. Two of the most notorious bands in this sense, Venom and Slayer are now known for their role-play on the evil lyrics they write. Venom is the eponym of black metal genre with their 1982 album *Black Metal* and their lyrics are mostly about devil worship without any trace of esoterism. Slayer also recorded some of the most evil songs in

---

[120] Ibid., 211.
[121] Jeffrey J. Arnett, *Metalheads: Heavy Metal Music and Adolescent Alienation*(WestviewPress, 1996)., 91.
[122] Eric J. Abbey, "The Cult of Hellmouth: The Success of Contemporary Hardcore," in *Hardcore, Punk, and Other Junk*, ed. Eric J. and Colin Helb Abbey(Lexington Books, 2014)., 173.

their first three albums and their *Reign in Blood* (1985) is considered the most extreme thrash metal record. However, Tom Araya, the bassist and vocalist of Slayer, is known to be a catholic and explains the lyrics by giving an example from the album title "God Hates Us All" as that God does not hate, but it would be a great title to make people angry[123]. Both bands provide examples for how heavy metal music can incorporate shock imagery in different mediums in which it is represented. These examples vary from promotion photos that include their stage persona to their logos and album arts (see Figure 4 in Section 2.2).

Having said that shock elements are found in many type of mediums such as imagery, stage shows, lyrics, and musical style; we are interested in the visual aspects of shocking. We are inspecting the discourses found in the fanzine pages in the form of photographs, logos, typography, and illustrations with the texts surrounding them. It is expected to find shocking imagery in the fanzines, because they reflect the heavy metal conventions.

In order to inspect this expectation, several fanzine archives on the internet can be useful. The complete fanzine scans found in the website Send Back My Stamps[124] and covers of several fanzines exhibited in two blog posts[125] [126] of Demolish Fanzine website provide a typology of the heavy metal fanzines worldwide in a timeline spanning through 1980s and 1990s. In order to match the value of the collections in these two websites, we need to focus initially at the fanzine covers. Apart from the professional magazines such as *Metal Hammer* and *Kerrang!* found in the collection of Demolish Fanzine, it is possible to observe that many fanzines published in such pioneering countries in the music industry as the USA and the UK tend not to use ornaments and extra images other than the fanzine logo, cover image, and the featured titles, thus representing a clear layout (Figure 6a and Figure 6b). Checking the inside pages of similar fanzines from *Send Back My Stamps* website, they generally act as being a part of the music press and focus on reporting, especially in the

---

[123] See the video documentary "Metal: A Headbanger's Journey", directed by Jessica Joy Wise, Sam Dunn and Scot McFadyen, 2005.
[124] "Send Back My Stamps! Metal History Through Fanzines". http://sendbackmystamps.org/
[125] "Special 80's Metal Fanzine Gallery", posted on January 21th, 2010. https://demolishmag.wordpress.com/2010/01/21/special-80s-metal-fanzine-gallery/
[126] "Special 80's Metal Fanzine Gallery [Part 2.]", posted on May 18th, 2012. https://demolishmag.wordpress.com/2012/05/18/special-80%E2%80%B2s-metal-fanzine-gallery-part-2/

1980s. The shock value of such fanzines are depended on that of photographs, artworks, and discourse by the featured bands (Figure 6c).

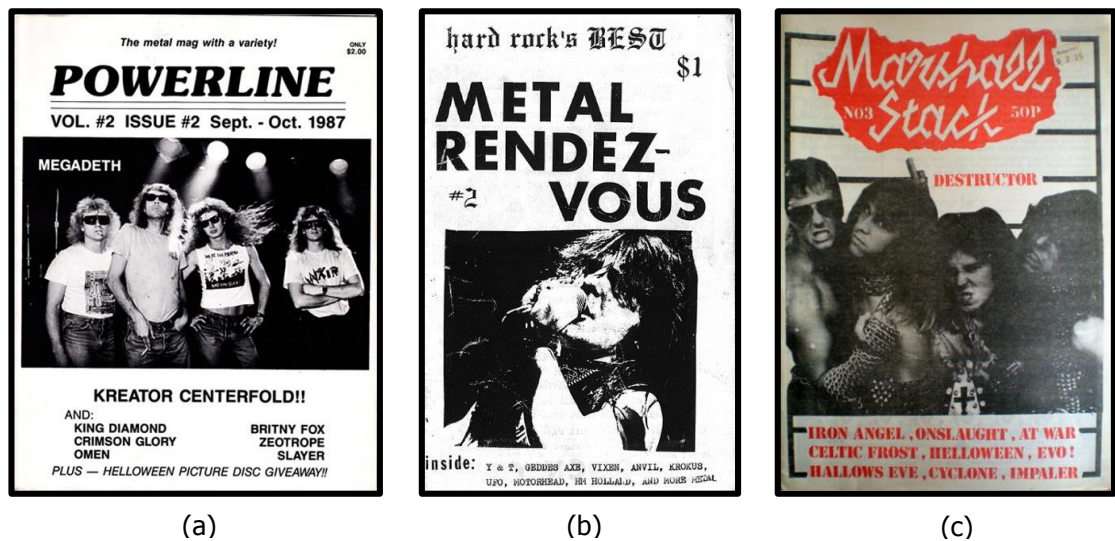<p style="text-align:center">(a)   (b)   (c)</p>

Figure 6: Cover pages of fanzines that prioritise reporting music rather than expressing themselves. (a) *Powerline* (USA), (b) *Metal Rendezvous* (USA), (c) *Marshall Stack* (UK)

Shock elements such as drawings and photographs with horror themes, chaotic layout design, and provocative taglines are found to be common among the cover pages of subgenre-specific fanzines. These fanzines mostly manifest themselves to be interested in an extreme heavy metal subgenre such as thrash metal, death metal, and black metal. It is also worth noting that according to the typology *Send Back My Stamps* and *Demolish Fanzine* present, it is more likely to see fanzines construct discourses having important amount of shock value outside the USA and the UK (Figure 7).
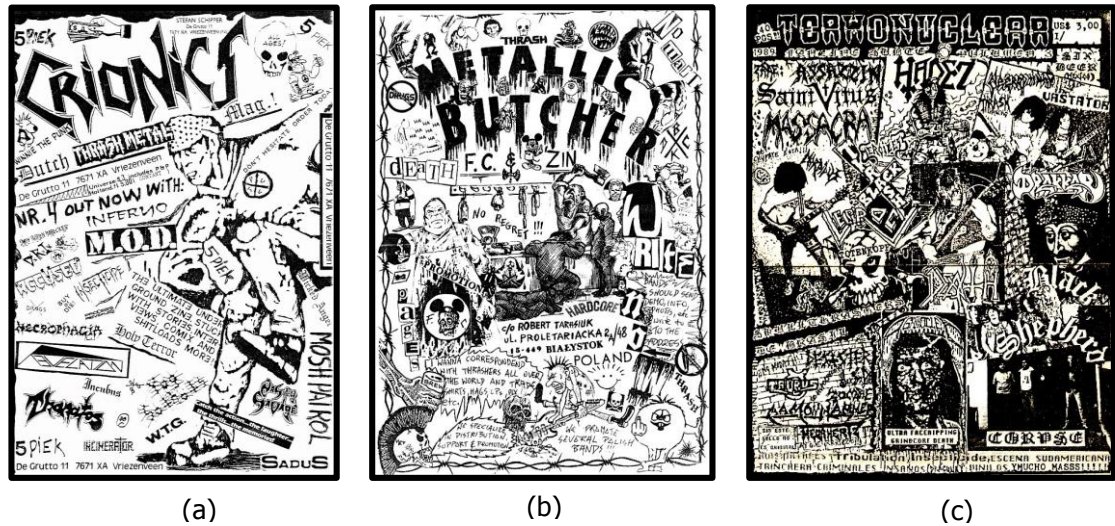
Figure 7: Cover pages of fanzines that produce shock value. (a) *Crionics* (Netherlands), (b) *Metallic Butcher* (Poland), (c) *Termonuclear* (Peru)

Turkish publications about heavy metal music were first seen in the late 1980s, being distributed as a magazine supplement. With the success of *Laneth* after 1991, both amateur and professional initiatives produced heavy metal magazines that are sold separately. Especially the amateur publications conform to the previously mentioned typology in which being in a country that is outside the periphery of music industry and focusing on more extreme subgenres. Therefore, it is frequent to see shock imagery among Turkish fanzines. The themes of shock imagery are similar to the international counterparts, most of which are not modified to create controversy in the cultural life of Turkey. However, these fanzines are considered to be controversial as they represent an infidelity (see Section 4.2). As mentioned in Section 3.1, during the police raids to the music shops and houses of heavy metal listeners around 1999, fanzines were also taken as evidences in the court in order to prove the connection of the accused with the murder and suicide cases[127].

Fanzines in Turkey do not form a rigid concept because most of the titles have only few issues published. The publishing period is mostly variable and inconsistent. It is very rare to find the issues and hardly possible to have all of the issues of a title. Thus, any generalisation on the Turkish fanzines is likely to be unreliable. However, as they share

---

[127] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society*.

similar culture and face similar difficulties as heavy metal fans, one can find similar patterns on how they express themselves and use shock imagery as in the examples (Figure 8). In order to discover these patterns, the first Turkish heavy metal fanzine *Laneth* is interpreted assuming it influenced later fanzines produced by others. As *Laneth*'s continuation in practice, *Non Serviam* is also included into the interpretation.
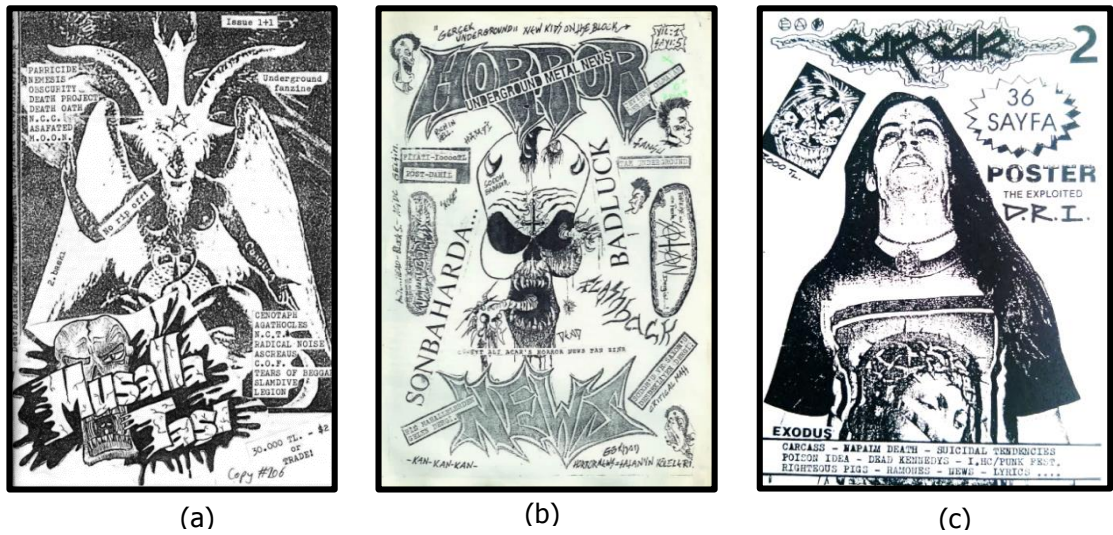

(a)   (b)   (c)

Figure 8: Cover pages of several Turkish fanzines. (a) *Musalla Taşı*, (b) *Horror News*, (c) *Gorgor*

4.2. Laneth

Laneth (1991-1994) was the first Turkish fanzine about heavy metal music. Its first issue was published in May 1991, produced with the methods mentioned in Section 2.4, and photocopied in the total of 85 copies. During three years of activity, *Laneth* published 31 issues in total, became very popular among heavy metal fans, and its circulation rose up to thousands of copies, while its final issue was pressed 2700 copies. *Laneth* started its life as a photocopied fanzine but later turned to offset printing because of its economic advantages in higher amounts of circulation. Most of its issues were also prepared using desktop publishing software after the decision of offset printing, even though its several final issues continue to give clues of the cut-paste aesthetic.

Prior to *Laneth*, heavy metal publications were published as part of mainstream music magazines. They used to bring the most popular hard rock and heavy metal bands, as well

as the bands known for their commercial music structures. As an independent publication, *Laneth* embraced more extreme and underground music. Even though the later issues would be more universal in terms of dealing with different subgenres of heavy metal, Çağlan Tekil, founding editor of the fanzine, stated that there would "never be such 'mumbo jumbos' as Poison, Guns 'N Roses, and White Lion" in the introduction of the first issue[128]. Later on the same text, Tekil mentions the subgenres they embrace such as "death, speed, thrash, hardcore, and grindcore" as well as the traditional heavy metal. Considering the extreme lyrical themes and album artworks of such subgenres, it was appropriate to find the first Turkish material collaged to shock people in the visual language of heavy metal when the first issue of *Laneth* was published.

The cover page of the first issue of *Laneth* (Figure 9) brings a shocking image to the attention by several elements included: The aggressive photograph of James Hetfield[129], all-caps typography of the labels, emphasis on the word "satan" on the top right (which means "selling" in Turkish as an adjective), and the disclaimer "uncensored" ("sansür yoktur") with inverted crosses on the left. Even the name "Laneth" adds shock value to this instalment as it basically means "curse" in Turkish, with an extra letter "h" suffixed[130]. High contrast photocopy also contributes to the discourse found in this cover image.

---

[128] Çağlan Tekil, "Laneth olsun!", *Laneth* 1, May 1991, my translation. The bands mentioned in the statement are considered as "pop metal" bands for their simple song structures and marketable lyrical themes.
[129] Vocalist and guitar player in famous heavy metal band Metallica.
[130] This may be a reference to a number of extreme bands whose name ends with the letters "th" such as Morgoth and Gorgoroth, even the hard rock band Nazareth.

Figure 9: The cover page of the first issue of *Laneth*

Even though the photograph of James Hetfield in Figure 9 is the central subject that awakes shocking discourses, selection of the photograph was by mistake: "After piling up everything, I went to Polat [Bayraktarlar, visual director of Laneth in the first few issues] in order to apply final retouches. But I forgot the Megadeth picture for the cover. Even though there was nothing about Metallica in the contents, we had to put James Hetfield"[131]. That forgotten picture of Megadeth, which is a close-up portrait of the frontman Dave Mustaine, is used later on the cover of the fourth issue of *Laneth*. The portrait depicts an upset-looking Mustaine, however, there is no clue about any aggressive or passionate expression that could support a vulgar discourse.

Antichristian and Satanic references such as inverted crosses and a wordplay on a Turkish word "satan" are seen on the cover of the first issue. These symbols make an interesting point, because drawing inverted crosses and calling "Satan" instead of "Şeytan", which refers to the Christian mythology rather than that of Islam, is not normally expected to shock anyone who does not believe in Christianity. However, at least the inverted crosses can still have the shock value for a Muslim society, as Hecker (2012) refers to Engin Ardıç's words "sign of the infidels", about the (probably inverted) crosses seen on the foreheads of the girls in a metal concert[132]:

> This, however, points to the ambivalence of anti-Christian symbols in a Muslim context: in the eyes of a Muslim society not familiar with metal iconography, a cross— inverted or not—is perceived as an expression of Christian creed. Consequently, the "sign of the infidels" upon the skin of young Turkish girls must have come as a shock to newspaper readers, as it implies the girls' conversion to Christianity. This, however, poses a threat not only to Islam, but also to the country's national identity, for Sunni Islam is an important element of Turkish nationalism—despite the Kemalist doctrine of laicism.

On top right of the cover page, it is written "Turkey's least-selling music magazine" ("Türkiye'nin en az satan müzik dergisi") with a number one sign and a *nazar amulet*[133]. This setting is a direct reference to *Sabah*, who also uses it next to their logo with the slogan "Turkey's best-selling newspaper" ("Türkiye'nin en çok satan gazetesi"). The reference is a

---

[131] Çağlan Tekil, "Neden Laneth Diil!!", *Non Serviam* 1, January 1998, my translation.
[132] Hecker, *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society.*, 85.
[133] An eye-shaped amulet which is believed to protect against the evil eye.

depiction of the media criticism, for which *Laneth* is famous. The core team of *Laneth* previously had experience in media, especially in magazines. Tekil experienced working in a tabloid press newspaper. He was familiar with Cağaloğlu, the district of İstanbul in which many newspaper headquarters and printing houses were found. He, along with other core *Laneth* writers Zarife Öztürk and Süreyya İzgi was writing for *Güneş Gençlik* magazine before producing *Laneth*. Thus, *Laneth* consisted of a team who knows the mainstream media both in terms of the organisation and people. For this reason, media criticism was an important routine in *Laneth*. Reproducing the "number one" sign by transforming the slogan to its binary opposite (from best-selling to least-selling), *Laneth* was also taking a symbolic revenge from *Sabah* for the provoking articles published (see Section 3.3). Starting from the ninth issue, the nazar amulet also replaced with a skull illustration (Figure 10).

A particular section was spared for media criticisms in *Laneth*. It was called "Krosun Siyah Tokmağı"[134] as a reference to "Piyanonun Kırmızı Tuşu"[135] section in *Boom Müzik Dergisi*, a music magazine published around 1990. The editor of "Piyanonun Kırmızı Tuşu" would find the factual errors in the music press and propose the correct information with an intention of criticism. As *Laneth* also would find numerous errors in *Boom Müzik Dergisi*, they have selected such title for their media criticism pages.

The media criticism was not only stuffed into "Krosun Siyah Tokmağı". It could be observed in any paragraph found in *Laneth*. It could also lead to open new sections such as "Komşunun Oğlu"[136] as a reaction to the Turkish lad mag *Playmen*, which published photographs of stripping girls in "Komşunun Kızı"[137] section. "Komşunun Oğlu" is the binary opposite of "Komşunun Kızı" in biological terms of naming, therefore *Laneth* was making a call to its male audience to strip down and pose to the female editors Aysın Önen and Aybeniz Esen. It was a challenging request in a male-dominant country; and the results would have a shock value for a typical citizen of Turkey, regardless of being in the faction of either conservatives, or seculars who are used to see exposed female bodies in the media.

---

[134] It means "the black mallet of the bass drum" in Turkish.
[135] It means "the red key of the piano" in Turkish.
[136] It means "the boy next door" in Turkish.
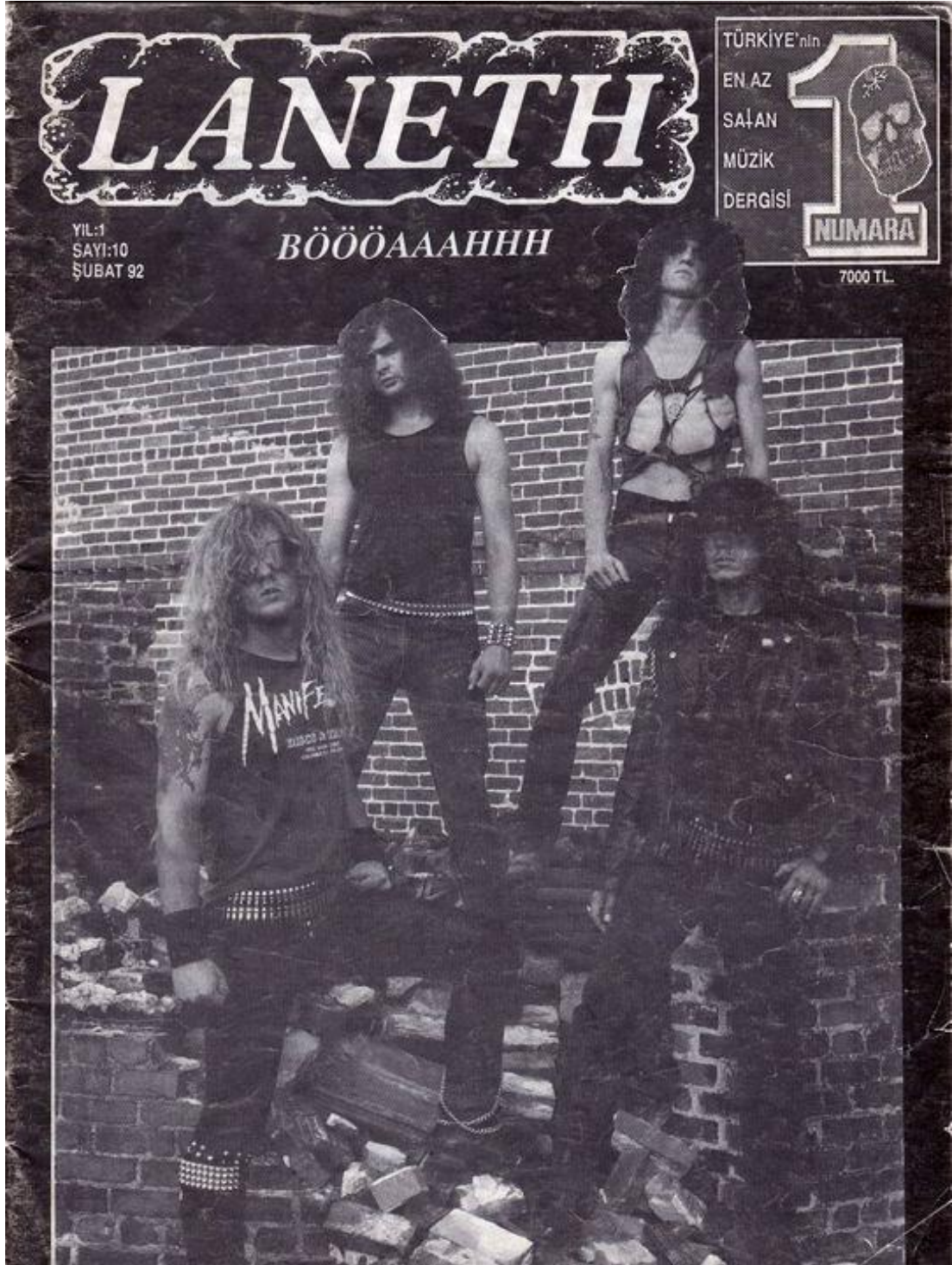[137] It means "the girl next door" in Turkish.

Figure 10: After issue #9, the nazar amulet next to "number one" sign replaced with a skull.
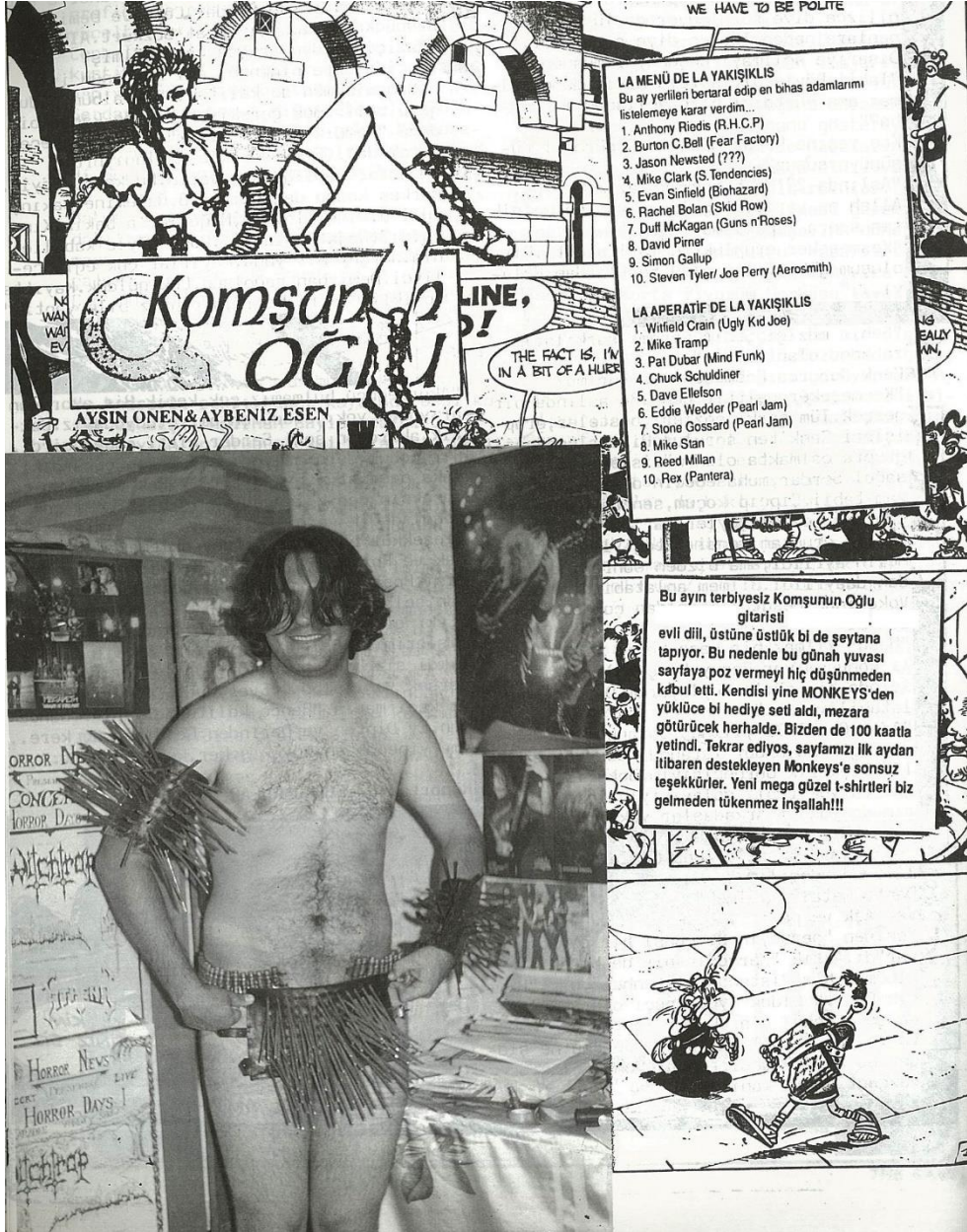
Figure 11: "Komşunun Oğlu" section in *Laneth*, issue 28

Figure 11 depicts one of the "Komşunun Oğlu" pages, in which a semi-naked photograph of a musician in one of the Turkish black metal bands. The other elements on the page consist of a description text, lists of desired males (mostly musician), and the logo image for the section. These elements are collaged over a comic page, which is conventional for *Laneth*. Despite the humorous personality added by the background image from Asterix, the photograph as the central point of the page produces shock values. The subject is a fan and a musician of black metal, which is the most associated subgenre of heavy metal with

Satanism. The spiked accessories and bullet belts are often encountered in black metal iconography. The concert posters and intense performance images support the "unholy" setting. Then, it is likely for a typical citizen to perceive the subject as a Satanist, which is an identity declared by the media to be dangerous and scary. The shock value of the photograph could increase by learning his name from the description and realising that he is a Turkish person, because of the nationalism discussed previously in Section 2.1.

Depicting a semi-naked man only for exposure, regardless of his style, produces another shock value because of the conventional gender roles in society. While it is common to see suggestive photographs of young women on the newspapers, magazine covers, and billboards, male depiction with the same discourse is avoided. Idea behind "Komşunun Oğlu" may be to protest this kind of media behaviour and make the spectator think about different possibilities in gender roles. It also points to the possibility of the female desire to look at the males, in spite of the passive role attributed to the females by the patriarchal society. This discourse is supported with the illustration in the logo image. The female character gives hints of a dominant personality with her confident pose and masculine (yet seductive) clothing.

Shock imagery found in *Laneth* is also related with the production methods. Early issues were produced with the production methods mentioned in Section 2.4 and thus have considerably chaotic layout design. By the eighth issue, desktop publishing software is used instead of typewriting and manually collaging. Most of the pages became clearer with this development and lost their overall shock value. However, it was balanced in later issues in a way that some pages were still prepared manually, while others produced in computer. Last few issues of *Laneth* shows a return to conventional fanzine production methods, thus, to chaotic layout design completely.

Another factor for *Laneth* incorporating shock elements is related to its contents. They focused on death metal bands more than any other subgenres of heavy metal music. Therefore, it was common to see the imagery related with death metal discourse, which is mostly about violence, brutality, death, and occasionally antichristian mythology.

4.3. Non Serviam

The final issue of *Laneth* was published in October 1994. Three years later, Çağlan Tekil started to produce another fanzine, *Non Serviam*. He chose not to continue under the name *Laneth*, for it was started as a personal initiative and there was nobody else from *Laneth*[138]. However, many people who were writing for *Laneth* would join *Non Serviam* gradually. First issue was the product of the sole effort by Tekil and his friend Güzin, published in January 1998. Turning into a product of teamwork by the second issue, *Non Serviam* published 26 issues in total. Its final issue was published in September 2000, when the heat of the media interest on heavy metal fans as scapegoats to the murder and suicide incidents was still alive. All of the issues of *Non Serviam* were prepared in computer unlike the case in *Laneth*.

Non Serviam was still dealing with the extreme metal bands, however its musical spectrum is wider than any other heavy metal fanzine. Its contextual approach is in a subcultural mind set rather than a music publication. Therefore, it invites "the lovelorn, the oppressed by the family and social pressure, the unspeakable, the misunderstood, the suicidal, the bent-over, the pierced, the heartbroken, and the love-crazed" to unite in its pages even if nobody listens to the same music genre with each other[139]. Comparing to Laneth in the sense of publishing policies, Non Serviam relates with expressing oneself rather than reporting something.

The expressions found in Non Serviam are in a form that was sustaining the shock tradition of Laneth. The cover of the third Non Serviam issue is a good example (Figure 12). There are a number of shocking elements: the violent photograph of Trey Azagtoth[140], the pentagram symbol behind the heading "all exclusive" ("hepsi özel"), the poster with notification text "We made the Smurfs Satanists" ("Şirinleri Satanist yaptık"), and the English tagline "on a mission from Satan".

---

[138] Çağlan Tekil, "Neden Laneth Diil!!", *Non Serviam* 1, January 1998.
[139] Çağlan Tekil, "Hiç anlamadılar, asla anlayamazlar!!!", Non Serviam 2, March 1998, my translation.
[140] Founder and guitarist in the American death metal band Morbid Angel
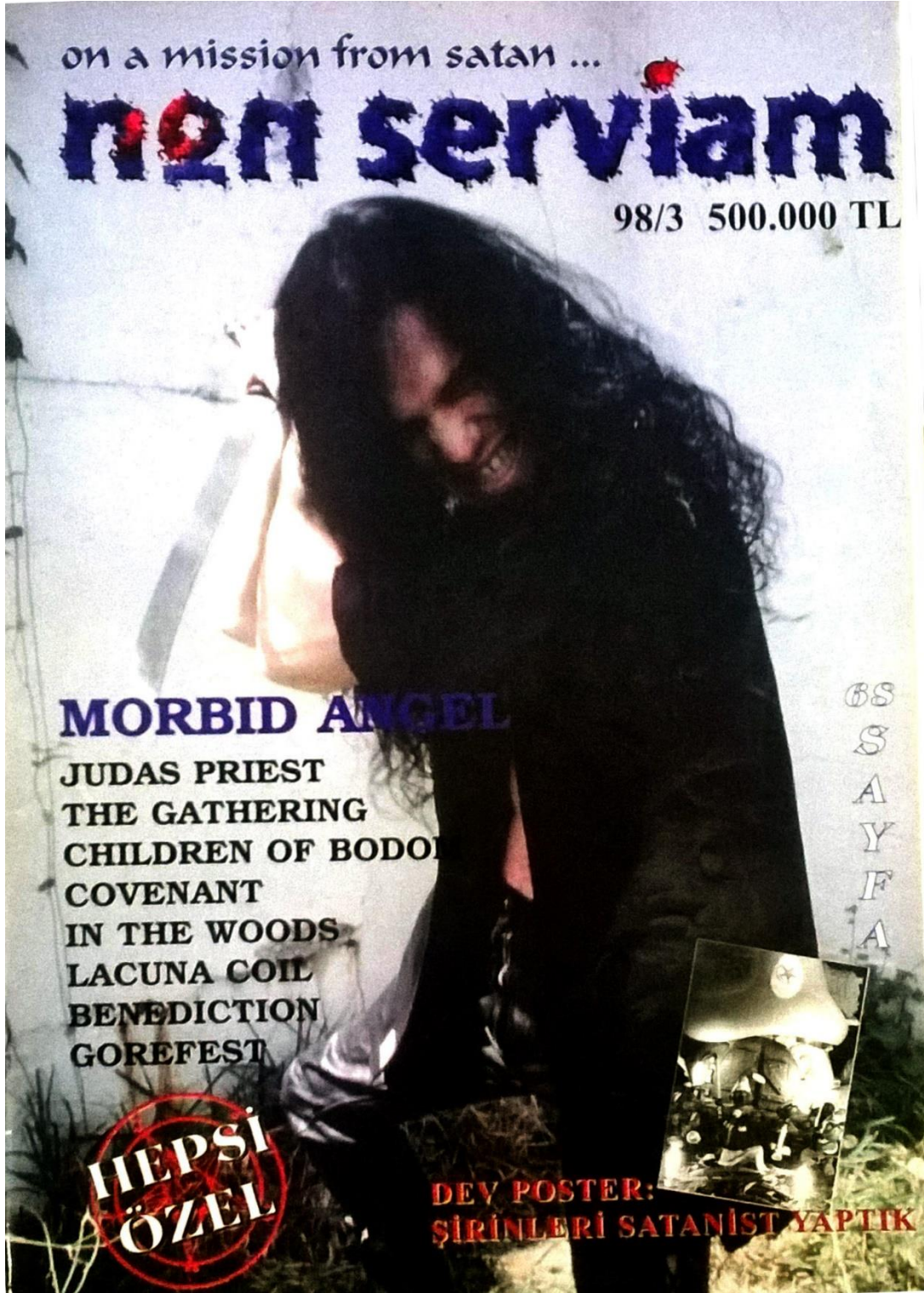
Figure 12: The cover page of the third issue of *Non Serviam*

In Figure 12, Azagtoth is central to the image. He is seen as just about to stabbing the knife he holds with his two hands, reminding the cover of classic heavy metal album Killers by Iron Maiden (Figure 13), where the mascot Edward is also just about to stabbing the axe he holds with one hand, standing in a similar position and facial expression. Considering this reference, the photograph can be seen as an example of mimicry and a tribute to heavy metal music history. In this case, the photograph shocks the only people who does not make this connection.
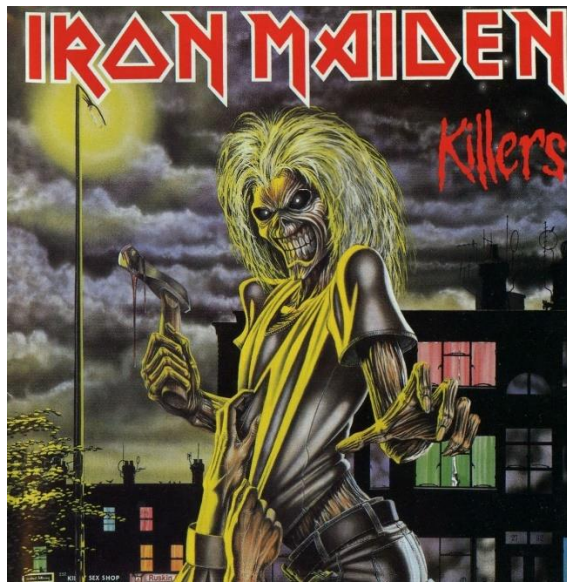
Figure 13: The cover image of Iron Maiden's Killers album (1981)

The tagline "on a mission from Satan" plays an important role in terms of shock value. It openly manifests Satanism for any Turkish citizen who can understand English. The pentagram becomes a regular symbol and the black Smurfs poster becomes a commodity of counterculture in this satanic context. However, the tagline is a reference to *Blues Brothers* (1980) movie in which a line "We're on a mission from God" is repeated by the character Elwood. In the light of these references including the Smurfs, it is possible to say that the binary opposition used by *Laneth* continues to appear on a wider cultural context than the media criticisms. In later issues, the tagline would change to such phrases as "worldwide suicide", "god of darkness and desire", and "defender of your sins", based on other references. By the 13th issue, this tagline is removed completely.

Probably because *Non Serviam* was produced in computer, it has much cleaner page layout than *Laneth*. While *Laneth* could have a shocking imagery from its chaotic layout, *Non Serviam* needed to do anything else to obtain that standard. The selection of photographs and incorporating gross topics provides the needed shock value. The editors select the most extreme photographs of the bands or musicians to publish, or particularly take such photographs in the face to face interviews.

The shock value of Non Serviam does not only come from heavy metal iconography. In some of the earlier issues, they place suggestive photographs of retrospective female lingerie models in particular pages such as the table of contents page and the final page in which the names of the contributors are listed. In addition, there are occasionally gross topics about the accidents, extreme body modification, biological abnormalities, and anomaly with the photographs which are mostly hard to look. These elements that are not directly relevant with heavy metal can be connected with the previously mentioned contextual approach. As the context of its audience is wider, defined as all of "the others" rather than heavy metal fans, the shock tactics of Non Serviam show much more variety.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, two examples of Turkish heavy metal fanzines (*Laneth* and *Non Serviam*) have been interpreted using discourse analysis as visual methodologic tool in order to examine their motivations, methods, and styles to incorporate shock elements, which is a common attitude in heavy metal music. The discourse produced in such publications feeds from various factors such as social and cultural fabric in Turkey, fanzine production techniques, and typical discourses found in heavy metal. Thus, this thesis have been interested in the subject matter by asking "what" and "how" questions, whose answers can give ideas for a wider range (not only the fanzine community in Turkey, but also local bands and social life). The reason behind the possibility of this wide range, unlike "why" questions as explained in section 1.3, is that these kind of questions usually point at the common factors and problems of people who try to create or perform in style of heavy metal.

As mentioned in section 1.4.3, the starting point of the discourse analysis in this thesis is the presence of shock elements in the subject matter. Through the examination of the concept in section 4.1, it can be inferred that incorporating shock elements is one of the common characteristics in heavy metal culture, by following the legacy of shock rock acts such as Alice Cooper. By recalling Philips' (2009) definition of shock rock as "outrageous behaviour and tactics that are designed to upset the parents of the youth of America", it would be appropriate to stress the comment about the shock elements found in the heavy metal discourse that they "are not intended to shock heavy metal fans". That kind of planned and targeted behaviour, combined with the quoted observation from Arnett's (1996) research, can be interpreted as it is not necessarily adopted by people who live in a way as they shock. It can be adopted either to complement the context of discourse (as in the case of Slayer and Venom), or to get attention and use it as a publicity tool[141].

---

[141] See the interview with Shep Gordon, image maker of Alice Cooper: Tom Pakinkis, "The Good Shep", Music Week, August 1, 2014, 11-13

Having discussed about common stereotypes of heavy metal imagery in Section 2.2, several fanzines outside of Turkey are also observed in order to contribute to the analysis' intertextual framework (see Section 4.1). Their origins of country, production date, and preferred subgenres give impressions about how they follow the visual conventions of heavy metal music and, if exists, how they incorporate shock elements in their cover and inside pages. According to this observation, fanzines from the countries outside the USA and the UK are more likely to intentionally incorporate images or slogans having shock value, while the others seem to prioritise reporting music. Turkish fanzines, especially the photocopied ones, also conform to this claim. In the examples given in Section 4.1, some of the fanzines carry such cover layouts that leave the music behind by giving no or minor hints about the musical contents inside. Apart from this kind of extreme examples and corporate publication attempts, it is possible to see a pattern of discourse building among Turkish fanzines.

Focusing particularly on the two examples, *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* among Turkish heavy metal fanzines, gives ideas about how they could construct a discourse and how they add shock value in it. According to the analyses in Section 4.2 and 4.3, we can talk about several common behaviours and decisions by which they create their discourses. Having grown up as teenagers in an era in which talking as an action independent of its content was praised, press became more interested in private lives and adopted a more free style of language (see Section 2.1), and private TV channels were founded as an alternative to TRT[142]; the crew of *Laneth* is expected to be sensitive to mainstream media. Combining the facts that many people in the crew have a journalist background prior to *Laneth*, that heavy metal taking mostly negative attention from Turkish mainstream media (see Section 3.3), and that previously mentioned sensitivity; media criticism is found to be one of the key points that construct their discourse. As exemplified in Section 4.2, it is possible to see many references to the media of that time. Another key point that is often seen in both *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* is the use of binary opposition expressions. While *Laneth* frequently combines the binary opposition and media criticisms, *Non Serviam* is observed to create

---

[142] Turkish Radio and Television Corporation.

discourse with shock values in a wider contextual use of binary opposition, as the crew in *Non Serviam* seem to lose their interest in mainstream media. The third key point observed in creating the discourse is the editorial selection of the topics and photographs. Examples given from the selected pages of *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* in Section 4.2 and 4.3 provide an understanding in a way that the featured band can contribute to the discourse found in the fanzine. In this case, the shock value in the related fanzine page is not unique to the editors and comes from separate elements of the featured subject such as quotations from an interview, band photos, or album cover artworks. However, that value is still considered within the discourse of the fanzine as the decision maker is the editors when the shocking materials are published.

Additionally, production techniques of fanzines is found to play a role in the discourse created. Traditional handcraft techniques seen in most of *Laneth*'s issues shape the creation of their discourse in terms of layout, typographic styles, and visual selections. The production of *Laneth* encourages its crew to decorate pages with drawings which are expressive of their mood, taste, and angst at that time. Also, the use of photocopy (both for duplication and reproduction purposes) is effective as it adds extra contrast to the images and contributes to the shock value of a composition in *Laneth*'s pages. In this sense of production, *Non Serviam* is prepared completely in computer and duplicated by offset printing. Considering the capabilities and practicality of desktop publishing software available at that time, the layout elements show a standardised and minimalist approach. Therefore, in terms of production, the discourse found in *Non Serviam* is dependent of its content and published photographs. Having said that *Non Serviam* positions itself as an alternative youth magazine rather than being just a heavy metal fanzine, the shock values are not only depended on the heavy metal iconology as seen on many heavy metal fanzines (including *Laneth*).

During the study, distinctions caused by nationality has come into question as we see from Section 2.4 that theory and examples of fanzines are mostly from the Western society. Studying with Turkish fanzines, consequences of being published in such geographical and

cultural context have been observed. However, these consequences are mostly visible in how the fanzines evaluate the bands (whether they are international or local), what they write about, and how they use the local figures in their creation. Recalling shock imagery in Turkish heavy metal fanzines, the consequences can be assumed exceptionally to be a source of motivation. The examples given in Section 3.2 and 3.3 point to a broad behaviour of society and media, which is aggressive, biased, and either alienating or domesticating towards the heavy metal listeners. In this sense, the fanzines of interest in this thesis choose to express themselves in a more extreme style in terms of shock value so that they react to criticism from the mainstream media. According to Çağlan Tekil, they "were disturbed by the media's point of view at not only heavy metal fans, but also the whole youth"[143]. Considering this statement and the fact that they "hid the whole thing" so that their "jokes could not be perceived as related to the [murder and suicide] incidents"[144], their style of using shock elements can be found as guerrilla tactics by which they hit people with such visual content as long as it is possible and cease when there is a negatively extraordinary situation.

In summary, the use of shock elements found in Turkish heavy metal fanzines have been the subject of interest and it is aimed to inspect the common patterns and factors that shape this incorporation through the examples from *Laneth* and *Non Serviam*. It is observed that they create their discourse of shock by using binary opposite expressions, making media criticisms, and following the heavy metal imagery. As generic examples of heavy metal imagery, the fanzines show similarities to the bands Slayer and Venom in their evaluation of shock elements. The differences of *Laneth* and *Non Serviam* in production techniques also reveal distinctions on discourse construction. In a fanzine that is handcrafted and photocopied, the discourse is affected by typography, layout, drawings, and high contrast images (which is caused by photocopying) whereas in a fanzine that is produced with a computer, content and photograph selection are the main factors. Nationality is also

---

[143] Alper Demirci, "Türkiye'de Heavy Metal Yayıncılığı", Boo! 41, May 15, 2009. From an e-mail interview conducted in 2009 with Çağlan Tekil, former editor of *Laneth* and *Non Serviam*.
[144] Ibid.

found to be effective in the discourse of fanzines. The social changes occurred in the 80s Turkey transform the media and thus the attitudes towards marginal groups (heavy metal fans in this case). Therefore there exists a reaction to these parties in the fanzine pages. This reaction is found to be the main motivation behind the fanzines' desire to shock people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbey, Eric J. "The Cult of Hellmouth: The Success of Contemporary Hardcore." Chap. 10 In *Hardcore, Punk, and Other Junk*, edited by Eric J. and Colin Helb Abbey, 169-80: Lexington Books, 2014.

Akay, Ali, Derya Fırat, Mehmet Kutlukan, and Pınar Göktürk. *İstanbul'da Rock Hayatı: Sosyolojik Bir Bakış* [in Turkish]. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Bağlam, 1995.

Arnett, Jeffrey J. *Metalheads: Heavy Metal Music and Adolescent Alienation*. WestviewPress, 1996.

Atacan, Can. *Başlangıcından Bugüne Heavy Metal* [in Turkish]. İstanbul: Stüdyo İmge, 1998. 2.

Atton, Chris. *Alternative Media*. London ; Thousand Oaks [Calif.]: SAGE, 2002.

———. "'Living in the Past'?: Value Discourses in Progressive Rock Fanzines." *Popular Music* 20, no. 1 (2001): 29-46.

Ay, Taner. *Rock Ve Şiddet* [in Turkish]. İstanbul: Korsan Yayıncılık, 1994.

Barışsever, Veysel. "Egzotik Band: Heavy Metal'in Türkiye'deki Ağababaları." In *Deli Kasap 13. Yıl Koleksiyonu*, edited by Serpil Kurtay, 33-40. İstanbul: Esen Kitap, 2014.

Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana Press, 1977. Book.

Bayraktaroğlu, Nazlı Deniz. "Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrasında Bir Altkültür Grubu Olarak Punk'ın Oluşumu." Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2011.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Association and Penguin, 1972.

Boynik, Sezgin, and Tolga Güldallı. *Türkiye'de Punk Ve Yeraltı Kaynaklarının Kesintili Tarihi 1978-1999* [in Turkish and English] [An Interrupted History of Punk and Underground Resources in Turkey 1978-1999]. İstanbul: BAS, 2007. Book.

Brown, Andy R. "Heavy Genealogy: Mapping the Currents, Contraflows and Conflicts of the Emergent Field of Metal Studies, 1978-2010." *Journal for Cultural Research* 15, no. 3 (2011): 213-42.

Cope, Andrew L. *Black Sabbath and the Rise of Heavy Metal Music*. [Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series]. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010. Book.

Duncombe, Stephen. *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. New York: Verso Press, 1997. Book.

Fiske, John. "Audiencing." In *Handbook of Qualitative Methods*, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. London: Sage, 1994.

Gordon, Milton. "The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application." *Social Forces* 26, no. 1 (1947): 40-42.

Green, Nicholas. *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Gürbilek, Nurdan. *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi* [in Turkish]. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992.

Harrison, Leigh Michael. "Factory Music: How the Industrial Geography and Working-Class Environment of Post-War Birmingham Fostered the Birth of Heavy Metal." *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 1 (Fall2010 2010): 145-58.

Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge, 1979.

Hecker, Pierre. *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society*. Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series. Farnham: Ashgate Pub, 2012. Book.

Hickam, Brian. "Amalgamated Anecdotes: Perspectives on the History of Metal Music and Culture Studies." *Metal Music Studies* 1, no. 1 (// 2014): 5-23.

Jenks, Chris. *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2005. Book.

Knobel, Michele, and Colin Lankshear. "Cut, Paste, Publish: The Production and Consumption of Zines." In *State of the Art Conference*, edited by Donna Alvermann. Athens, Georgia (USA), 2001.

Komarovsky, Mirra, and S. Stansfeld Sargent. "Research into Subcultural Influences Upon Personality." In *Culture and Personality*, edited by M. Smith S. Sargent, 143-59. New York, NY, US: Viking Fund, 1949.

Konyar, Hürriyet. "Popüler Kültürde Hegemonik Anlamların Üretilmesinde Gençlik Altkültürlerinin Önemi." [In Turkish]. *İLETİŞİM Kurum ve Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 27 (2008): 55-75.

Lashua, Brett, and Sara Cohen. "A Fanzine of Record: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes." *Punk & Post Punk* 1, no. 1 (2011): 87-104.

Mercer, Blaine E. *The Study of Society*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958.

Nead, Lynda. *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Öztürk, Mustafa. *Müzik Ailesinin Nefreti: Heavy Metal, Punk, New Wave* [in Turkish]. AYKO, 1985.

Parry, Sara, Rosalind Jones, Philip Stern, and Matthew Robinson. "'Shockvertising': An Exploratory Investigation into Attitudinal Variations and Emotional Reactions to Shock Advertising." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 12, no. 2 (2013): 112-21.

Phillips, William, and Brian Cogan. *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2009. Book.

Pollock, Griselda. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage, 2001. Book.

Solmaz, Metin. *Rock Sözlüğü* [in Turkish]. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1994.

Tireli, Münir. *Türkiye'de Grup Müziği: 1980'ler* [in Turkish]. Arkaplan, 2007.

Tonkiss, Fran. "Analysing Discourse." In *Researching Society and Culture,* edited by Clive Seale London: Sage, 2004.

Triggs, Teal. "Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a Diy Aesthetic." *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006/03/20/ 2006): 69-83.

Walser, Robert. *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1993.

Weinstein, Deena. *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture*. Da Capo Press, 1991. 2000.

Yavuz, Hakan. *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Young, Kimball, and Raymond W. Mack. *Sociology and Social Life*. New York: American Book Co., 1959.