

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**MUSIC NON-LITERATE VIRTUOSI:
THE “ALAYLI” METAL BAND PERFORMER**

Ph.D. THESIS

Hale Fulya SOĞANCI

Dr. Erol Üçer Center for Advanced Studies in Music

Music Program

NOVEMBER 2019

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**NOTA OKUYAMAYAN VİRTÜYÖZLER:
“ALAYLI” METAL GRUBU İCRACISI**

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To my beloved husband Alp, and my patient daughters Anka and Lidya

FOREWORD

When I embarked this journey of a lifetime some people call a Ph.D., I was not mature enough to grasp the responsibility that has to accompany the procedure. The task of knowing virtually everything about a chosen field and contributing to the vast sea of scholarship is indeed noble, but also tremendously difficult. There were many moments of despair, hasty study periods of dogged determination, long years of being burdened with a monumental workload, struggling to salvage time besides everyday cares, work and career, childraising and social life. In short, I have lived with the heart chilling intimidation a person feels looking at a huge mountain and planning how to scale it, or the sword of Damocles forever swinging over my head, for years. Now that my 4-year-old daughter is quoting phrases such as “I have so much work to do” back to me, I finally saw the light at the end of the tunnel. It is hard to grasp this sense of intense euphoria: I did it, I have really accomplished something in this life, useful for others as much as for my own existence.

Although, in the end, the title is granted to one person, there were loving people who walked along with me during this remarkable journey. It was a fateful decision for Alp SOĞANCI to hold my hand for life while I was only beginning my doctoral studies and he remained my best friend and confidante throughout the years it took me to complete this dissertation. He deserves the doctoral degree of patience and perseverance as my constant companion, the best of husbands and fathers. My mother Filiz helped me out in the tightest corners of my life and has stoically battled time and circumstances to enable me to concentrate on writing. My wonderful adopted parents Tülay and Enver have taken over many of my everyday burdens, so that I could work despite my difficult routine. My two little ones remained healthy and slept as much as they could, I apologize that I had to favor my eldest child, this dissertation, over them: I know when they are older and would read these lines, they will understand. Last but not least, I wish to be able to find praise words enough to express my gratitude to Bülent BIYIKOĞLU: his faith in me was unparalleled and he kept me going in a way only the best of friends could.

It is customary that the Ph.D. candidate thanks her “Doctorvader” in this foreword. I will begin by pointing out that the circumstances have been drastically less than ordinary and I have managed to work with my advisor Prof. Can KARADOĞAN for less than a year. In such a short term, I am thoroughly convinced that he has my best interests in mind. He has been responsive, chiding but supportive: for the first time in the entire process of completing my project and composing this dissertation, I did not feel solitary and exposed. I will forever remember the meeting we had in the MIAM studio antechamber after my first attempt at defending this work: it is ironic that I got to comprehend what I was doing in the very closure of the process leading to the doctorate. There are no words enough to thank for this: it is a lesson learned, for life. He did not give me a fish, he taught me how to fish, and I am very grateful.

The same out of ordinary circumstances did not permit me to complete this dissertation with one of the two scholars who contributed most to my identity as an academician.

I wish I could have Assoc. Prof. Dr. Robert REIGLE close by, as he was close during the years I spent on this project. The latter of the two, Dr. Paul Alister WHITEHEAD, is like a father to me and has taught me so much about life as well as research, that I cannot think of either without him. Since the day I met Prof. Dr. Hasan Gürkan TEKMAN on Uludağ University Campus in 2013, he has been realistic and critical, and his expertise and high standards contributed so much to this work. I am sorry that he chose to step down, and would like to thank him from the bottom of my heart. Nonetheless, I was more than lucky to have Assist. Prof. Dr. Eray ALTINBÜKEN and Assist. Prof. Dr. Pierre HECKER Hocas as jury members, joined later by Prof. Dr. Alper MARAL to lend support and fair commentary: this project would not have come around without their contribution. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Songül KARAHASANOĞLU heartily, without her timely intervention, I could not complete this project. Aykut and Ilke Hocas found the time to attend and provide valuable insight for the defense procedure of this work, I happily extend my thanks to them. Last but not the least, my supervisors at the Foundations Development Department of Sabancı University: Prof. Dr. Zehra SAYERS, Arzu KIRAN and Dr. Zeynep Nevin YELÇE who were undaunted by the circumstances and have kept their faith and support strong. Without them, this project would have remained incomplete forever.

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November 2019

Hale Fulya SOĞANCI
Instructor, Sabancı University

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ABBREVIATIONS

MIDI	: Musical Instrument Digital Interface
VST	: Virtual Studio Technology
PA	: Public Address System
DAW	: Digital Audio Workstation
EP	: Extended Play
PR	: Public relations
iOS	: internet Operating System
UPC	: Universal Product Code
EAN	: European Article Number
CD	: Compact Disc
MP3	: Moving Pictures Expert Group-Audio Layer
USD	: United States Dollar
Ed., Eds	: Editor, editors
DIY	: Do-it-yourself
GT	: Grounded Theory
SAE	: School of Audio Engineering

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MUSIC NON-LITERATE VIRTUOSI: THE “ALAYLI” METAL BAND PERFORMER

SUMMARY

This work explores the dialectics of institutionally trained versus self taught musicians who prefer to perform the popular music genre termed (heavy) metal. After careful thought, the Turkish adjective “Alaylı”, denoting a possibly music non-literate musician who has acquired his/her skills through informal learning practices, is retained. Most “Alaylı” musicians are autodidact/self-taught, considering the majority of metal musicians whose accounts form the basis of the ethnographic data of this study. The default viewpoint is of an “Okullu” (schooled: classically trained) musician, who is accultured in metal music and subculture as an adult latecomer, thus observing from both an emic and an etic perspective.

The main purpose of this work is to understand the advantages and disadvantages, satisfactions and frustrations of working with alaylı musicians: most common problems, cognitive process and cerebral differences between the schooled and the autodidact. Music industry and professionalism is an aspect to consider: especially in the case of Turkey. In our country, let alone performers, even music industry professionals might turn out to be music illiterate, yet they seem to be able to coexist and function with conservatory-trained professionals. This is not a novel feature, since, in domain of Western influenced popular music, the self-taught musician, sometimes even music-illiterate, still has a chance to gain global recognition. These individuals have very different concepts of musical fundamentals and are often experiencing difficulty to communicate with schooled musicians who have assimilated the vocabulary to express musical phenomena during their training. In the case of metal music, the existing literature and the findings of this study confirm that the majority of the professional practitioners fall into the “gray zone” between totally self-taught and somewhat schooled, but there are only two musicians among the 35 professional metal musician interviewees of this study, who has managed to obtain their degree in music, thus assignable to the “Okullu” camp.

The study commences with defining the central question involving the communication procedures and the creative process of a metal band consisting of Alaylı and Okullu musicians works together, proceeding into a definitions of ideas, theories, perspectives and phenomena, as well as personal reflections and motivations that go into the array of information that is presented. The next chapter is an extensive review of metal as a popular music genre and an account of metal music and subculture in Turkey, in order to paint the canvas to act as the background of the self-ethnographic Chapter 3, providing the acculturation process of the author and a closer look into the learning and performing practices of “Alaylı” musicians. Chapter 4 is presenting interviews and an analysis of this material using ethnographic procedures, framing more philosophical questions such as the necessity of traditional musical training in music production. The next chapter focuses on relevant issues such as identity, pedagogy and nomenclature regarding metal music and musicians in Turkey. Comparisons, conclusions and

suggestions for further research round up the work, followed by appendices to further explore some topical aspects and bibliography.

The theoretical and methodological basis applied to the corpus of data stems from a fusion of the recent, interdisciplinary approaches to (ethno)musicology, cognitive studies, communication studies and the traditional textual analysis methods. To give an empirical twist to case study and fieldwork, some textual analysis procedures are employed in order to draw conclusions from the ethnographic data, but this is by no means a large-n, statistical study. Some approaches such as netnography and practice-led research, which were novel when the proposal of this project was presented, are now well-used methods across the spectrum of social sciences.

NOTA OKUYAMAYAN VİRTÜYÖZLER: ALAYLI METAL GRUBU ICRACISI

ÖZET

Bu tez, Heavy Metal olarak adlandırılan popüler müzik türünü icra etmeyi tercih eden, kendi kendini yetiştirmiş müzisyenler ve kurumsal olarak eğitim almış müzisyenler diyalektiği araştırmaktadır. Uzun tartışmalardan sonra, gayriresmi öğrenme pratikleri ile becerilerini kazanmış, çoğunlukla müzik okuryazarı olmayan müzisyenleri betimleyen “Alaylı” sıfatı, Türkçe olarak başlıkta yer bulmuştur. Bu tezin etnografik verilerinin temelini teşkil eden metal müzisyenleri ile yapılan mülakatların ışığında, çoğu “Alaylı” metal müzisyeni için kendi kendine öğrenmiş veya öz-öğreti ile beceri edinmiş denebilir. Varsayılan bakış açısı, metal müziğe ve alt kültürüne yetişkin bir gözlemci ve/ya öğrenci olarak dahil olan “Okullu” (Klasik Batı Müziği eğitimi almış) bir müzisyen ve müzikoloğa aittir. Bu sayede ve olağan çalışmalar için hayli uzun kabul edilebilecek beş yıllık bir saha çalışması sürecine de bağlı olarak, gözlemlerin hem içeriden, hem de dışarıdan konumlanır şekilde ortaya konması mümkün olmuştur.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, alaylı müzisyenlerle çalışmanın avantaj ve dezavantajları, tatminleri ve hayal kırıklıklarını anlamak ve aktarmaktır: bunlar arasında en yaygın sorunlar, bilişsel süreç, ve okulu ve alaylı müzisyenler arasındaki algısal farklılıklar sayılabilir. Müzik endüstrisi ve profesyonellik, dikkate alınması gereken diğer bir husustur: özellikle Türkiye örneğinde. Ülkemizde, müzisyenler hatta müzik endüstrisi profesyonelleri bile müzik okuryazarlığına sahip olmaksızın, konservatuar eğitilmiş profesyoneller ile birlikte çalışabiliyorlar. Bu ülkemize has bir özellik değil, çünkü halen tüm dünyada Batı etkileşimli popüler müzik alanında, kendi kendini yetiştiren ve bazı durumlarda müzik okuryazarı olmayan bir müzisyenin dünya çapında tanınırlık kazanma şansı vardır. Bu bireyler çok farklı temel müziksel kavramlara sahiptirler ve çoğu zaman eğitimleri sırasında müzik olaylarını ifade etmek için kullanılan terminoloji dağarcığını özümsemiş olan okullu müzisyenlerle iletişim kurmakta zorluk çekmektedirler. Metal müzik söz konusu olduğunda, mevcut literatür ve bu çalışmanın bulguları, profesyonel müzisyenlerin çoğunluğunun tamamen kendi kendini eğitmiş ile bir dereceye kadar okul arasındaki “gri bölge” ye düştüğünü doğrulamaktadır. Görüşülen 35 profesyonel müzisyen arasında, müzik disiplini bir lisans diploması elde etmeyi başarmış yani “Okullu” olarak anılabilecek sadece iki müzisyen vardır.

Bu teze yön veren kuramsal ve yöntemsel temeller, (etno)müzikoloji, bilişsel çalışmalar, iletişim çalışmaları ve geleneksel metinsel analiz yöntemlerinin güncel, disiplinler arası bir kaynaşmasından oluşmaktadır. Olgular çalışması ve saha çalışmasına temelbilimsel bir yaklaşım getirmek için, etnografik bulgular üzerinde sosyal bilimlerin büyük çoğunluğuna uyarlanmakta olan siyasal bilim yöntemi Vaka Çalışması (Case Study)) prosedürleri kullanılıyor olsa da, bu tez hiçbir şekilde büyük ölçekli istatistiksel bir çalışma sayılmamalıdır. Proje önerisi sunulduğunda oldukça yenilikçi olan netnografi, yani sosyal medya ağları üzerinden ulaşılan bilgi kaynakları ve kişilerle yapılan saha çalışması ve pratiğe dayalı araştırma, yani bir olgunun

uygulanışını bizzat yaparak öğrenme veya gözleme gibi bazı yaklaşımlar, artık sosyal bilimler yelpazesinde sıklıkla kullanılan yöntemler haline gelmiştir.

İlk bölüm, hem Alaylı hem de Okullu müzisyenler içeren bir metal müzik grubunun iletişim sorunlarını ve yaratıcı sürecini irdeleyen merkezi bir sorunun tanımlanması sonrasında, sunulan bilgi dizisine girdisi olan fikirlerin, teorilerin, algıların ve fenomenlerin tanımlanması, kişisel yansımalar ve motivasyonların ortaya konulmasından oluşmaktadır. Literatür taraması da bu kısımda yer almaktadır ve metal müzik ve alt kültürü konusunda temel kabul edilen Walser (1992) ve Weinstein (2000) gibi yayınlardan başlayarak 2010’lu yıllardaki tüm metal dünyasını konu alan akademik coşkuyu irdelemektedir.

Bu girişı takiben, tezin bilgi içeriđi üç ana bölüm halinde düzenlenmiştir. Bunlardan Bölüm 2 olarak adlandırılan ilki, metal müziđin küresel bir türe dönüşmesinin kısa bir tarihsel anlatımını içerir. Metal müziđin ve onun özelleşmiş alt türlerinin evrimi, örneđin Wallach, Harris ve Greene’in 2011 tarihli eseri gibi çalışmalarla halihazırda akademik olarak iyi belgelenmiş olduğundan, bu bölümün kurgusu, metal müzik paradigmasının herhangi bir parçasını derinlemesine araştırmaktansa diđer bölümler için önem teşkil eden olgular üzerine odaklanan gevşek bir ađdır. Her yerde bulunabilecek ve geçerliliđi tartışmalı ansiklopedik bilgi yerine, tarihsel sürece şahit olan, yerel ve küresel metal sahnelerinin oluşmasına tanıklık eden ve fikirleri, özellikleri, kurumları ve gelişmeleri en çok etkileyen her şeyi saptayabilecek konumda kişilerle yapılan röportajları öne çıkarmayı hedefler.

2. Bölümün alt bölümleri, metal müzik ve alt kültürüne dair tanımsal konu başlıklarını ele alır. Örneđin, 2.1.5 alt bölümünde örneklendirilen ve yorumlanan metalci argosu, yalnızca bu türün dinleyicisine özgüdür. Başka bir müzik türünün meraklıları, bir icracı özellikle başarılı olduğunda övgü anlamına gelecek şekilde “mekanı yok etti/yıktı/izleyiciyi mahvetti” türü söylemlerde bulunmaz. Benzer bir şekilde, sanatçılar da sahnede dinleyiciye yönelik küfür içeren söylemler ve aşağılayıcı (beden) dili(ni) gösterilerinin bir parçası olarak kullanırlar. Takip eden iki alt bölüm, hem Türkiyede oluşan metal müzik hem de Türk yeraltı metal sahnesinin evrimi hakkında bilgi vermek adına, halihazırda yayınlanmış olan (Türkçe) materyallerle birlikte, bazı yeni saha çalışması notlarını da içermektedir. 2. Bölümde ayrıca, Türk metaline ait belli başlı bilimsel çıktıların ve akademik olmayan yayınların kısa bir incelemesi de bulunmaktadır.

Yazarın uygulama yoluyla araştırma deneyimleri, yani bir metal müzik grubu kurmak ve yönetmek tecrübesinin büyük bir kısmı 3. Bölümde ayrıntılı olarak anlatılmıştır. Bu öykü, popüler müzik yapımının farklı safhalarına odaklanmakta ve 2010-2015 yılları arasında bir grup müzisyeni olarak edinilen tecrübe ve saha çalışması sırasında edinilen bilgi ve anlayışları aktarmaktadır. Nimkulrat’ın “uygulamaya dayalı araştırma ve pratiđin araştırmanın yerine geçmesi” olarak tanımladığı iki yaklaşımın birbirinin yerine kullanılabileceđini tesbit etmesine karşın, yazar pratikte yapılan araştırmanın sadece bir ürünün varlığında geçerli olduğunu vurgulayan Candy’nin tanımını doğrultusunda hareket etmektedir. Anlatının farklı aşamaları ortaya çıkarken, sürecin de en az ürün kadar önemli olduğuna ortaya çıkmıştır ve bu şekilde aktarılmaktadır. Deneyimlenen bu odak kayması, Candy’nin açıklamasına da uymaktadır: başlangıçta, yazarın metal müzik grubuna yönelik faaliyetleri açıkça, “paylaşılan bir bilgi deposuna daha genel anlamda katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktan ziyade, bireyin belirli hedeflerine yöneliktir”(2006). Bu grup tecrübesi, metal müziđin öznel ve yerel uygulamaları konusunda edinilen bilgiye vakıf olmak, etnografik araştırma için çevre

edinmek ve bu tezin pedagojik temalı 5. Bölümü için gerekli yön ve bağlantıları sağlamak için de önemlidir. Aynı sahneyi paylaşarak, onlarcasıyla saha çalışması amacı gütmeksizin ve bu sayede kimlik çekinceleri yaşamaksızın iletişmek, yazara alaylı metal sanatçıları hakkında genelleştirilmiş açıklamalar yapabilmeyi bir ölçüde mümkün kılmıştır.

Yazarın gözlemlerinin yanı sıra, öngörülerini temellendirmek için danıştığı birçok kaynağın da ifade ettiğine göre, popüler müzikte yaratıcılık esas olarak stüdyoda geçirilen zamanla ilişkilidir, zira popüler müzik sanatçıları nadiren kağıt kalem kullanarak müziklerini yazmaya gereksinim duyarlar. Kalıcılık ve kimlik duygusu, yalnızca bir grup kendi müziklerini bir araya getirdiğinde (bu amaçla sıkça kullanılan ortamlar ve gereçler ile ilgili bilgiyi 5.6 nolu alt bölüm içermektedir) ve onu öngörüldüğü şekilde kaydettiğinde oluşur. Dolayısıyla, stüdyo tecrübesi, birçok genç garaj safhasındaki müzik grubu için zorlu bir tecrübe haline de gelebilir. Yazarın mensubu olduğu ve yönettiği müzik grubunun özelinde, bu karşılaşılan engelleri, zorlukları, müzik endüstrisinin ve metal müzik piyasasının işleyişinin iç yüzünü deneyimlemek ve ortaya koymak, tezin geneli için büyük fayda teşkil etmiştir.

Tezin 4.1.1 ve 4.1.2 numaralı bölümleri, saha çalışması bulgularının mümkün olabildiğince objektif bir şekilde, yorumlanmadan aktarılmasından oluşmaktadır. Mülakat yapılan metal sanatçıları tanıtmak için sunulan biyografik veriler, çoğunlukla resmi web sayfalarından veya sosyal medya hesaplarından alıntılanmıştır. Bölüm 4'ün girişinde açıklandığı gibi, koşullar çoğu mülakat sırasında tamamen yapılandırılmış, başka bir deyişle önceden hazırlanmış görüşmeler yapılması için uygun olmamıştır. Anket kısmına katılım gösteren müzisyenlerin büyük bir kısmı ile yazarın metal müzik ortamı ve sosyal medya üzerinden iletişimi olduğundan, bazı görüşmeler daha samimi bir çizgide gerçekleşmiş, bazı katılımcılar ise, yalnızca Likert Skalası ya da açık uçlu mülakat sorularını kısaca yanıtlamakla yetinmişlerdir. Bu iki altbölüm için görüşülen sanatçıları için uygulanan mülakat mı anket mi seçkisi, müziği profesyonel olarak icra edip etmediklerine göre yapılmıştır.

Bölüm 5, “Alaylı” metal müzisyenini literatürün, toplanmış verilerin ve gözlemlerin ışığında, akademik olarak tanımlama ve temsil etme üzerine kuruludur. Tahmin edilebileceği gibi, akademik yazımda “Okullu” müzisyenler, “Alaylı” müzisyenlerden çok daha fazla yer bulmaktadır. Türkiye'deki mevcut sistemde müzik okuryazarlığı ve bilgisi gelişmeyen metal müzisyenleri kimlik, öğrenim süreci ve algı konusunda farklılıklar göstermektedir. Bu kısımdaki genellemeler, büyük ölçüde bir önceki 4. Bölümde elde edilen veri, YouTube yorumları, videolar, bloglar ve sosyal medya etkileşimi şeklindeki materyelden sağlanmıştır.

Sonuçların sunulduğu Bölüm 6 ve öncesindeki 2, 3, 4 ve 5. Bölümlerde sunulan veri üzerinden kapsamlı bir karşılaştırma ve varsayımlar yapılmaktadır. Yukarıda belirtilen bölümlerde bahsedilen bazı noktalar ve çıktılar, yan yana, gelişmiş ve / veya açık uçlu ikilemler olarak sunulmakta, bulunan cevaplar tartışılmaktadır. Sosyal bilimlerin doğası ve yazarın postmodernist yaklaşımı gereği, teori seviyesine ancak göreceli olarak ulaşılsa da, yazar elde ettiği sonuçlar konusunda güven hissetmektedir. Bazı noktaların daha fazla araştırma ve irdelemeyi gerektirmesine rağmen, merkezi soruda dile getirilen “Alaylı” ve “Okullu” müzisyenlerin ne gibi sorunlar yaşadığı, bunlara ne gibi çözümler üretebildiği ya da üretemediği, grup içi dinamikler, metal müzik dünyasının gerçek bir iç resmi harmanlanarak bir araya getirilmiş ve yazar ummaktadır ki proje müzik öğrenme yelpazesinin daha az bilinen tarafına ışık tutabilmiştir.

1. INTRODUCTION – PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The title of this project is “Music non-literate Virtuosi: the Alaylı Metal Band Performer”. Concerning the title, the meanings and associations, even secondary and tertiary connotations of each word that eventually constitutes it gets to be contemplated over and over by many experts within the scope of the entire monograph. My intention is to achieve simplicity as the greatest sophistication as Leonardo da Vinci points out by this title. All the words that constitute the phrase except ‘music’, ‘band’ and ‘performer’ were constantly in flux during the five years I spent working on this project. Eventually, the Turkish word Alaylı remained in place, since its semantic and semiotic connotations encompass multiple English composite expressions such as ‘autodidact’, ‘self-taught’, ‘unschooled’, ‘skilled by practical experience’ and ‘not formally trained’. In my opinion, the negations in these corresponding phrases are delivered without any derogatory intent by using this Turkish adjective. Alaylı musicians seem to form the majority of Turkish music scene regardless of the genre (thus they constitute the norm) and are not regarded as inferior to conservatory-trained musicians by Turkish music industry. This generalization seems to apply true for the global domain of rock or metal music, from this work’s perspective, acquired through interviewing world-renowned metal musicians. Alaylı musicians are thus not regarded as lesser in any way throughout this book; which is essentially representing the outlook of a ‘schooled’ musician.

This same approach also explains the somewhat clumsy-looking ‘non-literate’ determinant. The frequently encountered form of this composite word, ‘illiterate’, etymologically comes bequeathed with negative signifiers through its prefix that I did not intend to have. ‘Non-literate’ is simply a common denominator to apply to the musicians under study, and denotes an attribute which is not associated with the skill level or achievement. On the contrary, by using non-literate in conjunction with the sophisticated musical word ‘virtuoso’ in its plural form, which is deeper entrenched in musical jargon, I aim to express my high esteem for these musicians.

The presented research question is “what communication processes do alaylı (autodidact) and okullu (institutionally trained) musicians go through when they work together in a metal band?” Many musicians I have encountered practicing their talents across the metal music spectrum have reported communication difficulties when they need to collaborate in contexts such as recording and/or performance. These difficulties became more apparent especially when they attempt to play with unfamiliar musicians hailing from different backgrounds. They did not seem as free-flowing and easily adaptable as jazz or blues musicians, who can “jam” together, or had the discipline of classically trained musicians who can perform their part as long as the sheet music is provided. The communication difficulty thus became an issue that I needed to provide a solution for when I began experiencing it myself. Musical practices yielded minor progress because of the time and resources ‘lost in translation’. Fueled by the desire to bridge this communications gap efficiently, this work revolves around metal musicians’ experience within music, approaching it by a variety of methods. I have made inquiries during the course of research to many musicians from green amateur to seasoned professional, self-taught or schooled to boot, technically fledgling to astonishing virtuoso, about their “intra-musical” communication experiences and learning process. Their responses and my own experiences and observations are synthesized and blended with pre-existing research to constitute this text.

This chapter is born out of the necessity to explore the title and research question in detail and define all components that went into this project: from my scholarly background to some musical and social concepts that seemingly, delusively, look simple: such as “metal band”, “communication”, “working together” and “process”. As the project design pertains ethnography and practice-led research, there is no possibility of leaving aside secondary questions to define and ground the context. This project would not be complete and/or comprehensive unless some associated questions such as “what kind of scholarly definition exists for band musicianship?”, “how do musicians communicate within bands?”, “what is metal as a musical genre and where did it come from?”, “is metal music different in the vantage point Turkey, compared to its scholarly description and documentation around the globe?”, “who is a metalhead, what kind of identity does he/she assume?”, “how does one establish and maintain a metal band?” and “what are the phases of music making with a metal band?”

are taken into consideration. In truth, the sum of all these aspects constitute the research question, and in order to give a theory-level, abstract answer to it, all these auxiliary questions should first be satisfactorily answered.

Throughout the process of writing, a major concern was that, although both the title and the research question emphasize learning in a multitude of ways, pedagogy did not appear to be a focus at first glance. In truth, to extrapolate musicians' training is not entirely possible from this work: the two opposing poles of the research question are the distinctively different education protocols the metal musicians, who are the protagonists of this study, have followed. As mentioned, no hierarchy is intended between *okullu* and *alaylı*, however a polarization that springs forth from a comparison of perceptions and methods forms the essence of this work, considering that I am a representative of one of those poles. Thus, I would like to set aside the question "how do musicians learn to make metal music?" and treat it more comprehensively since the entire "process" is governed by learning. This question has formed the "Ursatz" of this study, underlying every other aspect and keeping the whole structure together, deeper and more fundamental than the research question itself. Besides having a whole chapter devoted to the learning aspects, my own quest of learning is also laid out in detail.

1.1 Background and Motivations

My interest in this research topic grew out of my experience as a classically trained musician performing in a semi-professional metal band. This seemingly ordinary experience literally transformed my entire experience of both being a musician and a musicologist. To cope with the work necessitated by this text, as a musicologist whose career was more in line with Historical Musicology, I had to "rethink music" (Cook and Everist, 1999) in many ways. Back in 2011, the widely remarked gender inequality or elitist discourses of Historical Musicology, exemplified in, for instance, the writings of Adorno and Dahlhaus, were no dissuasion for me. Nonetheless, to put it with Cook and Everist's statement, I was questioning "the relationship between musicology and the rest of the universe" (2001, p.VII) and acutely experiencing "the loss of confidence[...]the comfortable distinction between the objective description of fact and the subjective judgment of value—an assumption whose power can hardly be underestimated" (Cook and Everist 2001, p.V). Working on this project was proved to

be an enrichment of my portfolio considering a myriad of aspects including this dilemma.

This change of research goals was attributed to a new passion: performing metal music within a band. While I was learning a totally new musicianship, the band experience was also making me become aware of prejudices and presuppositions I never knew I had: the rigidity of most traditions belonging to the world of debatably mislabeled “Classical” music. Thus, the habitual approaches used for the study of Eurogenetic¹ art music, with its canon of major works, personages and paradigm that crystallized into a serious academic discipline in the course of a century and half ago, seemed inadequate to handle the challenges this new musicianship called forth. Once it was possible to locate metal music within “new musicology”, it was possible to begin the process of executing the requirements of this research. This phase was followed by a period of intense exploration of the field with or without the band: most of the interviewing and stage experience related within this text come from between May 2013 to March 2015.

Musicologists seldom are able to simultaneously maintain a performing career. Sacrificing performance skills for keeping up with research, I had to forgo regularly practicing my instrument the piano in the last few years. With the abundance of information that should be subsumed to attain musicological supremacy, musicologist-performers such as Charles Rosen or Richard Taruskin are increasingly becoming a rarity in our time. The scope of research is constantly expanding and becoming trans- and interdisciplinary, even while the expectations about a pianist’s repertoire and skills are skyrocketing. Simply put, a musicologist these days does not have time to devote to practicing scales, no matter how pleasurable performing might be for him/her; and no audience is satisfied anymore with a technically flawed pianist with uneven fingers while there are immaculate figures such as Yuja Wang around. Thus, a musicological study which can confidently delve into the realm of practice, fandom and the overall experience of being an admired performer through performing metal is very rare, if not unique. The joy and despair of musicianship; picking up new skills, experiencing all kinds of professional and personal conflicts and developing new interests such as

¹ A term coined by Dr. Robert Reigle in 2004 and defined to refer to music with one or all components originating in Europe, as a more precise and more neutral alternative to terms such as ‘Western,’ ‘Eurocentric,’ ‘non-Eastern,’ or ‘pan-European’ (2014, p. 234).

audio technologies also provided impetus in the project design, since a musicologist seldom has any means to observe, let alone experience firsthand.

Last but not least, targeting an academic career from early on meant that I have had few opportunities of being part of youth communities prior to this experience. Arguably, the overall experience of doing research in social sciences, in contrast to bearing the adjective “social” as part of its umbrella term, is always quite solitary. One must always have a coherent voice of his or her own to be original, as could be inferred from the research output bearing single authors for the most part as opposed to the collective papers of research groups of hard sciences. It was a rewarding experience to be a part of the underground metal scene of Istanbul: a collective, a society. The field, at least for a particular period, thus became the paramount center of gravity in my life and intellect. For writing a monograph and contributing to the knowledge science has accumulated, this sense of being a representative member of a society proved good motivation. Considering that metal musicians only recently made it to academic visibility, represented as anything else than the practitioners of a deviant 1980s musical fad, their voice should be heard more. Especially the glocal metal community that I got accepted into has very rarely been an academic interest in comparison to other musical subcultures of Turkey such as “Arabesk” or “Protest” musicians.

1.2 Purpose of Study

This project is designed to produce musicological information about two important issues: metal music, musicians and subculture from the global perspective in relation to the glocal vantage point of Turkey and the pedagogical foundations of metal music. After careful thought and much curbing, I have decided that the main focus should be on pedagogical aspects of metal music and communication processes within a metal band. All content is presented through a gaze that perceives the project as a means of self-education and intends to educate the reader as well. (Self)Ethnographical content and textual analysis are thus designed to serve the pedagogical foundation. Unless expressly needed, the text does not delve into musical theory, analysis, or aesthetics. In comparison, more information is given about gender issues or theoretical explanations concerning global youth culture metal music formed around itself. I kept these debates as brief as I possibly could, not to lose focus on pedagogy.

In order to investigate the localization of Turkey in terms of demarcating how the global heavy metal music and subculture is constructed, a literature review was

necessary of the old and new (academic) sources. Since there are excellent writings for this information among the resources of this work, I have reproduced and presented only issues that seemed vital for this specific text in an anachronic sense. Next come the definitions of how metal music and subculture is engendered and enmeshed in Turkish society today. Some particular parts such as how and why and through which processes Turkish youth become encultured in metal should be understood and basic and/or binary questions such as “who is the Turkish metalhead? What are her/his expectations about music? Why does she/he pick up an instrument? Can she/he comfortably practice her music of choice in the milieu around her/him?” should be satisfactorily answered in order to move onto the second aspect: to understand in a comprehensive psychological and cognitive sense the inner workings of a metal band and lineate the intra-musical communication process that take place during different phases of music making.

Amateur performers, especially self-taught musicians are a relatively underrepresented group of musicians in and out of academia. Only with the rise of social media, especially platforms such as MySpace at first, followed by YouTube and SoundCloud, musicians of every caliber and genre gained visibility and started to share insights, ideas and of course music. This study intends to represent these musicians and introduce the “schooled” readers of this prose to the often scorned and misunderstood, but actually quite colorful and creative musical world of the autodidact metal musicians. No consensus or established school in Turkey teaches popular music, only some academic institutions such as Bilgi University have recently established departments that teach popular music practices in conjunction to music production. Thus, the journey of a Turkish metal musician is markedly different from his/her counterpart in the Western world, for example.

Finally, this study is among very few others that delivers some understanding about the inner workings, dynamics and procedures within a band, regardless of genre. Providing details for how a band gets established, operates, produces, performs and represents itself academically is a worthy endeavor that might serve as a model for further research. There are studies on how a band experience is beneficial on youth or how a group of musicians performing together engage in nonverbal communication among each other, but a metal band as a social unit is not academically studied so far. Presumably, for most academicians, making music is a recreational process that they

need as a contrast to their research life, thus few have investigated the “private life” of a small musical unit we call the band.

1.3 Methodology

This project features two core methods of amassing, organizing and interpreting the data of its universe: (Turkish) metal music and subculture; metal musicians, their learning and communication processes; and how a band does work, from within. The umbrella terms most fitting for methods used to compose this text are ethnography and practice-led research. Both of these frameworks consist of a bricolage of methods: under ethnography, there is critical theory used for textual analysis, trans- and interdisciplinarity, and the newer, digital version of the traditional ethnography: netnography, a term very creatively coined by Kozinetz (2002) to encompass research done online. Under practice-led research are tools associated with traditional ethnographic fieldwork present, such as fieldnote-collecting, thick description and feedback interviewing, to form a meta-narrative of a band’s existence.

During the data collecting phase, I have employed structured, semi structured and free-form interviews, netnography, and participant observation. Obviously, part of the data I hereby present is already written out by other authors (such as the historiography of metal music) and some aspects (such as the thick descriptions of my experiences with the band) are impossible to generalize into a plausible model, thus not fit to elevate to theoretical abstraction without a collection of cases. Nonetheless, the very nature of social sciences research is being irreplicable and unique, and I am convinced that my mixed-method approach of combining the abovementioned tools arsenal to tackle this project was a justifiable decision.

This work could be defined as a qualitative, factor centric and small N research project. These adjectives are appropriated from social and political sciences methods Case Study and Grounded Theory Approach, which I found suitable for construing data and establishing my arguments, although I will be using either methods’ procedures to a limited extent. A qualitative approach is the more fitting template for my work since I do not make an attempt to use statistical methods that would lead to quantitative research. Instead I transcribe interviews into short summaries and draw the essence from them by using the methods of critical ethnography alongside process tracing and, to a limited extent, coding of Grounded Theory. My research is by nature factor-centric: for instance the unforeseen and unprecedented Gezi Events that unfolded in

2013 or the personal and taxing turn of life, namely having children which was a non-postponable decision due to health reasons, could be given as input factors that affected the fate of my band and consequently the outcome of this research. The underground metal scene receding and my band grinding to a halt meant that I had different results to report than anticipated in 2013. It is not plausible to make a regression analysis and state that, had these events not unfolded, the band would be active and the debut album released. Finally, although I was able to reach a mid-sized informant pool of about 100 participants, this research would yet fall into the category of a small N research. The individualities and sentiments of each of these informants are represented to some extent and tools such as statistical data analysis software or quantizing answers by means of Likert Scale, for instance are not employed in the sense of an unrelenting, systematical tool.

A major portion of this work would fall into a rather recently crystallized category in arts and social sciences: practice-led research. “Put simply, in practice-based research, the creative act is an experiment (whether or not the work itself is deemed ‘experimental’) designed to answer a directed research question about art and the practice of it, which could not otherwise be explored by other methods” (Skains 2018, p.86). Most of the publications that define this approach and its methods are from the last two decades and its popularity seems to be soaring. Currently, the academic world has many conferences and even a peer-reviewed, open access journal devoting itself to publishing either practice-led or practice-based research articles (Journal of Research Practice). “Practice as research involves a research project in which practice is a key method of inquiry and where, in respect of the arts, a practice (creative writing, dance, musical score/performance, theatre/performance, visual exhibition, film or other cultural practice) is submitted as substantial evidence of a research inquiry” (Nelson 2013). This approach, although at first glance it does not seem a rigorous method, requires a great extent of care in defining its outcome. In McKenzie’s formulation, ‘performance’ will be to the twentieth and twenty-first century what discipline was to the eighteenth and nineteenth, that is an onto-historical formation of power and knowledge (2010, p.21).

The concept of ‘performance’ is a relatively new conceptual map -and mode of knowing- to generating academic knowledge. Unlike musicology, which has a thorough grounding in social sciences and is concerned with written, textual data for

the most part, “numerous instabilities in the diversity and ephemerality of performing arts practices pose particular challenges to ideas of fixed, measurable and recordable ‘knowledge’” (Nelson 2013). As stated earlier, this study is rare in the sense of including a practicing musician’s experience simultaneous with the lens of a musicologist. According to Linda Candy, who is the author of a publication defining the paradigm of this new discipline, “Creative output can be produced, or practice undertaken, as an integral part of the research process. However, the outcomes of practice must be accompanied by documentation of the research process, as well as some form of textual analysis or explanation to support its position and to demonstrate critical reflection” (2006). This documentation in this project is in the form of field notes, recordings, photography, interviews in sound recording and/or online correspondence form and collected web sites/newspaper articles and other multimedia such as concert footage, music videos and creative output of the band. The reverse feedback, provided in the sense of a retrograde analysis by band members revisiting the events and decisions turning out as factors leading to and from these events have also been instrumental. This subordinate method is coined “feedback interviewing” by Ruth Stone in the 1980’s, and have been useful in the context of this work.

Since I also collect data for this project using traditional ethnographic methods of interviewing both amateur and seasoned, professional, even some world renowned metal musicians, I needed a theoretical approach that could accommodate these. David Macey, in the preface of *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory* (2000) expresses that “...there is no consensus as to just what constitutes theory. Louis Althusser repeatedly insisted that there could be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory” (p.i). His explanation of the overabundance of theories is the expansion of the field of knowledge through trans- and interdisciplinarity. I preferred to assume a critical, postmodern approach for my interpretations but I did not desire to foreground any kind of politically or economically oriented scheme of thought (such as Marxism) or one that emphasizes gender. Some more straightforward frameworks such as globalization were “already taken” (Çerezcioğlu 2013) and would not be suitable to cover all components of my outline. The more I read, the more I gained the impression that modern thought cannot be isolated from what we now term as classical thought, so surely enough I will have to use Marxist terms and concepts along with Lyotard when necessary.

In every research, there has been a time when the researcher fails to answer the questions due to their complexity within the boundaries of a given discipline. That might be the reason that the researcher reaches out to the other sources to come up with an explanation that may cover and fill the gap which has been inadequately swathed within one discipline. Out of this stretching is born interdisciplinarity. According to Chettiparamb (2007), interdisciplinarity is “filling the gaps that disciplinarity leaves vacant or in terms of transcendence surpassing what disciplinarity can ever hope to achieve” (p.13). One other and very convincing explanation for interdisciplinarity has been provided by Leitch in an interview with Ruiz published in the e-journal *Interculture*:

In recent decades, not surprisingly, the autonomy of many academic disciplines has given way, to a greater or lesser extent. It seems an era of interdisciplinarity. “Theory” is born out of this moment. It is an unstable fusion of literary studies, linguistics, psychoanalysis, anthropology, Marxism, philosophy, gender studies, poststructuralism, new historicisms, postcolonial and ethnic studies, an open-ended postmodern assemblage that displaces the modernist formalism dominant from the 1930s to the 1960s in the US. (2005, p.592)

Thus, it is possible to conclude that “interdisciplinary” as an adjective connotes a study which can embrace various modes of research and fields. Hence, my aim to assume interdisciplinarity to assist me widen the scope of my research and arrive at this idea of theory which is an amalgam of all the above mentioned components. With the help of interdisciplinary approach, I believe I am able to construct a more comprehensive standpoint which could embrace various fields and ideologies. The initial concern for this research was implementing and presenting it in a structured manner. What I was trying to come up with was not in traditional arrangement, and I needed a pliable and encompassing frame to fit all. Through practice-led research aspect, my project included me, and as stated above, it was next to impossible for me to take up an objective role during its formation. Critical theory seemed to be the answer to all these riddles and conflicts. Critical theory suggested a mode of research where I was just there to prove or disprove an argument; I was part of the argument.

Critical Theory entails two types of method whose traces can be found throughout this study: Critical Ethnography and Grounded Theory. Before delving to what these theories propose, it is better to discuss the emergence and meaning of critical theory.

Critical Theory, as its name suggests, derives its stem from criticism. It criticizes the existing structures, aims to free people from old frames of mind and oppressive circumstances. It was first put forth by Max Horkheimer. His work in 1937, *Traditional and Critical Theory* is a strain of Marxist theory that emerged from dissident Marxists who were unable to accept the inherent authoritarianism of current Stalinist Marxist thought. According to Raymond Guess (1981), they were interested in lesser known strands of Marxism that carried a libertarian leaning, for example, Emma Goldman and Anarcho-Communism, and Karl Kosch who were responsible for Western Marxism. These scholars gathered at Frankfurt University and they came to be known as the “Frankfurt School.” These scholars began challenging the regimes of power in the world at that time, especially the liberal and democratic ideologies inherent in capitalism, and claimed that ideology is the major obstacle to human liberation (1981, p.56).

Embracing liberation and independence of humanity, critical theory set forth a couple of key concepts that distinguish it from other modes of epistemology. One of them is that it is comprehensive in its research. It requires a mode of research which targets at the totality of a society during a specific piece of time. The other remarkable feature of this mode of thinking is that it stimulates the usage of all of the sciences on the way to understand its subject. The last thing that makes critical theory exceptional is its focus on subjectivity. That is why Horkheimer did not favor the use of traditional methodology in the study of a group of people at a specific period of time. However, with the turning of objective gaze into subjective, the nooks and crannies of a given society would yield itself open to the study of the researcher.

The other concept that needs to be probed is ethnography. In ethnography, theory is theory but it is also a method for the researcher; for example, in ethnography theory is used as an interpretive or analytical method. The theory is relied upon to spotlight an individual or group and inspire the researcher in design, but the method is what directs the completion of the research (Madison, 2012). Critical theory has critical ethnography at its core. It is the ethnography that lends action to the theory. In his work *Doing Critical Ethnography* (1993), Jim Thomas makes this action a focal point of his study:

The roots of critical thought spread from a long tradition of intellectual rebellion in which rigorous examination of ideas and discourse constituted

political challenge. Social critique by definition is radical. It implies an evaluative judgment of meaning and method in research, policy, and human activity. Critical thinking implies freedom by recognizing that social existence, including our knowledge of it, not simply composed of givens imposed on us by powerful and mysterious forces. This recognition leads to the possibility of transcending existing forces. The act of critique implies that by thinking about and acting upon the world, we are able to change both our subjective interpretations and objective conditions. (p.18)

What Thomas describes is how a researcher can use critical theory and ethnography in research and how the combination of these two concepts paves the way for a more detailed study which can also entail social change. Just what I was looking for, especially regarding how to address changes in my field, was this flexibility.

Essentially, the reason why I chose critical ethnography as a mode of research is that I need to make use of a more subjective approach which goes well with my study since metal music is based on non-conformist thought. The critical ethnography provides a type of attitude which enables the researcher to go deeper into a study and expose the problems which are not visible from the surface but which succumb under a scrutinizing eye. Thus, it is able to include and consolidate all the three aspects that constitute the main body of arguments: the pedagogy, the historiography and the participant observation.

One final explanation is needed to define a rather new research method which is an extension of ethnography. Netnography is an expression for internet-based ethnographic research which is occupying increasing space in humanities and social sciences. Its definition by Kozinets is “a specialized form of ethnography adapted to the unique computer-mediated contingencies of today’s social worlds” (2013, p.1). According to Kozinets, using a social media platform to reach a broader audience is recently becoming a very popular research method and according to the amount of processed data, lends itself for both quantitative and qualitative research (Kozinets 2013, p.49). Netnography is, usefully efficient about “arranging personal introductions, travelling to and from sites, transcribing interview and handwritten fieldnote data” (Kozinets 2013, p.56). Within the study period, I have extensively used Facebook to reach many local and international professional musicians and even more amateur and/or semi-amateur metal musicians.

My utilization procedures of the Case Study and Grounded Theory approaches are to be found in detail at Chapter 4.3. All of the abovementioned guidelines to social science have been, in one way or the other, valid to bring this project to its end. The conclusions I arrive are either universal statements such as “schooled and unschooled musicians do not have a verbal or semantic or semiotic language in common” or local: “the metal scene around Bakırköy, which has been mentioned in earlier works as an important component of the Istanbul underground, has disappeared”. However, just as it is the nature of social sciences, such findings ought not to be stated as empirical facts that are universally true. There certainly will be “deviant cases”, using the Case Study term to describe cases that unfold against the mainstream population of cases: it is possible to encounter an autodidact musician who is more at home in the company of schooled musicians. There would always be loopholes or opposing opinions or divergent perspectives, it is after all the presence of these conjectures that render social sciences worthwhile.

1.4 Musicological Foundations: The Scholarship of Metal

The purpose of humanities scholarship is to organize our huge inheritance of culture: we are but ephemeral beings bound to time and space and our limits prevent us from fully mastering knowledge that was handed down to us. The scholar constantly sifts, reassesses, juxtaposes, re-organizes; make accessible the obsolete knowledge by translating it into his/her own time’s language. There are two main outcomes of this endeavor: to interpret the actions of today under the light of the past and to preserve today for posterity, with all its values and paradigms. All types of musicology mean to create a discourse to identify, systematize, and understand musical experience. “Musicology cannot enter the domain of unmediated experience” (Clayton 2003), therefore we are not entitled to count it among hard sciences, unlike music itself, which is nowadays, with the help of cognitive research, assuming a rather scientific, quantitative guise. Musicology in its many guises, the leading two being historical musicology and ethnomusicology, have always been academic disciplines from their respective beginnings in late 19th century and 1960’s. Either have no other major purpose than producing and managing a body of knowledge.

Music can either be approached in a socio-cultural way or as a aural phenomenon, using the regular theoretical tools such as structural analysis. Alan Merriam’s definition for music is, in a very broad sense “humanly organized sound”, whereas he

defines ethnomusicology as ‘the study of music in culture’, accordingly, producing music is part of the human behavioral process and is “shaped by the values, attitudes and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture” (1964). Ethnomusicology is a highly reflexive and self-critical, even self-conscious discipline that distances itself from a focus on musical subject matters, and instead valorizes the epistemological status of the ethnographer’s own musicultural experiences. In studying a musical system/tradition that is in some sense the ethnomusicologists’s own culture, ethnomusicologists have increasingly focused on the “applied work” that they do as teachers in the academy, which reflects the growing international interest in the critical and social role played by ethnomusicology in academy.

Some of these “applied” methods of ethnomusicology in particular are very much fitting the research design I had in mind. For instance, Ki Mantle Hood defined the concept of “bi-musicality” in his seminal 1960 paper, launching this practice to become a firmly entrenched part of the ethnomusicological paradigm, namely a fieldwork method (p.55-59). When I was finally able to consider my myriad experiences in the context of a metal band, as a “study of music, anyhow, anywhere”, I started to learn from it, and as stated earlier, this acculturation process was consolidated by associating it with the ethnomusicological paradigm. Some aspects and emphasis points of my argument are better in keeping with the methods of ethnomusicology, some discourses however unmistakably bear the stamp of my historical musicology background. Especially, the inevitable comparison with Eurogenetic art music that appears in more than one section is a hallmark of a musicologist, considering that musicology even had a “comparative” or “systematic” branch till the 1990s.

Scholars who have vision such as Palisca already prophesized in the 1980s that the newer, more flexible methods of ethnomusicology will eventually be applied to historical musicology. In the last decade, historical musicology had to revive itself by the movement now termed as “New Musicology” and embrace ethnomusicology’s approaches and methods, to handle, in Bruno Nettl’s assessment, the simultaneous and contradictory enrichment and impoverishment of the world’s myriad musics, among which is my object of study: metal music. Fieldwork, which has been an indispensable method for ethnomusicology from its advent is only recently being applied to historical musicology, thus enabling new and exciting research paths.

This study is best described as having its roots in new musicology rather than ethnomusicology. During 1980s and 1990s, New Musicological practices have emerged and they have been pioneered by some eminent scholars such as Susan McClary, Lawrence Kramer, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, and Nicholas Cook. While the new practices of musicology were being defined, these scholars among others paved the way to their understanding. New Musicology has showed differences from the previous understandings as it proposes not a homogenous existence but a blend of many studies ranging from gender studies to post-colonial studies.

Being derived from various branches of epistemology, it is not easy to pinpoint the clear definition of New Musicology. However, there are two tendencies that may help the clarification. One of them can be observed through the fact that New Musicology has brought into attention some concepts which have never or seldom discussed including gender and the recognition of popular music. The other propensity of New Musicology can be traced in its emphasis on culture. One of its earliest advocates, Lawrence Kramer, indicates that New Musicology is probably best referred to as “cultural musicology” but “treats culture itself more as a fragmentary, quasi-improvisatory process than as a relatively fixed body of values and traditions; more as a proliferation of forking and often crossing paths (between the ‘high’ and ‘low’ in art and society” (2003, p.6). Thus, it is possible to infer that new musicology embodies an interpretive role and finds cultural meanings in musical works. Apart from Kramer, other musical scholars have also identified social elements and relevant discourses in musicology. Actually, it is a simplifying conjecture that I employ, capturing all these distinct traits and sum them up with just musicology for this study.

Metal music has formed its own scholarship in the past two decades and proves to be a very fertile field for social scientists from many disciplines. This is an entire new research focus, with most of its publications dating from after 2000, and it seems to be thriving, judging from the number of new books and articles and conference calls in the recent years. As acceptance of the field of metal studies grows and scholars from various and diverse scholarly fields approach the study of metal from their respective disciplines, the body of work relating to metal has increased and according to a study looking at metal studies in the period of 1978-2010, more than half (56.7%) of publications on metal have been within the past decade (Brown 2011, p.214). Metal musicology has recently been declared as an “official” branch of social sciences. The

International Society for Metal Music Studies (ISMMS) has been founded in 2013 both in the US and Europe and is holding annual conferences and events to steer the scholarship. The ISMMS also launched an international journal for Metal Music Studies in early 2015. Journal of Metal Music studies, published by Intellect books, currently has three volumes and seven issues. There is the Metpol mailing list and social media pages on Facebook with vivid discussions where scholars exchange ideas, sometimes even coalescing into events such as workshops and study groups. There are also isolated scholars and PhD candidates across many disciplines of the social sciences that work on this interesting popular music streaming.

Historical musicology does reconstructional work, where ethnomusicology preserves. For metal music, celebrating its fourth decade, both of these aims have merit. Metal music and subculture in the pre-internet era is transmitted to us, besides sound and video recordings, by press items, iconography and items which are already gaining artifact status: some already on display in Hard Rock Cafes around the world. For the present day, the task of the “metal scholars” is to faithfully keep following the global metal scene, its protagonists, events, recent trends, mainstream presence and document all in an organized, scholarly manner. Some non-scholarly internet archives, such as Heavy Metal Encyclopedia, also known as Metalarchives (Url1) also is gaining source status through the work of metal scholars. The fans, on the other hand, are content with webzines, social media pages and influential websites such as Loudwire (Url2).

1.5 Literature Review

Metal’s extraordinary visual and aural presence has expectedly made it a scapegoat for many unwanted behaviors in society in the past. Considering especially perceived violence tendency, social misbehavior, anti-capitalist, anti-religion and anti-order stance, mystery/witchcraft/magic/gothic/vampiric associations, corpse paint, skeletal artwork, provocative band names just to name a few, metal aroused significant xenophobia and outright hostility. Those members of the society who have made contact with the genre through stereotyping by mainstream media would easily be led to think that the music itself is evil and harmful. Even in academia, where people should be unbiased and not prejudice-leaden, the initial two decades of metal are accompanied by research papers on how metal music leads to depression, violence and suicide.

Following the trailblazing studies of scholars Robert Walser and Deana Weinstein during the early years of the popular music genre we now call by the umbrella term 'metal', this music, its subculture and its discourse remained only an occasional topic for research in the early 2000s. These two scholars' work is perceived to be a turning point since they were the first academic minds who saw metal under a becoming light and sought to define identity, gender and subculture issues besides music theory or analysis. Most studies in this period either concentrated on the sociological (Bryson 1996), psychological (Hansen and Hansen 1991), timbral (Berger and Fales 2005) and psychiatric (Baker and Bor 2008) aspects of metal music, or scrutinized the youth communities attached to metal music (Arnett 1996). There were very few studies focusing on the music itself, but those focusing on the negative behavioral aspects attributed to metal fans (King 1988, Arnett 1991, Scheel and Westfield 1999 and many more) persisted for some more time.

Today, after the founding of International Society for Metal Music Studies (2008), metal music, its fans, code and subculture became an interdisciplinary area of interest in the social sciences. The paradigm of metal music research shifted from the endeavor of presenting as research-worthy a bizarre musical vogue and an extreme community that is affiliated with psychological problems, drug use and deviant religious practices such as Satanism, to thickly describing and analyzing a robust genre of popular music that kept reviving itself for 40 years owing to its distinctive, dedicated fan base as well as the diverse, striking aural qualities themselves.

Only after 2000s was there broader research that did not do injustice to a singled out genre. Jane Collingwood has a study dealing with the relationship between personality and music (2016). She quotes a prominent study in that area which has been conducted by Professor Adrian North of Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK. (2005) North has undertaken the largest study so far of musical tastes and personality type. He is an expert on music psychology and has carried out extensive research on the social and applied psychology of music, in particular the relationship between pop music culture and deviant behavior in adolescence, music and consumer behavior, and the role of musical preference in everyday life. The results of the study are quite interesting. North comments that:

The general public has held a stereotype of heavy metal fans being suicidally depressed and being a danger to themselves and society in general," he said,

“but they are quite delicate things. Aside from their age, they’re basically the same kind of person [as a classical music fan]. Lots of heavy metal fans will tell you that they also like Wagner, because it’s big, loud and brash. There’s also a sense of theater in both heavy rock and classical music, and I suspect that this is what they’re really trying to get at when they listen. (2008, p.38)

Finally, scholars got rid of the inference that metal listeners ought to be violent and rude outcasts so they could finally be convinced that metalheads are actually “quite gentle creatures” (North 2008, p.39). The emergence of “academic-fans (established scholars who have “come out” as fans of popular culture) and fan-academics (ex-fans who have successfully parleyed their insider knowledge into an academic career), which explains the growth and scope of the approaches towards metal (Brown 2011, p.217).

When seminal publications on metal so far are considered in a chronological sense, these few appear at the forefront and also form the literature basis of this current study. Walser and Weinstein’s abovementioned studies still have referential merit almost 30 years after their publication, The work of Philip Tagg and Harris Berger, which is constantly referred to especially in the pedagogical content of this work, is based on "text analysis" and foreground a kinetic analysis of Heavy Metal and Extreme Metal subgenres. Phillip Tagg (1994) also delves into musicological analysis by, for example, attempting to make sense of the “triton” interval which is often used in Heavy Metal, and associates it with medieval music theory to read a “Satanist” interpretation to it. Harris Berger's 1999 work "Metal, Rock, and Jazz: Perception and the Phenomenology of Musical Experience" is another important work from my perspective, dealing with musicological and aural aspects. The work of researchers like Deena Weinstein, Simon Reynolds, Joy Press and Jeffrey Arnett is more sociologically based and dwell on the meanings of metal for musicians and listeners. Simon Reynolds and Joy Press (1995) refer to the themes of death and destruction in heavy metal lyrics. They conclude that the emphasis on these themes serve the purpose of "breaking the traditional music conventions". Arnett has multiple studies published in the 1990s on class, gender and age with the forthcoming theme of generations clash, a theme still popular among researchers. Arnett's 1996 work *Metalheads; Heavy Metal Music and Adolescent Alienation* is still a central reference for metal sociology, even while it treats the music under an unflattering light unlike Weinstein's 2000 work

Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture. Similar to Weinstein, her contemporary Bettina Roccor deals with the historical development of heavy metal and the period of branching into subgenres in her 2000 work "Heavy Metal: Forces Of Unification And Fragmentation Within A Musical Subculture". During mid-2000s, with the definitions of subgenres, works that scrutinize stylistic properties come to the forefront. Garry Sharp and Rob Halford's 2007 work *Metal: A Definite Guide* is an important work in this sense, including critical analysis, biographies and interviews on groups across the entire metal spectrum, from trash to extreme. In addition, some of the names of particular extreme metal subspecies that they are working on are particularly striking within this category. Among this new breed of publications that specialize in subgenres of metal, the first published extreme metal monograph is Keith Kahn-Harris' *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge* (2007). In *Extreme Metal*, Kahn-Harris explains the location of the subgenres within their specific 'scenes' and what belonging to these groups entails such as the accumulation of 'subcultural capital'. He also introduces the concept of 'reflexive anti-reflexivity' which is how he explains the extreme but contradictory sentiments expressed by numerous extreme metal musicians that are undoubtedly racist and hateful in content but not actually meant as such. Finally, there are many studies that dwell on the globality and locality of metal, such as Jeremy Wallach's *Metal Rules the Globe*. Among such studies, the most influential for this work is Levine's 2008 study on metal and Islam and Pierre Hecker's work *Turkish Metal. Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society* (2012).

In *Turkish Metal. Music, Meaning, and Morality in a Muslim Society* (2012), Hecker studies the whole process of growing metal music scene in Turkey. He begins his work with a brief historical background of Turkish rock music to show the globality and relevance of Turkish rock music scene which will later on pave the way for metal music. He also points out the progression of how the local, traditional and global music combined in the birth of rock and metal music. He raises awareness on the history of Turkish metal scene by reminding the fact that Turkish metal has been an incarnation of the "Anatolian Rock" how the metal scene has evolved since then.

In terms of oral history and tradition, the internet brought about a never-precedented richness: there are countless online societies, compendiums and encyclopedias of bands/subgenres/ performance histories/ critiques/ reviews on metal by fans and journalists and bloggers. Last but not least, nowadays there are fan videos that aim to

capture the code of respective subgenres of metal in terms of the music, ideological content and behavioral patterns. For instance, attempts at suppressing metal in some countries due to the influence of religion do not seem successful and metal seems to, in Wallach's words, "rule the globe" (2011).

With all these studies, it is inevitable that metal music should also have its own study methodology and theory, constructed with an academic perspective. The archetypical story of establishing theory in the wake of practice holds true for metal, now that the genre survived through its fourth decade. There are currently many multi-, trans- and interdisciplinary publications that approach metal in scholarly sense (from music theory to psychology to economics and education), but the need to establish a fully comprehensive metal music study methodology or a theory that can accommodate all aspects of the metal music paradigm including but not limited to subculture, gender, power, religion, identity, performance practices, aesthetics, structure, harmonic traits etc. is yet to be arrived upon. In the light of having attended a number of major metal conferences and conferred with venerable scholars working on the discipline such as Deena Weinstein and Keith Kahn-Harris, my opinion is that this diversity is a treasured property of metal scholarship.

Of the focal point of this text: namely pedagogy of metal music, there is relatively few academic writing: Walser's 1993 volume opens up with a description of the learning practices of metal musicians and there are invaluable insights within Lucy Green's work, but there is not a manuscript or an edited volume on how young people learn metal in an exclusive sense.

This presented literature review chapter cites only certain very central previous researches and opinions of some remarkable scholars. This text is not built upon only one central literature review chapter. Instead, it assuming a structuralist stance and distributes the sources, according to thematic content, among all chapters. This type of specialized literature review that supply necessary definitions and explanations for the issues discussed locally supplies the dynamism of on-going research which embodies empirical data and also critical theory. The reason why I preferred to apply this kind of positioning in terms of literature review is that given within a very limited place and in the most unlikely and unsuitable time, the citations and explanations I have used could have proved useless to the reader. I discuss various points of view whenever

chance suggests it. Therefore, with explanations and descriptions provided in each and every chapter, it is easier to follow the unfamiliar concepts and ideas.

1.6 Themes, Key Concepts, Definitions

In this part of this work, ideas, concepts, entities and phenomena that have been element to frame the main argument and obtain results are given. The subsections are in the form of loose essays, and function as introductions to their subject matter. As an extension of the literature review, notable points and researchers who have output on these subjects are cited and relevant literature is further reviewed. This part is necessary in order to clarify the use of the handled terms and concepts, and provide integrity for the rest of this account.

1.6.1 Debating art music and popular music

There has been an ongoing discussion about the prominent differences between art music and popular music. Some people base their ideas on the vague assumptions that art music should be “high art” and popular music inevitably falls back in the ditch of “low art”. In his much quoted essay “Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music”, Simon Frith, at the very beginning of his essay conjectures and later on refutes that:

Underlying all the other distinctions critics draw between 'serious' and 'popular' music is an assumption about the source of musical value. Serious music matters because it transcends social forces; popular music is aesthetically worthless because it is determined by them (because it is 'useful' or 'utilitarian'). (1987, p.257)

This is where the origin of the tension lies between these two leading trends of music making. Therefore, the first step that can be taken towards the analysis of differences would be to notice the intersections and similarities they pose. To illustrate, there are many artists who hover amidst genres in their musical limbo such as Duke Ellington and George Gershwin. Both of them are extremely successful musicians and their music tends to be a conjunction of pop and classical music and the line in-between is difficult to draw. With the advent of digital music making, such distinctions are even more blurred: all it takes to compose quasi Eurocentric art music is a computer equipped with a Digital Audio Workstation and sample banks to emulate art music instruments, and pre-written midi sequences that nowadays are becoming more and more available for download. It is thus possible today for an individual who has a good

ear and MIDI knowledge, but no academic training or score reading literacy, to compose and fully orchestrate a full motion picture soundtrack, with just his personal computer.

Even though it is thus a challenging task to differentiate between the art music and pop music, they still maintain have some major disparities. To start with, art music has a propensity to be highly complex in its musical structures and quite intricate to play and produce. Surely, its complexity does not denote its being “higher”, but still points to its more advanced nature. Art music consists of longer pieces; symphonies can last for more than an hour while a song in pop music makes use of only a couple of minutes in its duration. However, art music also aims at, for the most part, catchiness, melodic charm and symbolic and stylized but comprehensive supra meanings. Sometimes, a mystique, in essence an urban myth becomes part of the reception history of certain art music work (consider Frederic Chopin’s Op. 10 no. 12 ‘Revolutionary’ Etude), with or without the creator’s consent, a property very much sought after by creators of popular musics. Chopin never expressed any desire to label any of this output with a programmatic title, but for instance Edward Elgar was openly advocating that his Enigma Variations are programmatic but the subject is not explicit. On the art music domain, one thinks of Queen’s 1975 “Bohemian Rhapsody” which creates its own myth with a non-explicit lyrical content and thematic features that evoke art music (the sonatalike structural procedures, operatic vocals etc.), yet remains in the popular music domain.

One other dissimilarity can be observed in the audiences of these two genres. Popular music has a wider range of addressees and generally associated with mass culture, consumerism, as a result; capitalism. The fact that a song of pop music lasts for a couple of minutes is not a coincidence. First thing to consider here is the broadcasting feasibility: how long an attention span does a song on the radio commandeer from its listeners? The brevity signifies the never-ending circle of new songs being produced, consumed and digested for a while and once again emergence of another one. While all this process goes on, art music confines itself to its circumscribed audience, with no market force behind to support it except for its ardent lovers and maybe some philanthropists. Thus, it is possible to observe some discrepancies between the two genres of music production. However, in my humble opinion, they do not signify their “highness” and “lowness”. Just the opposite, they point out a fact in the world where

everything has to undergo a change for a simpler version and music being a tool to define and shape ourselves, has received its share.

1.6.2 Global vs. glocal

With new emphasis on the culture within musicology, scholars have begun to treasure the distinction between global and local music scenes. Concerning metal studies, the scholarly approach a decade ago seems to have been towards establishing a stereotypical mainstream and showcase metal music, its practices and subculture as a global phenomenon. These days, with the achievement of abovementioned developments such as establishing an international, scholarly network of metal scholars across various disciplines, scholars are turning into specific scenes and comparative works between the global and the glocal. For example, Keith Kahn-Harris compared local and global scenes in Israel in an article called "I Hate This Fucking Country: Dealing with the Global and the Local in the Israeli Extreme Metal Scene"(2002). The clash between this metal scene's ideology and the dominant idea of what it means to be an Israeli is the subject matter of this essay. He has also studied extreme metal in Brazil focusing on the famous thrash metal band Sepultura. He wrote "Roots? The Relationship between the Global and the Local within the Global Extreme Metal Scene" (2000) and showed how Sepultura managed their Brazilian culture and a Western style of music in the global scene (Prindle 2014, p.50-51). Another scholar who has followed in the same rein is Mark Levine who, for his work, *Heavy Metal Islam* (2008) has done an extensive research covering the metal scenes in Middle East and North Africa.

What all these studies suggest is that the integration of local metal scene to the global one has not been an easy task. The same argument is valid for Turkish metal scene, as well. As Keith Kahn-Harris in *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge* (2007) has already pointed out, the global metal underground built upon a network with thousands of people participating in it. One particular mode of transmitting music through this network was "tape trading." Thus, the first step on the way of amalgamation of Turkish metal and global metal scene has been via global tape trading network. In his work titled "Heavy Metal in a Muslim Context: The Rise of the Turkish Metal Underground" (2010), preceding his monograph already mentioned above, Pierre Hecker claims that Turkish metalheads began to participate in the global tape trading network in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Güray, a protagonist on the Turkish

scene who has been the publisher of several underground fanzines in Istanbul (e.g. Yer Altı, I Feel Like Nick Cave, I Feel Like Shit, Mafia), got intensively involved in tape trading in the early 1990s. Hecker puts that “Tape trading brought Güray into contact with bands from all around the world. The recordings and contacts that he obtained provided him with sufficient resources to start a number of do-it-yourself projects like the above-named fanzines, a number of compilation tapes, and his own distro. All in all, the tape trading network guaranteed a cheap and easy way of spreading recordings to other parts of the world” (p. 7). These attempts as well as the events laid out in Chapter 2 cut a path for the globalization of Turkish metal music, which, hopefully, it still follows with a few representatives touring around Europe (to my knowledge, there is not yet a Turkish metal band which played in an overseas tour), although, surely, it must have been tried by a variety of bands across the years. I am hoping that bands such as Cenotaph or Black Tooth, who cater for the most part to an international audience, make it so far somewhere in their careers.

With the globalization of metal music and the use of Internet resources, a new path to learning emerged for musicians, who cannot or do not wish to seek out formal musical training. Prior to Internet, you were supposed to be trained in music by a tutor or at school to have a say in the matter of performance. However, with social platforms such as YouTube and Udemy, people at least start learning how to play an instrument by themselves. Dr. John L. Vitale from Nipissing University has a study relating to the exact definition of these two groups of musicians (2011). He calls these disparate groups either home-schooled vs. schooled musicians or autodidact vs. schooled musicians or formal vs. informal trained musicians. In the light of his work, the definition of schooled (*okullu*) and autodidact (*alaylı*) musicians should be made as follows:

A formally trained musician is an individual who has learned to read and perform music through formal training and education offered by an accredited institution or school of music. Such education and training is teacher directed, includes formal assessment and evaluation, and culminates with some sort of documented and recognized system of achievement and completion (i.e. credit granted, certificate, diploma, and degree). In some cases, it is possible to achieve musical literacy through self-teaching and peer-directed learning, such as the remote learning programs of

Berklee College of Music, but the context remains the same: there is a curriculum and the syllabi of the course content, determined by experts of this domain of musicmaking. The student must prove, in some manner, that he has acquired the learning outcomes of the offered material within an ontological order.

An informally trained musician is an individual who has learned to perform music through unstructured and non-institutionalized learning environments. These environments involve self-teaching through media applications (recorded music, books, and computer technology), peer-to-peer teaching, and other social learning opportunities such as jamming. Informally trained musicians follow no stringent rules and regulations, and have no formal evaluation or documented system of achievement and completion. They often have no means to prove that they have achieved a particular target; thus the main outlet for their skills remains practical music making. The theoretical foundations that is in need of being comprehended for certifiable mastery of their particular discipline might not be within their immediate understanding and/or use.

From my perspective, considering metal, these two routes are both viable. As a researcher I agree with Vitale, when he argues, at the end of his research, that “If musical experiences have changed, then logic tells us that the way we teach and learn music should also change. Informal music learning, as referenced in this study, can provide music educators with vast supply of pedagogical ideas and practices” (2011, p. 449). Vitale further points to other scholars like himself who share the same notions about the relationship between formal and informal music learning. For instance, considering vocalists, he quotes Wiggington who speculates that:

Somewhere outside the classical paradigm of perfect posture, pure vowels, and forward placement exists a vast universe of music-making singers. These artists pour their souls into each note, their voices shaking you, moving you to your very core. These singers have never heard of the zygomatic arch or the ligament vocalis; they have never even considered raising their soft palates. . . Many of them have never had a voice lesson in their lives-and see no reason to. (2010, p. 449)

Only recently, semi-academic institutions devoted to teaching extended vocal techniques used in rock and various metal subgenres and termed as “dirty”, “brutal”, “scream”, “pig squeal”, “whistle” etc., have been established. One such school, the Universal Voice Studio in Amsterdam, recognizes myriad of techniques to maintain a healthy and attractive voice and has formed disciplines categorized by the musical genre it is most often employed. Slowly, a widely accepted methodology and jargon is forming around such aspects of musicianship across the metal spectrum. However, for the most part, especially singers who lean towards such extended metal vocal techniques learn by trial and error, emulating artists that they like. The prescription I came across from community members in and outside Turkey is to follow the online lessons of vocal coaches such as Melissa Cross, in order to learn to do brutal vocals without injuring the vocal folds.

Such self-study often means that the terminology to refer to certain phenomena or indeed the points of expression in musical experience (such as changing key through a modulation, or vocal zones/tessitura) might never be learned and / or used with certainty by these artists. As the statement by Wiggington declares, any classically trained singer anywhere in the world would know exactly what is meant by “posture” or “intonation”; but a singer such as James Hetfield who never had any vocal lessons uses totally different words to explain the same aspects. This feature of metal musicianship leads to the communication difficulty and inefficiency framed in the thesis statement of this work.

Seeking examples to circumvent the communication and efficiency problems, I began to observe professional metal musicians. Exploring the bands whose music we strove to perform, I quickly observed that many of the representative bands whose numbers we were studying had musicians who studied music to a degree (classical guitarists, classical pianists, composers) and musicians who never had secondary or tertiary music education. After I got acquainted with individuals beyond my own band members, most of the informants I interviewed admitted to not being able to read musical notation or know music theory on which “riffs” and “chord progressions” are based. As the project took shape, I initially decided to label the two paths that eventually lead to rock/metal musicianship as “schooled” and “autodidact”. However,

as explained earlier, in order to leave aside all hierarchical concerns, the Turkish expressions “Okullu” and “Alaylı” are preferred.

In the context of this study, an ”Okullu” musician is an individual, who had, at one period of his/her life, some training according to the formal Western tradition. Even when learning from a teacher who is a representative of the conservatory-based tradition, the apprentice musician subsumes terms and contexts of the international musical jargon. Thus, if the musician prefers to function between the established domain of musicianship with some of its parameters defined and in place such as its ‘written’ character for centuries, she/he would belong to this camp. The term “alaylı” in contrast would denote individuals who never had schooling in the traditional sense, either by chance or by choice. They might have devoted the time and effort necessary to master their instrument to some degree, but not have followed an organized way of learning. They have picked up their skills mostly by self evaluation through peer review, social media content and hands-on experience. Most, thus, are not much able to communicate and/or teach their musical oeuvre, since their innate understanding of music’s mechanisms might not be verbal.

There is naturally a large gray zone between these poles, and it is hard to encounter professional performers (musicians who can make a living out of music making) who belong purely to one end or the other. I have encountered musicians who pride in belonging to one camp or the other, who are inclined to obscure that they either had or did not have any formal schooling. On the contrary, I have also encountered musicians who are proud to have completed a musical program at an institution, although it is not fully relevant for their metal music career. Thus, even with a significant sample pool of more than forty professional musicians and the Grounded Theory Approach which, through a rigorous procedure, provides a stronger claim for generalization, it does not seem justifiable to speak beyond generalizations which might be inaccurate for specific cases.

1.6.3 On virtuosity

Initially, this study was to be centered upon the evolution of the subgenre of metal music that Listana performs: progressive metal which has a strong emphasis on virtuosity, instead of musical communication and metal pedagogy. The starting point

I saw for this project was being an extension of my master's thesis that was centered on the pianist-composers of the early 19th century. Although in Eurogenetic art music domain, the cult of the virtuoso has apparently lost its 19th Century appeal, today's Eurogenetic art music virtuosos are still objects of admiration, inspiration and curiosity. Figures such as the Chinese pianist Lang Lang intentionally play on the spectacle element of instrumental practice, whose trail was blazed by Franz Liszt almost two centuries ago. What I discovered by interacting with my new peers in music was that both performers and listeners adhere to metal music with a fervor seldom seen in classical musicians. A metalhead, especially if he is an amateur band musician, would be as full of awe and admiration towards his favourite professional guitarist, just as a pianist would be towards Chopin. In one of the earliest but still quite influential monographs on metal, Robert Walser remarks that:

“From the very beginning of heavy metal there has been another important influence: that assemblage of disparate musical styles known in the twentieth century as 'classical music'. Throughout heavy metal's twenty-year history, its most influential musicians have been guitar players who have also studied classical music. Their appropriation and adaptation of classical models sparked the development of a new kind of guitar virtuosity, changes in the harmonic and melodic language of heavy metal, and new modes of musical pedagogy and analysis (1992).

It seems rather straightforward to combine these two musical interests together in this study, since their tenets are in fact quite similar. In very few popular music genres today there is such emphasis on virtuosity as metal: there are postmodern offshoots of the genre such as technical death metal and djent which focus on virtuosity as a key element. Skill and speed are sometimes considered equally important or more important as the musical discourse, texture or emotional context. Band music usually does not depend on the skill and charisma of a single performer, but most virtuoso metal musicians have their solo work besides their group projects. Virtuosos of metal are considered “superheroes”, both in their image and unmatched musical feats, by their followers. In contrast to classical music nowadays, in metal, physical beauty does not seem to be a big factor, but “identity”, as reflected by clothing, accessories, styling and body language is of paramount importance. A person with the right looks but insufficient skills would have a hard time being accepted as a world-class metal artist.

Walser remarks that the unkempt, intentionally rough image and demeanor belies the precision and discipline required to become a virtuoso (1992). Reviewing earlier studies, Ericsson declares that [the] “expert performance in young adults was found to be closely related to the amount of deliberate practice accumulated during the individual’s entire career” (2014, p.viii). With the devotion metal performance inspires, it is commonplace to witness striking feats of technical excellence by young, especially Asian YouTubers. Some of these people gain recognition, some only command an audience of a few thousand followers.

Although the emphasis of “virtuosity” is still manifested in its title, the use of this word in this text considerably surpasses the regular connotations. For the purposes of this study, I aim to maintain a broader approach to the concept of virtuosity by not limiting the concept with the “fast and furious” mastery on the instrument. Rather, I wish to use virtuosity in the wider context as a synonym/metaphor to “expertise” in music making: shorthand for possessing high-level instrumental/vocal skill, literacy of studio techniques and jargon and compositional imagination. Eventually, these attributes can lead to accumulating stage experience and peer recognition to define an individual whom would be labeled a “professional” musician in the economic sense. It is yet another heated debate to define the boundaries of being professional in the contemporary metal scene, since even internationally acclaimed artists are forced to maintain day jobs besides their performance career. Some observations on the financial status of Turkish and global metal realm will be presented elsewhere in this study. In short, within this text, “virtuosity” sometimes is used interchangeably with “expertise” or “professionalism”.

1.6.4 The *Band* entity: Intra-musical communication and creative processes

Metal bands have been objects for the most part of the literature that was reviewed for this work, not subjects. This study is rare in the sense that it treats the band as a social unit, an entity that has a persona to exist and evolve through a narrative. Adam Behr, one of those rare scholars who have studied the rock band in academic context also finds that “thorough analysis of the phenomenon of the ‘band’” is “largely absent” from the available literature (2010, p.i). In no musical genre there is as much diversity in the notion of a band as metal: for some subgenres such as djent it is commonplace

to have but one ambitious multiinstrumentalist as “the Band”. Most thrash metal bands are either 4-or 5 person, but for progressive and/or power and/or symphonic metal, the minimum number is 5, since there is the compulsory keyboardist. Some folk metal bands can have about 20 members, there are also hybrid bands such as Slipknot whose music is eclectic and has electronic elements, thus having a lineup of 8 performers. With such variety even in the performance force numbers, a metal band is a far fetch from, for instance, a string quartet.

There is extremely limited research that boasts a gaze into the inner workings and machinations of a metal band. This is understandable, as stated elsewhere, it is hard to maintain a scholarly endeavor and metal band musicianship together. Surely there are scholars beyond metal fans and metal ex-fans, but, since practice-led research as a concept is rather new, there is not a significant scholarly body of knowledge about how a metal band communicates and/or creates within itself. Thus, issues such as communication and creativity are seldom resolved or else transcribed by an observer who has to be a secondary conduit, rather than the person who is a part of the process and experiences these issues from first hand.

Among the literature reviewed for this study, with the exception of Behr’s 2010 dissertation, none are exclusively centered upon the band. The pioneering work of Robert Walser (1992) indeed introduces the metal musician but the focus is on the virtuosity, skill and discipline of individual performers and the emergence of metal as a genre. Weinstein in her initial work makes a sociological emphasis on the band, later on she indeed moves towards the direction of considering internal structural relations and social dynamics of metal bands. Other scholars whose output on bands among my sources are Newsom (1998), Boespflug (1999), Jaffurs (2004), Biasutti (2012) and, from a slightly different perspective, Bauer (2011). I believe this study would be an extension to Behr’s by being centered on a progressive metal band and complementary to the abovementioned studies by the first hand experience and practice-led research feature.

Any musical ensemble needs a mode of verbal and non-verbal communication to function. In the most basic sense, timekeeping and attuning musical and bodily gestures to each other requires a keen ear and also visual and motor skill. There is

significant research on the creative and/or communications procedures of classical ensembles such as string quartets or jazz ensembles (see, among others, Sedden and Biasutti 2009). The phenomenon of expressing and improving musical phenomena within larger ensembles such as a Western symphony orchestra is studied since the 19th Century and the necessary jargon and experience are “built in” young performers during their education.

Considering the case of a metal band, where the decibel value of the music produced retards verbal communication and working with distorted wave forms brings about an inescapable sonic clutter, “intramusical” skills are indispensable. The term “intramusical” is frequently used in cognitive and psychological studies of music; but I have adopted the term from Lucy Green’s essay “Music Education, Cultural Capital and Social Group Identity” (in Clayton et al, eds, 2003, p.266), referring to a phenomenon such as a context, a form or a process belonging solely in the domain of music. Thus, intramusical communication in the context that is hereby used would refer to expectations, gestures, non-verbal communication, adaptations and behavioral patterns necessary for band musicianship. Initially, no musician comes equipped with these skills, with a certain amount of performance period and experience, the members of a given ensemble “ease” into the “habitus”, using Bourdieu’s term.

Any subgenre of metal music, during both production and performance phases, need to be rhythmically tight and phrasing-wise precise. Often, guitar and bass players need to perform unison phrases, or the drum and bass must “walk together”. However, there is little study material for emerging bands to emulate besides the videos of professional bands, and those are seldom unedited videos that in reality reflect the creative atmosphere within the studio. Even in the case of a single-person project, playing along with a (self) recorded track, in the presence of the omnipresent metronome beat, can be a trial. It is commonplace to see metal musicians attributing a different meaning to the metronome than the classically-trained musicians: especially metal drummers develop a very keen ear for speed and accuracy that is seldom paralleled by performers of other genres. A good metal guitarist, for instance, would seek to have a certain elasticity in his/her phrasing and expressive ornamentation, but it is an utter obligation for any genre of metal to have immaculate articulation and total rhythmic fidelity.

The idea of “jamming” is, for abovementioned reasons, is seldom possible in metal music. For some guitar-based music such as blues or reggae, since scalar material, chord progressions and the repertoire of musical gestures is limited in order to stay true to the style, performers often can improvise upon pre-agreed lines. Within the diversity of metal subgenres, if there is but one given besides having a distortion electric guitar based sound world, it is being a “written” musical idiom. It is commonplace for metal artists to compose and write out, even improvisatory-seeming “sweep” or “shred” solos and perform them, note by note, identically in all circumstances. Some bands such as the progressive metal band Dream Theater carry this trend to the extreme. It is a risky deed for a metal artist to move outside this performing practice and few bands venture into any kind of unpreplanned improvisation during performances. Within the confines of the rehearsal studio, on the contrary, most metal musicians I have performed with find it stimulating to try to attune into each other’s musical sphere and at least try out unprepared performances of well-known metal numbers in and out of their chosen subgenre.

Composition, as a further step than improvisation in creating new material for a band, is a intricate and arguably difficult procedure for many bands. In the absence of musical literacy, music theory and composition methodology, many bands learn music making by emulating other bands. Although there are musicological works pertaining the frequent use of certain intervals such as the tritone (Tagg 1998) or certain modes such as the Lochrien mode (Walser 1993), the average metal musician is seldom aware of such features in the music, or indeed can diagnose and relate them using the widely-accepted Western music theory jargon. The main aim for many creators of metal music is to sound “dark”, “intense” and “evil”, but seldom can a musician express exactly what they have done in musical terms to create music evoking these adjectives. Some hallmark musical elements, with a significant number of bands featuring them intentionally and/or unintentionally, get to be associated with certain subgenres: a few examples are third degree modulations between minor modes for symphonic metal varieties, antiphonal solos between lead guitar and keyboard for power and/or progressive metal and a preference for Aeolian, Phrygian, and Dorian modes for thrash metal (please see appendix for a discussion of musical elements specific to certain metal subgenres).

1.7 Chapters Overview

Following Chapter 1, the contents of this monograph are organized into three central chapters. The first of these, Chapter 2, contains a historiological account of the development of metal music into a global genre. Since the evolution of metal and its particular offshoots are already academically well documented (see Wallach, Harris and Greene 2011), the substance of Chapter 2 is a loose mesh that refrains from exploring any particular part of metal music paradigm in great depth. Instead, besides historical account, this study features exclusive interviews with a few Turkish metal scene protagonists, who have witnessed the establishment of the global and glocal metal scenes. The purpose of these loose interviews is to find out whatever fashions, ideas, features, establishments and developments influence them the most, from a Turkish intellectual metalhead's perspective. The slang of metal, exemplified and interpreted in subchapter 2.1.5 and to some extent 5.1 seems unique to this genre within the context of music making. Probably no other genre's fans would have meant praise when a performer is particularly successful and they would say that that performer "destroyed/burned/demolished/f.cked the venue". Similarly, performers would call fans, for instance, "mother.ckers" from the stage and would use scorning/derogatory (body) language as an element of their shows. However, instead of being offended from this obscene curse word, the fans seem to feel included, understood and entertained. The next two sections present some fieldwork along with already published (Turkish) material to provide background information about both Turkish metal music and the evolution of the Turkish underground metal scene. Subchapter 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 mainly delve into some recent developments that led to the diminution of the field: Turkish metal subculture, at least for a period, was endangered by recent economical, political and social changes that took place in the country. Lastly, the chapter also presents a review of scholarly and colloquial writings on Turkish metal.

The bulk of the essential practice-led research experience is presented in detail within Chapter 3. The account focuses on different aspects of popular music making and relates the knowledge and insights gained during the years of practice and fieldwork. A stance of a first-hand narrative is featured here, which is carefully constructed to adhere by the academic expectations. Nimkulrat observes that "practice-based

research and practice-led research” are two ways of referring to the same approach and could be used interchangeably. My interpretation of this is that the boundary is blurred between “research” as signifier of the creative endeavor and “research” as signified in the sense of product. As the implementor of the process, I find Candy’s description, which stresses that practice-based research is only valid in the presence of the artifacts created in the process, more apt (2006). In my opinion, this choice is better reflected in constructing the account as a narrative with a first-person vantage point. While the different phases of the narrative unfolded, my intention gradually seems to have changed focus and the procedure rather than the product became more emphasized. Initially, my activities could be considered “directed towards the individual’s particular goals of the time rather than seeking to add to our shared store of knowledge in a more general sense” (2006), whereas, after a point, the goal became the composition of Chapter 3 of this monograph, which hopefully adheres to the 2nd half of Candy’s statement. Without this development, this account presumably would not have progressed towards the pedagogically oriented Chapter 5 either, where, using both the experience and network gained through the band experience and the interviewing and surveying, sufficient expertise to construct some generalized statements about "Alaylı" metal performers was present.

According to observation and the many sources used within this text to anchor the commentary on songwriting and recording phases of music production, creativity in popular music is mainly associated with the time spent in the studio, since popular music artists seldom would use pen and paper to write their music using some kind of notation. The expectations of permanence and identity is fulfilled only when a band puts together their own music (for a review of frequently used media for this purpose, see subchapter 5.6) and records it in a presentable way. Nevertheless, due to many reasons, studio time could be a trial for many garage bands, as well. My band, obviously not a teenage garage band but not formed by professionals of music business had its share of hardships and demotivating experiences during composing and recording sessions. The pivotal individual events, bolstered by academic accounts, are presented in subchapters 3.2 through 3.4. Subchapters 3.5 and 3.6 are dealing with social and economic issues of belonging with a metal band, partially still a novel and rather eloquent experience for me as the author.

I believe the current scholarly focus on extreme metal (a rough estimate would be that two-thirds of new publications on metal are on extreme metal subgenres and communities) is a reflection of the current state of flux and turbulence of the (Western) world. Leaving aside the subgenre-related parameters, theoretical or musicological analyses of the band's numbers or an evaluation of the progressive metal audience is a conscious choice, made to favor the communication procedures, creative, processes, learning and pedagogy-related aspects and questions of power and supremacy within a band. According to Nimkulrat, research method in practice-led research can be "adapted from other research paradigms"(2007). In order to find an applicable method to handle my data and do textual analysis

The easiest to write and most straightforward part of this work is the ethnographic fieldwork presented in Chapter 4. Subchapters 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 display interviews, transcribed as paragraphs. Some of the biographical data presented to introduce each artist are taken either from their official webpages or social media accounts. As explained in the introduction of Chapter 4, circumstances did not permit me to do completely structured interviews for the most part, and with most of the amateur musicians that were kind enough to fill in my survey, I am at least acquainted to regularly greet on social media and elsewhere, thus their contribution to this project might also be considered as interviews. To make sense of the interviews besides textual analysis, I took classes to learn Case Study and Grounded Theory methods, widely employed across social and political sciences. I do not claim to apply these methods in their full scope onto my findings, but the principal paths they define have been remarkably useful to lead to my conclusions. My analysis using this methodology can be found under subchapter 4.2.

Chapter 5 presents observations and gathered knowledge, blended with what the literature has to offer, about especially the "alaylı" musician, a much more underrepresented group in academic writing than "okullu" musician. The opportunities I picked up along the way, such as becoming a Roland Local Keyboard Artist and filming virtual lesson videos, put me in contact with innumerable young people as well as adults, who share a passion for music and/or instruments but never found any chance or outlet in the current system in Turkey. At least for the glocal case, I believe my statements presented here, such as how music is perceived and learned by autodidacts

(subchapters 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) are valid generalizations. Besides targeted interviews, feedback in the form of YouTube comments, videos, blogs, and social media interaction are among the resources for this section. For the global picture, since I cannot really boast any abroad experience outside performing and teaching classical music, I have to rely mainly on my resources. The literature is rich and constantly expanding and each literature survey I conducted yielded more detail on some aspects hitherto unexplored in the past three years.

Finally, Chapter 6 makes a thorough comparison and theoretical assumptions, based on chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Some points and questions mentioned in the aforementioned chapters would be juxtaposed, developed and/or presented as tentative suggestions. The nature of social sciences and the postmodernist approach assumed for this work prevents black-and-white deductions, nevertheless, hopefully, this work is able to present useful generalizations. I believe, although some points require further research and thinking, I managed to put together an accurate picture of the oeuvre of the autodidact musician and this text would provide some insight whenever there is some project involving a group of musicians from different parts of the music learning spectrum.

2. THE MUSICOLOGY OF METAL AND ITS PERFORMERS

This chapter presents a blend of metal music research and (self) ethnography, resulting in personal observations and ideas, opinions belonging to members of the (Turkish) metal community and beyond. Its purpose beyond defining metal music with a musicological approach is providing an account of the Turkish underground metal scene between 2010- 2017. Some metadata mentioned in this chapter, deriving from Google and Spotify statistics are presented in Appendix I since their objectivity cannot be agreed upon. They are used in the debate with the intention of providing evidence for some generalizations: one such generalization is that metal music, is in its furthest position in comparison with the mainstream in its 40-year history, another generalization is that metalheads are attracted to the music and subculture through their common personality traits, and are much more loyal listeners since they listen to little else except metal music.

2.1 Defining “Metal” Music as a Genre

Heavy metal is a musical genre for some, a way of existence for others. In its roughest and most general definition, it is a global vogue of music that has persevered for four decades, constantly kept reviving itself and spawned many subgenres. Heavy metal, or simply “metal” to embrace and encompass all the subgenres in the wide spectrum the label applies to these days, can be described as an urban, industrial, predominantly white and male, popular music genre that started off from working-class roots. What sets it aside from other genres of the global popular music industry is Jeremy Wallach, Harris M. Berger and Paul D. Greene’s identification in the famous work *Metal Rules the Globe: Heavy Metal Music Around the World* (2011) that “All metalheads, regardless of their preferred subgenre or subgenres, view metal as opposite to light entertainment. To them, it is a form of serious music that endorses a particular set of values” (p. 8). Deena Weinstein, who is a professor of sociology at DePaul University and the author of the book *Heavy Metal: the Music and Its Culture* (2000), finds that metal “has persisted far longer than most genres of rock music” due to the growth of an intense “subculture which identified with the music” (p. 5). This chapter intends to

detail the aspects that constitute, using Weinstein's term, the "bricolage" of metal (Weinstein 2000, p.5).

Even in academic discussion, what metal is and where its boundaries lie is a continuous debate and dilemma. As stated earlier, metal scholars hail from many disciplines and musicology is comparatively rare in metal studies. Judging from recent conference presentations and publications, more musicologists are turning their interest towards metal. The dilemma I point out also shows itself concerning older and newer publications which are nowadays labeled "metal studies": for older scholars, bands such as Deep Purple or Led Zeppelin were already "metal" but from the post 90's perspective, they are hard rock bands. Musicology seems to be obsessed with genre definitions and boundaries lately, almost as much of the fans themselves. Musicologically speaking, from a critical perspective, defining metal as a (youth) subculture seems a more straightforward, less controversial path: a path, among many others, Smialek and Laurent thread in their 2019 paper concerning metal audience's economic welfare and class discussions. Some musicologists and music theorists recently have inclined to analyze metal music with methodological tools used for Eurogenetic art music. These tools are seldom limited to mere staff notation and Roman Numeral analysis, newer approaches ranging from Riemannian and/or Schenkerian analysis to set theory are abundant in keeping with trends of 20th and 21st century music theory. One of the rare scholars who also has or have had a performance career is Guy Capuzzo, whose name is to be found in Metalarchives (Url 3) as both a performer and a producer, and annals of research with his output on analysis of rock music and metal music's rhythmic and harmonic structures (2018). Also noteworthy is Elflein's work on Mesuggah and other metal acts, and the whole collection of semi-academic papers collected together at websites such as Metalintheory (Url 4).

2.1.1 Genesis and Evolution

The eruption of the heavy metal genre, its formative phase, occurred during the years between 1969 and 1972. The archetype of 'rock band' and their 'guitar-based music' has existed since the early 1960s; the loudness, rebelliousness, unpredictability and appeal for youth were already hallmarks of this major vogue of popular music that enjoyed an "unparalleled explosion" in Jeffrey Pearlin's words (2014). Opinion is

divided upon an exact date at which the genre became clearly distinguishable; its beginnings must be traced in retrospect from its phase of crystallization in the mid-1970s. In his book *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (1993), Robert Walser, an influential scholar who made the earliest academic definitions of the genre, pinpoints the birthplace of metal to Birmingham, England, the industrial city whose working class spawned Ozzy Osbourne, the founder of Black Sabbath in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many a metalhead either cites Black Sabbath or London-based Led Zeppelin as the first genuinely “heavy metal” bands (p. 10).

According to Philips and Cogan in *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music* (2009), it is not clear how the term “heavy metal”, first appearing in the comic series by William Burroughs as a description of drug use, came to refer to the newly forming musical genre (p. 3). Some British critics claim that they have coined the term, and in *Heavy metal: The Music and its Culture* (2000), Weinstein reports that:

The term "heavy metal" has been widely accepted in Britain but has met with some resistance in the United States. American critics, especially those who find groups such as Black Sabbath and Judas Priest to be repugnant—that is, who detest heavy metal—try not to use the term. Instead they employ a broader category, "hard rock," in which heavy metal groups are included as a minor component with many others. (p. 20)

Judging from interviewing and my own impressions gathered from extensive reading of existing literature, the Steppenwolf song “Born to be Wild” (1969) , where the phrase ‘heavy metal’ exists in a non-musical context, is a likely origin. Both the song and the 1969 Peter Fonda film “Easy Rider” for which the song was a soundtrack, came to be regarded as emblems of counter culture by the generation that witnessed the birth of metal music, thus becoming a tag for this new entity. In a very short while, in the scope of around 5 years, the words became attributes for this robust provocative new form of hard rock.

According to Harris Berger in *Metal, Rock, and Jazz: Perception and the Phenomenology of Musical Experience Music/culture* (1999): “Metal history is most

often summed up by metalheads as a progressive quest for ever heavier music. A rich and complex concept differentially interpreted across scenes, “heavy” refers to a variety of textural, structural, and affective aspects of musical sound and is crucial for any understanding of metal” (p. 58). Such a definition is far from being systematic, but it is sufficiently coherent to demarcate a core of music and peripheral aspects to complement it. It also marks off a frontier at which heavy metal blends with other genres of rock music or develops offshoots of itself that violate parts of its code or develop new codes. As with many other genres, at first what will later become the aural code of metal appears in isolated songs. Then, the work of a band or a cluster of bands began to exemplify this code. Finally, the rules for generating the music played by such a cluster are self-consciously acknowledged and become a code for others to emulate, at that point the genre has achieved full being.

To contribute to the body of already-existing scholarly writing, I have conducted an interview with Yüce Ağanoğlu, an avid follower of the genre since its onset, coinciding with his childhood and youth he spent in various locations of Europe and United States. Ağanoğlu begins by claiming that it is not possible to perceive how metal came into existence without understanding the 1970s world. It was the social, cultural and economic structure of Great Britain in that period that spawned the “New Wave of British Heavy Metal”. In the poor neighborhoods of London and Birmingham, the youth in their 20’s coming together to form bands knew that music was their only way out. If you do not have talent for football, try becoming a rock star instead was the motto of this period. Ağanoğlu cites Ozzy Osbourne reminiscing that “I had one shirt, one pair of pants and two pairs of socks. When our first album ‘Black Sabbath’ was published in 1970 and the record company paid us, I dashed into a department store to buy myself clothes”. In another interview, Ian Hill of Judas Priest recalls how, living together with his band mates, they scraped their rent but could not afford any food beyond toast bread and canned beans for months on end. It is hard from our contemporary perspective to understand such poverty, reflects Ağanoğlu. Since he is a member of the 70s youth himself, he sympathizes with the ‘masters’ and observes that when they speak of those times, one could tell that they are still haunted from their eyes. What Ağanoğlu puts forth is that unemployment, poverty and deprivation forced these youths to form these bands that became legendary in time:

While nothing is outside the causal chain, eventually water would find its path. These musicians had to succeed, they had no other choice. Of course the best of them managed this, the survival of the fittest principle applied to music as the best becoming famous. This is the philosophical way to put it. (Personal interview, 2017)

The 1980s were a stylistic period very much accepted and still sought after by the audiences: the mainstream “heavy metal” sound is crystallized and well established. This is the time period where metal meets virtuosity: again through hybridizing with progressive- hard rock bands such as Deep Purple. Judas Priest, hailing from Birmingham just like Black Sabbath, fused that new, dark, distorted guitar idiom with more musicality and complexity, besides coining the “look” of metal in black leather and studs. Back in these formative years, since especially in North America there were few bands, hybridizations such as the progressive rock band Yes opening up for Black Sabbath often took place. In terms of sound and discourse, these two bands are oceans apart: Yes is intricate and keyboard-oriented, whereas Black Sabbath is brooding, dark and ominous but not as complex in terms of rhythm or harmony. While Black Sabbath bluntly tackles issues such as social and political injustice and drug use, Yes, in their 1969 album for instance, feature much more arts and poetry inclined lyrics. Besides, alternative handlings such as “hair metal” (Poison, Mötley Crue) with more focus on the “spectacle” aspect, and “trash metal” (Metallica, Megadeth) with more rhythm than melody, more speed and social and political criticism came into being. Hair metal, with its focus on partying and good life and emphasizing masculinity by going to the threshold of femininity, died out in the 90s but thrash metal is still an important subgenre today. Nevertheless, the most “representative” band of this second generation, still inspiring audiences today with their 2017 album “The Book of Souls” due November 2017, is Iron Maiden.

The 90s saw the development of extreme metal, beginning with the American band Pantera, while the vanguard bands of the 80s trash, especially Metallica and Megadeth approaching the middle ground in terms of sound and thus enjoying commercial success. The “extremity” featured in very harsh sounding, guttural vocals, themes bordering on psychopathic behavior and violence for song lyrics and ever harsher guitar sound combined with intense drumming and greater rhythmic density.

Overall, though, this period was a global recession in terms of metal's place in popular music. The swelling wave of the 80s was at its ebb and many writers deemed the future of metal would not be bright. The formation of the underground in many locations besides the strongholds of Britain and North America could also be dated to this period.

While the mainstream popularity of metal waned and hard rock and alternative rock once again dominated the charts, in the second half of the 90s, the underground metal bands explored many different paths. This is an interesting period where inspiring blends such as "industrial metal", "symphonic metal" and "progressive metal" coalesced into existence. Most of the bands representing this postmodern metal breeds would make it to limelight in the 2000s, perceived as the rebirth, at least revival of metal as an umbrella genre that encompasses a spectrum of subgenres. The idea of a purely metal festival is also from this decade: the world's greatest event is considered to be Wacken Open Air in Germany, attracting 80.000 visitors annually in 2010s, twenty years after it was initiated as a small event for the local metal bands.

Even at the peak of its popularity, metal was rarely a "public" music that got featured on, for example, Music Television (MTV) or *Billboard* charts. MTV's only program that aired mainstream-friendly hair metal, but also occasionally some "heavier", more underground clips, was *Headbangers' Ball*. After 1995, there was a long hiatus for the program, in the first decade of 2000s, as metal became popular again, it became featured in MTV2. *Billboard* magazine still does not have metal charts, but enlists the genre under rock/hard rock category. Some metal artists made it to the top-200 charts in the late 90s and 2000s, but curiously they often got listed as "rock" or "hard rock". The alternative publicity platform for metal artists thus became Reverbnation and Last.fm, and later on social media, especially Facebook. Such platforms enable unbiased representation for every artist, independent from the dictates of the global music industry. In the digital world of streaming, metal again enjoyed a surge of popularity.

Jeffrey Pearlman in *A Brief History of Metal* (2014) suggests that: "While there are many nuanced and technical differences between the ever-expanding subgenres of metal, in the end, it's all heavy metal". When the core elements of heavy metal sound are

hybridized with other musics, a subgenre is formed. Some countries and geographies have been more influential in spawning new, successful subgenres, such as Nordic countries (folk metal) or Florida Bay Area of United States (Southern metal). Some of these hybridizations get to be firmly established and although their heyday might have passed, would still have representative bands and audiences (gothic metal, punk metal). Others, although having been very important streamings at their emergence, die away in time (funk metal, hair metal).

2.1.2 Visual, aural and structural elements

Few popular music genres are aurally as loud and alien as metal according to the majority of the world's population, therefore it is understandable that this genre is a very prolific source of conflict and exclusion. Although some of its critics hear the music only as noise, metal has an aural component, or set of givens, that allows one to objectively determine whether a song, an album, a band, or a performance should be classified as belonging to the category 'metal'. According to William Philips and Brian Cogan in *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music* (2009), one constant that has been accepted by every scholar and metalhead alike throughout the almost four decades the genre existed that "for a band to be considered metal there must be a distorted amplifier at the center of their sound" (p. 25).

Heavy metal as a genre gets to be recognized and labeled immediately by the majority of music consumers by the electric guitar domination, thick rhythmic aspect produced by a crowded drum set and often 'shouting' vocal performance. Berger and Fales in their book *Wired for Sound: Engineering and Technologies in Sonic Cultures* (2005) find that "the concept of 'heaviness' is applied by members of the heavy metal subculture to a range of instrumental timbres (drum timbres, vocal timbres, bass timbres) and compositional elements (melodic motifs, harmonic approaches) in their music, and heaviness is the defining feature of the genre" (p. 181). This heaviness is achieved through high volume and a variety of effects, usually achieved by analog circuits that alter the wave form guitars create, collectively called 'distortion' effects. Distortion renders the guitar timbre richer and more aggressive by simulating a clipping effect and adding it to the original signal, engendering more harmonic and inharmonic overtones. Starting with the gentler, clearer 'overdrive' type of attribution

in the 70s, metal music progressively strove for a thicker, darker, heavier sound acquired by stacked recording (recording the same part multiple times to create a chorus effect, gaining density from minute fluctuations in timing and articulation of the guitar passage), amplification using both analog and digital means and new effects. Some bands opt for a distorted bass guitar sound as well, but this is by no means a given for all metal subgenres. Metalheads, be them fans or practitioners, are very perceptive about the aural properties whereas laymen are often totally indifferent towards such minute changes of timbral characteristics.

Most scholars have placed metal's musical roots in blues, rockability and psychedelic rock of the 1960s. Boasting roots from the musical traditions of Western Africa and the New World, blues provided significant material to heavy metal such as chord progressions, scale material (minor mode pentatonic scale a particular favorite) and melodic characteristics. It might currently be quite far-fetched to compare blues, exemplified in representative musicians such as Eric Clapton or Jeff Beck, and the intense sound of contemporary metal. The punk and rock-based structural elements such as the ambiguous power chord, omnipresent in metal since its beginning, further obscures the resemblance. In time, metal music evolved to include riffs that dwell on scale degrees other than the primary triads, to the extent of including dissonances such as tritons, a stylistic boundary that blues seldom, if ever, crosses. However, critical listening of earliest metal songs reveal features at first masked by the distortion effect and overall loudness, such as unison guitar-bass passages, a hallmark of blues.

In *Heavy Metal: The Music and its Culture* (2000), Deena Weinstein explores the connections between psychedelic (heavy) rock and the formative phase of metal and finds that, it is more than only musical similarity that created the influence (p. 16-17). The close ties with counter culture, especially concerning drug use and artists such as Uriah Heep and Judas Priest starting their career with psychedelia, then moving onto the territory now termed "metal" with their second or third releases, make these connections ever stronger. Musically speaking, the constant repetition and trance inducing-emulating aspect of psychedelic rock could be observed especially in some genres of metal such as industrial metal, stoner metal and, to a lesser extent, doom metal (Weinstein 2000, p.17). Additionally, Walser underlines the strong affiliation with classical music as well in the opening phrases and especially Chapter 3 of his

Running with the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness (1993), giving striking parallelisms between the self-discipline of musicians and respect and commitment of the fans between the two genres. In heavy metal world, the phrase ‘Power Trio’ denotes the virtuosic lead guitarist, bassist and drummer of a band, and they are expected to be competent with their instruments and provide role models for aspirers learning their instrument and/or music.

In terms of harmony, rhythm and form, metal music ranges from very simple to very complex. From the single-riff centered doom metal song to American band Symphony X’s 2002 output *Odyssey*, a throughcomposed, 25 minute long epic handling Homeros, much in the same way as a symphonic poem composer of the 19th century, complete with sonata-form procedures; or the rhythmic complexity in for example Mesuggah’s music, the subject of many a fruitful academic paper, metal music is extremely varied. Obviously, it is the insider’s and fans’ sport to observe the intricacies and distinctions defining subgenres and enjoying or disliking musical parameters or song architecture. As the author of this study, I made a humble attempt at defining subgenres based upon style and discourse, presented in Appendix B.

Some subgenres of metal command respect from other metalheads although they themselves might not adhere to that particular sound (neoclassical, symphonic or progressive metal), others invoke revulsion and criticism. A vivid example for such negative reactions is towards nu metal. The adjective “nu” is said to be either an acronym for “new” or “nude” since some frontmen of this subgenre, notably Chester Bennington of Linkin Park, preferred to appear unclothed from the waist up in videos and stage shows. The leading bands of this subgenre, all except one still active today are Limp Bizkit, Linkin Park, Papa Roach, Korn and Slipknot. Although the subgenre was relatively short-lived, it was very popular and therefore visible in the late 90s and the first half of the first decade of 2000s. For instance, Linkin Park made it to number 2 of *Billboard*’s top 100, bringing great mainstream success both for the band and for the subgenre. Nu metal’s distinguishing structural element is the inclusion of vocal and rhythmical elements from hip hop, a subgenre of popular music often regarded as the antithesis of metal by many a metalhead. The formula for nu metal, a mainly North American vogue, is simple and ‘metal’ enough: the lyrical content for the most part could be defined as “angry”, dealing with anti-authoritarian and counter-culture

themes. The music sounds “heavy” enough, with regular song structures, ‘raspy’ and ‘rough’ vocals in the sung, melodic chorus parts, typically no solo guitar work and electronic elements such as turntable effects and samples. Nevertheless, both during the period of the success of this vogue and later, bands denied being influenced by this streaming or applying the adjective “nu metal” for their output. Most of these bands have turned to other subgenres since, notably metalcore varieties or alternative metal.

Since its beginning, metal’s visual markers and behavioral patterns have been very strong and distinctive. Anywhere on the planet, an observer can easily tell a metalhead apart from the long hair, group logo t-shirt, leather jacket, tattoos/piercings and other accessories that display emblems such as skulls or motorcycles and overall demeanor. Women tend to prefer “gothic” leather/corset fashion, pale skin-black features make-up and artifacts such as thick soled boots and black nail polish. Arguably, it is not possible to pick out fans of any other musical genre by sight, except perhaps rap: a classical music fan and frequent symphonic concert goer would not look much different from a clubber who loves improvised electronic music. Generally speaking, even a very avid fan of; for instance, jazz music would claim that his/her choice of music is a life style, so central to his/her being as an attribute of identity. Theoretically, it is possible to assume a dress code that is reminiscent of at least the practitioners of a certain genre for fans, but nowhere is the iconography as strong as it is for metal. The appeal of looking like a metalhead is so pronounced, individualistic and attractive that, even today’s pop icons such as Justin Bieber, Kanye West and Rihanna at times assume the dress code. Understandably, the genuine metal fans are furious about such ‘fake’ and ‘poser’ displays of metal identity. For the creators and habitual users of these imagery, namely the metal artists, opinions are divided: Testament guitarist Alex Skolnick and Slayer guitarist Gary Holt have tweeted their disapproval, whereas Rob Halford of Judas Priest, or Tony Iommi for instance have voiced their approval on the matter, implying that metal, as of today, needs the publicity (Stutz 2017).

Deena Weinstein outlines the dilemma the metalhead has to face around the world since they choose to embrace and display, even flaunt the signifiers mentioned above thus: “to many of its detractors heavy metal embodies a shameless attack on the central values of Western civilization. But to its fans it is the greatest music ever made” (2000: p.269). Admittedly, it is more the visual and social code rather than the aural markers

that incite such reaction and outright hostility. A metalhead was, and, according to geography, still is perceived a marginal individual wherever he/she goes on Earth. One can deduce from academic and colloquial writings and documentary material that even in Nordic countries where being a metalhead is a widely accepted cultural phenomenon today; there was exclusion and prejudice in the initial years (Walsh 2013). Such passion and commitment as an average metalhead would express for his/her identity, even facing social pressure in the case of Turkey, is a very remarkable property that has been over and over mentioned in the paradigm of being a metalhead.

2.1.3 Metal as a youth subculture: Defining the “Metalhead”

In their study, “In which Direction is Music Heading?: Cultural and Cognitive Studies in Turkey” (2013), Firat Kutluk and Ugur Turkmen come to the conclusion that “Since their emergence, popular music genres have represented a conflict between values specific to youth culture and the world of adults, and moral debates related to this conflict have become a common phenomenon” (p. 37). Nowhere is this phenomenon of generations clash is as apparent as it is in metal music and the subculture it generates. As stated elsewhere, few if any musics of the world have as distinctive a follower’s portfolio as metal. Metal fans form communities throughout the world that are brought ever closer to each other by the dawning of the digital age. One thing is certain: it cannot be said that building a youth community is exclusive to metal, but metal has a very distinguishable and somewhat conservative following that has a derogatory outlook to some other musical genres and behaviors that are not metal.

In her study to delve into the history of metal music (2000), Weinstein traces the origins of the metal subculture to the flower children and Woodstock generation of the 60s, but with a twist. She finds that the 60’s mantra “love” is replaced by its polar opposite “evil” in the 70s, while metal was crystallizing (p. 18). Consequently, soft fabrics and earth colors became black leather, chains and nails, mixed gender clubs became all male, pretty much everything was transformed, except colorful stage lights. Predictably, this new form of youth culture incited a great deal of hostility from non-members. Parents were concerned that their teenager children would fare worse than their peers, that metal community was not a safe place or good influence. Research by Tasha Howe, a two times Fullbright Fellow who is a professor of psychology proves

otherwise. Having been a groupie in the 80's herself, Howe concludes that actually the metalhead group fared much better in life than the control group of metal adversaries and the youth community actually helps coping with problems arising from a difficult childhood and adolescence. The violence and promiscuousness, even drug use proved to be balancing factors and the peer support and sense of belonging was priceless. (Howe 2015)

Perhaps because initially they were cast away from almost every society and are still persecuted according to geography, metalheads support each other across the globe, thus we can claim that the “code” of this youth culture act as a unifying aspect across cultures. Usually able to identify each other, the metalheads I had the chance of meeting and observing during domestic and international festivals, for instance, always made an effort to transcend barriers of language and culture. With the adherence to the music comes a peculiar sense of belonging and fraternity that functions across borders and boundaries such as color, religion and ethnicity, and to a lesser extent, gender. This support is, for the most part aimed at catering and defending their musical and social territory. Such sentiments and behavior on a global sense could be observed from “metal” documentaries that fans regard as quintessential for getting to know this subculture: *Global Metal* by Scott McFayden (2007) and anthropologist Sam Dunn (2008) or Dunn's earlier and better known, albeit scholarly not well grounded effort *Metal: a Headbanger's Journey* (2005).

Metal fans are much more loyal to their choice of music than the average popular music fan. According to research data detailing listener behavior on online music platform Last.fm, metal fans have the highest average play count per listener and do not listen to other genres as avidly as they do to metal (Schedl and Tkalcic, 2014). Veteran technology and music journalist Eliot Van Buskirk who wrote on the Spotify data, claims that metal listeners overtake even mainstream global pop listeners by a fair margin in terms of loyalty and frequency, proving to adhere to their music however insignificant the music industry nowadays considers metal (2015).

Metalheads define and defend the periphery of this community and musical domain; they are therefore not very receptive to novelty and uphold whatever they consider “old school” over, for instance, “diluted” versions of metal. Some of my interviewees

express their aversion about MTV trying its hand on metal music and promoting project bands such as Nickelback, which they never considered metal. Bands such as Opeth that exist long enough to produce more than a couple albums and revise their sound to accommodate new elements and styles in their consecutive releases almost always receive negative criticism as well as support from more open-minded fans.

Back in the early 1990s when I first became aware of metal as a genre, while Metallica's *Black* album was sweeping all music awards by going platinum and ranking number one in all charts, metal was the antithesis to acid and then newly emerging rap. Metalheads since then always kept to the same attitude of disdaining musics they judged, for a variety of reasons, to be inferior to metal. I have witnessed this scornful demeanor to extend to performances, even of favorite bands and persona, which the average metalhead considers disgraceful. Bahadır Uludağlar, a very perseverant figure of Turkish metal scene since the 1990s, made an appearance in television anchorman Acun Ilıcalı's show in 2010, where he and his band had to put on a playback performance with unplugged guitars. In an interview in 2015, he related the negative repercussions of this appearance, which he actually considered smart publicity since it made both his band and metal music much more visible to the general public. Uludağ states he does not mind rollback, but acknowledges that the negative reception of this incident still follow him to this day. This misoneism of metalheads at times extends to fusion projects that aim at showcasing metal as part of the popular music and media.

In our post-postmodern world, projects involving a "mashup" of genres are becoming ever more popular. Just to mention two recent examples: Metallica, the ultimate thrash metal band that still has popularity and record sales more than any other metal band after 30 years (Graham 2017) played in 2014 Grammy Awards with classical pianist Lang Lang to great critical acclaim. "Three years after Metallica debuted their new arrangement of "One" with classical pianist Lang Lang at the Grammys, the band teamed once again with the virtuoso at a concert in his native China. The fiery performance, which showed the pianist navigating the thrash tune's jagged rhythms with ease and playing around Kirk Hammett's solos, took place at LeSports Center in Beijing" (Grow 2017). After this performance, Metallica performed with singer and songwriter Lady Gaga in 2017. This performance was marred with a technical glitch:

Metallica frontman James Hetfield's microphone was turned off, so, on live television, he threw his guitar in protest and had to share Lady Gaga's microphone. In a later interview on *New York Post* (2017), Hetfield admitted that he was furious, but the incident "ended up being a blessing because I ended up singing in a microphone with Lady Gaga — maybe even more than she wanted. It felt more like a real collaboration because of that." Hetfield may have forgiven the incident, but Turkish fans raved about it for weeks, if not months and the metal forums were ablaze with negative criticism. Of course, Metallica being such a central figure that kept going for thirty years in the metal world, scorn was not a reaction that many displayed, but disappointment and the feeling of betrayal was commonplace. A most interesting outcome is that, on Metallica's official webpage, there is a poll if this collaboration had been a success and %90 of the subscribed fans have voted "yes". The interviews and publicity about this event provide valuable insights, but it has not been possible to elude public relations and ask these musicians themselves about the experience.

2.1.4 Global metal music scene and the "Underground"

Although metal is part of the global, commercial music industry, there is a deeply entrenched "underground scene" with its own rituals, discourse and publishers. The protagonists of this scene are, of course musicians and bands themselves. Underground and the general music scene of metal music pose diverse characteristics. While the common practice of metal music aims at acceptance, the underground stage has no scruple for any kind of recognition. What it strives for is to alleviate itself from the common stream of popular mentality and bring forth a new perspective and understanding. That is why members of the metal underground have been scrupulous about the mode of sharing their music and the means they use to record and distribute their products. Usually within the underground scene, new subgenres of metal music are born.

The first form to sprout out from this new perception has been the thrash metal subgenre. Thrash metal is considered to be a combination of heavy metal and punk music. Weinstein in *Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology*, calls thrash metal the "fundamentalist strain" which means that many traditional metalheads were disgusted with the flamboyance and decadence of lite metal and wanted to return to the golden

age of metal, or what many metalheads perceived as a prior state of purity (2000, p.50). According to Weinstein (2000), what distinguished thrash metal from the other kinds is, for the most part, an increase in tempo. Speed/thrash can be understood as an attempt to reclaim metal for youth and especially for male by creating a style that is completely unacceptable to the hegemonic culture. Speed metal thus represents a return to the standards of the heavy metal subculture (Weinstein 2000, p.50). The lyrics were more direct than heavy metal music, giving it a meaner image. Some of the bands that make up this genre are Metallica, Megadeth, Sepultura, Anthrax, and Slayer (Weinstein, p.51). In addition to these well-known bands, it is possible to add Blind Guardian, Riot, Rage, Grave Digger, Anvil and Exciter which also carry the marks of trash metal music. Later on, from thrash and death metal, new subgenres came into being such as proto-underground, core varieties, grinder and black metal which were later collectively called extreme metal.

The oldest and most visible type of extreme metal is, arguably, death metal. As a subgenre, it is ever more underground than thrash metal which proceeded to feature the “Big Four” in stadium concerts and even MTV. Even in today’s world, death metal has its separate festivals, audience, recording studios, aesthetics and mannerisms. The birth of the performers of death metal have coincided with the debut of Black Sabbath and have gone through their adolescence listening to the heavy metal music of 1970s and 1980s whereas the founders of heavy metal music have grown up with the blues scenes. Thus, with the heritage of metal music, they have created a louder and more frenzied type of metal. Ian Christie who was a British jazz clarinettist and film critic for the *Daily Express* pronounces that “Death metal elevated songwriting to a brutal new level of melodic depth, compositional prowess and technical skill” (2003, p. 239). Christie supports his idea by quoting Trey Azagoth, guitarist for Morbid Angel. Azagoth describes what the genre of death metal meant to him:

Some people think death metal is all about a sound. They think if you get a heavy distorted guitar and growling vocals you’ve got death metal. Death metal is a feeling—it’s not just a sound. The way the rhythm attacks and moves is what matters. I mixed up a groovy extreme—a chaos, a madness, a bunch of piranhas that would be jumping out of the speakers and chewing you as you listened. That’s what I wanted to pursue with my playing. I wanted to get

something that was like listening to Black Sabbath on an eight-track tape that was dragging, or a warped record. Like a storm moving forward, something triumphant (p. 239).

This chaotic music was not to be found on popular stages. It was thoroughly underground. Therefore, the only way to get hold of death metal was tape-recording or going for a live gig. Understandably, most live venues refrained from giving out their stage for potentially violent, guitar-smashing, amplifier-destroying, high decibel music with a limited custom, but eventually clubs that exclusively feature metal subgenres emerged. The audience, with the limited technology that enabled them to record performances on walkman tape recorders and/or black and white camcoders captured what they could during live gigs. Since the same pickiness held for recording studios who did not often wish to hire expensive professional equipment to produce such extreme music, death metal never sported pristine, state-of-the-art recording techniques or studio gimmicks. Rather, it was preferable to have a low-rate recording quality, so that duplicating and/or sharing tapes would not deter so much from quality. Thus, people copied and shared their tape-recordings with each other until the advent booming of social media which eased their access to all sorts of music.

Tape recording brought about a new echelon for death metal music. The more people began to share their cassettes, the more outlets came to surface for the distribution of music. This led the way to the spreading of magazines and newsletters, through which people all over the world could connect with each other. Christie claims that one of the most influential magazines that were established in the late 1980s was *Metal Maniacs* which included pen-pal listings, ads for tape traders, amateur bands, and a forum where readers could write about anything from scene politics to world politics (2003, p.249).

With the emergence of underground music and different subgenres, the discrepancy between the general music scene and underground grew more apparent. What differentiates underground music from the other kinds is the visibility. While the urban music lets itself be celebrated and publicized, the underground music preserves its inscrutability. Will Straw who is a professor of Urban Media Studies at McGill University claims that as visible expressions of taste and political identity,

undergrounds contribute to the theatricality of cities. They occupy space, invite judgment, and participate in the spectacle of visual diversity which has long been one of the key features of cities. At the same time, as obscure worlds whose logics and practices often escape easy identification, musical undergrounds enhance the sense that key features of contemporary urban life are invisible, indecipherable, and mysterious (2015, p.411).

To illustrate his opinion, Straw continues to talk about his own experiences concerning a place called Mile End. He makes use of this place as it connotes the real notion of being an underground scene. Mile End is not photogenic, or theatrical. Just the opposite, the image it offers has nothing to do with music at a first glance. This is why Straw claims that he is concerned with this place:

I'm interested in the way in which this absence of images of music in Mile End does many things. First of all, this absence of images enhances the sense that the music here is underground music – it is underground, not only in the sense of being experimental and often transgressive; but because it is invisible. The scene does not offer itself up for easy understanding (p.410).

The music and the musicians are like the silent elements of the whole scene. They are invisible, namely; undetectable. Band members often have day jobs and everyday identities, even fans do not often know them by name. Some performers manage to keep their private life in complete obscurity such as Rammstein's keyboardist Christian "Flake" Lorenz. His motivation, it seems, was to deliberately create an enigmatic, controversial personage as he recently published an autobiography called *Der Tastenficker: An Was Ich Mich So Erinnern Kann*² in 2015. Some extreme metal genres took this feature to the point that the names of performers are deliberately kept unknown, or performers assume pseudonyms such as "Destroyer" or "Evil Incarnate". The Swedish death metal band "Ghost", for example, featured its performers as "Nameless Ghouls" and the lineup was compelled not to reveal their identities.

² *The Keyboard Fucker: All I Can Remember About Myself*

All in all, with new techniques of recording, imagery and the perspective, underground music marked itself as an inseparable component of metal music and arguably its most vibrant and powerful attraction for new audience. Today's greatest dilemma concerning underground metal artists is that, due to digital publishing and distribution, they are more able to gain legitimacy and protect their copyrights, but it is virtually impossible to earn significant amounts of money as a studio or live gig musician within the metal underground of most countries. More detail on this fact is to be found in Chapter 3 through 5 of this work.

2.2 Discourse

One important component of metal music is its discourse which means, in Gee's term, "language in use [...] not just to say things, but to do things" (2010, p. 9). McCarthy refers to discourse as "the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used" (2011, p. 12). The aim of the study of discourse aims to propose that the linguistic choices are never neutral; they are based on ideologies. The same issue occurs in the case of metal music. The language that the genre uses denotes an underlying ideology, or, at times, the absence of it.

The prominent thinkers of discourse have different approaches for the understanding of language and the context. One of them is Norman Fairclough whose outlook has been acknowledged as a socio-cultural approach. He squeezes the study of discourse into three elements: text, discursive practice and social practice (1995, p. 74). What is proposed in his stance is that, in order to comprehend the discourse, the text should be analyzed and then context in which the text is produced should be delved into; lastly, the accumulation of the text and context should be reflected along with the other major socio-cultural elements. For metal music, this approach can be employed in this way: the lyrics are scrutinized, the context and its interpretation/delivery are studied, and the outcome of these is scaled in the large spectrum of the characteristics of the period.

Apart from Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk who is an author on critical discourse proposes a different approach. Along with the text, context and socio-cultural elements, Van Dijk claims that mass media and parliamentary discourses are important parts of the discourse. The attitude of these institutions can have an important part in shaping the view and interpretation of the discourse. Thus, it is possible to conclude that his view

of discourse lies in the realm of “text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture” (1991, p. 253).

With these approaches in mind, one can pore over the discourse of metal music which has marked itself being tough, blunt and rebellious. There is a significant dose of violence and gendered discourse in the language fans and performers alike associate with metal music. Fans on blogs, fanzines and webzines would talk about a band frequently using vocabulary such as “demolished” or “f.cked”. The zines/websites themselves are named thus. Even record labels that specially feature metal may have destructive names such as “Nuclear Blast Records” or “Trustkill Records”: laden with negative connotations, death, destruction, desolation. The real question that arises is “why?”

The main themes of the metal music can pave the way in the understanding of its discourse which has a quite aggressive mind-set. Most of the bands and their songs point out common themes as psychological chaos, nihilism, and alternative religiosity. As the world became more tangled with the contemporary issues and the relationships lost in psychological alienation, one umbrella subject that rises into the limelight is some form of psychological disarray. Metal music reflects this both by its musical structure and its verbal discourse. In his 1993 study, Robert Walser states:

Thrash metal bands like Metallica and Megadeth have developed a musical discourse ... Their songs are formally even more complex, filled with abrupt changes of meter and tempo that model a complex, disjointed world and displaying a formidable ensemble precision that enacts collective survival. (p. 157)

Walser claims that all these characteristics compose the genre’s message of modern survival. In abruptly and precisely following changes of meter and removing superfluous elements from their compositions, metal bands strip down the music's aesthetics to emphasize a cacophonous roughness (Rafalovich and Schneider 2005, p. 132). Additionally, the atmosphere created by the dark themes and the chaos oblige the lyrics and the tune to be in pace with them. To emphasize the bedlam, the songs are composed using distorted low-tunes guitars, cacophonous time-shifting rhythms and ghastly lyrics (Rafalovich and Schneider 2005, p.133).

Nihilism is another common theme that can be found within the lyrical content of metal songs. The lyrics refer to a denial of the all constructed values and morality. One example of this can be found in the American metal band Crowbar's song "Wrath of Time be Judgment" (1996):

Looking at me smothering you
Destroying all
Looking at me punishing you
Destroying it
Pushing you down and pulling you down
I'm crushing all
Pushing you down
Pulling you down
I'm dragging you under

The lyrics connote a sense of violence and the imparity between the speaker and the outside world. The self-empowerment that the song tries to uphold is a derivative of the antisocial behavior of a subject who has severed all ties with the constructed values of the society. One more recent example for this is the lyrics of Slipknot's 2004 song "Pulse of the Maggots". It is easy guesswork that the term "maggots" is referring to the band's fan club as social outcasts. The fan club itself seems to have grasped and reveled in this derogation. There is pride in marginality:

This isn't the way just to be a martyr
I can't, walk alone any longer.
I fight, for the ones that can't fight
And if I lose, at least I tried.
We, we are the new diabolic.
We, we are the bitter bucolic.
If I have to give my life you can have it.

We, we are the pulse of the maggots.

Do you understand? (Yes)

Say it again say it again (we won't die).

Such lyrics illustrate the sense of belonging to something bigger than oneself; positioned on the borders of society. With the establishment of themselves as border communities, metal bands often foster an “us” versus “them” distinction (Snell&Hodgetts, 2005). Therefore, it is not uncommon for metalheads to refer to a "cause" and that in turn makes them sensitive about the borders and what kind of behaviour belongs with the "cause" and "community".

The last theme that can be touched upon is the emergence of an alternative religiosity. Indeed there is a subgenre of metal which is labelled “white metal” with a similar sound as 1980’s trash metal but with lyrics in approval, sometimes even to the point of praising, the creed of Christianity. However, the rebelliousness and implicit roughness of metal, stereotypically represents another type of individual. This subject, who has no connection with the principles of a given society is apt to turn his face to another deity. That is the reason why most of the metal songs indicate a sense of chipping away at Christianity and other religions. It is inferred that the constant usage of black is a contradictory referral to Christian purity which is represented with 'white'. Also, the recurrent usage of Satanism and its symbols underlie the issue of counter religiosity ('black'). All these themes constitute the discourse of metal music as we know it.

When it comes to the comparison of art music, popular music and metal music discourse from the vantage point of performers in terms of performance practice, vast differences could be observed. My findings indicate that the discourse on popular music performers is often quite different than art music performers and is a blend of musical terminology and colloquial language. There is a profusion of written material about metal musicians on a very different vein, and I turned to them in order to understand the context and the discourse I was being acculturated with. People not particularly interested in music would probably not know the meaning of the Italian word “virtuoso”, for example, but it is used profusely on the web and in spoken

language about metal performers. When metal musicians speak about (classical) music, they assimilate the same blended vocabulary:

In this portion of our exclusive interview with Mustaine, the metal legend offers up some surprising musicians who have influenced him over the years. The first name he brings up is the late classical composer and violinist Antonio Vivaldi. "[...]There was just a shred factor to that guy" says Mustaine, who adds that if Vivaldi "had a Dean [guitar] with a distortion pedal on it, he'd probably be in Megadeth". (Kaufman, 2016)

From a historical musicologist's perspective, the lack of resolution to refer to Vivaldi as a 'late classical' composer is far from the accepted norm. Here is another example about the language use from Joe Satriani's (presumably self-authored) biography that could be accessed through a myriad of web pages dedicated to him. His biography emphasizes that only a year after picking up the guitar, he progressed to the level of teaching himself, along with other transcendental feats of musicianship and subjective praise. All in all, it is an antithesis of the general discourse of musicology or music theory with its imprecise use of terminology, heavy subjectivity and sloppiness:

Storming onto the music scene nearly a decade ago, Joe Satriani has been widely recognized as the archetypal post-modern hero. Since his emergence in 1986 with a self-released, self-titled debut album, Joe has become the most recognizable guitar voice of his time, earning his place alongside the great masters of rock guitar. As an instrumental artist in a pop-dominated field, Satriani's accomplishments are even more remarkable: He is perhaps the most successful rock instrumentalist in recent history, selling millions of records and consistently packing concert halls - yet always preserving a strong musical vision, as well as the respect of fellow musicians and forward-thinking music fans worldwide. (n.a., n.d)

2.3 Turkish Metal: Past and Present

Many metal fans and academics doing research on the events of the last decade argue that, as of 2019 the Turkish metal scene is transformed in comparison with the earlier academic depictions of it. It is a double-edged sword to provide an account of the events especially between 2013 to 2018. It is also possible that outcomes hereby

presented do not merely and/or exclusively stem from the economic, political and social factors and major happenings within this period, but from underlying trends that have been in effect for a longer period.

2.3.1 Before 2010: Metal on the rise

The Turkish metal scene was formed in urban areas of Western Turkey around 1980, after the coup d'état and period of martial law that followed. Initially, tiny scenes sprang up in Istanbul, Ankara, and a few other major cities, constituting the nucleus for the rise Turkish metal during the 90s. Turkish metal's initial protagonists consisted mostly of young males from middle-class families, who had the benefit of a good education at public or private high schools and connections to scenes abroad by means of international subscriptions to magazines, trips and other economically-achieved means. In a period when even LP players were hard to come by, most of these early dedicatees had the benefit of family members living abroad bringing recordings, instruments, magazines, etc. The next generation of metal fans, still a society of young urban middle class Turks but with more women among their ranks, formed growing communities around either performance venues and bars such as Katharsis, Caravan, Sis and Kemancı in Istanbul, Baraka, Graveyard and Roadhouse in Ankara, Kedi in Bursa, Denizati in Izmir or book and/or record shops such as Akmar Pasajı in Kadıköy in the mid 80s and early 90s. Their main means of communication and socializing in a pre-internet era was through fanzines and claiming these limited personal spaces to listen to their favourite music. These are the first crop of metalheads that were buffeted constantly by negative public opinion in Turkey. In a period where easy access to new music only existed in the form of swapping copied cassettes since LPs and/or original cassettes were unaffordable for a greater portion of the society, their looks, rather than their music made metalheads very visible in public opinion. Accompanied by a great deal of negative tirade, metal gatherings and concerts were often on mainstream media.

Considering the country only adopted open markets and became a part of global trade a decade ago, clothing items and artifacts that metalheads preferred such as chains and spiked bracers or black nail polish were virtually unheard of. Their distinctive clothing, such as patches on black leather jackets or ripped jeans were, too novel and bizarre for Turkish society back then and unavailable for the most part. Metalheads would make

their clothing on their own, styling by imitating album art and the rare video footage that would find its way onto their hands in terms of VHS videocassettes. During single, government-controlled TV channel era, a young anchorman called Ömer Karacan, son of a wealthy family with many domestic and international connections, was the first to introduce Turkish youth to international music industry, *Billboard* lists, the concept of chart ranks, separate genres and music videos. His Number One TV was the first to broadcast metal video clips along with global pop and rock. It is elusive to understand this fixation on clothing from today's perspective, where, a simple item such as intentionally torn pairs of jeans has lost its exclusiveness and is to be encountered from toddler clothing onward. Today, even mainstream artists that perform arabesque or Turkish pop music have adopted dress code similar to metal acts of the late 80s and early 90s.

Over the past 37 years, the Turkish metal scene spawned hundreds of bands. The rock generation in the 60s and 70s in Turkey spawned artists such as Erkin Koray and Barış Manço, still revered as icons today. Barış Manço's band, Kurtalan Ekspres, still actively performs their "Anatolian Rock" to a mixed old and young audience. Most of these bands, however, were short-lived, characterized by constant lineup changes and breaking up without ever releasing a recording. This is no wonder, considering all of the constraints and disadvantages Turkish metal bands face. These difficulties begin with prevailing stereotypes and prejudices towards metal music in Turkish society and the fact that, from the earliest days of metal in Turkey, very few record labels support metal artists.

In his book *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning and Morality in a Muslim Society* (2012), Pierre Hecker reports a case of public panic in urban Turkey during the early 2000s, which caused great agitation about everything to do with metal music. Following a series of teenage suicides, matters further escalated with the murder of a young girl in 1999 by a Satanist trio of two men and a woman, who were also metal fans (p.12). For the biggest portion of Turkish society, these incidents were their first exposure to metal music and its subculture. Given Turkish people's tendency of exaggeration and impetuosity, and the media coverage that was far from sensible, these events were followed by the stigmatization of everything to do with metal music. Parents were especially concerned, since public opinion defined metal music as a dark, deviant, and

corrupt Western practice that drove dedicated young people to commit suicide. It is entirely possible to dispute the correlation of metal fandom and suicide rates from our contemporary perspective. The World Health Organization lists suicide as the 2nd leading cause of death among people between ages 15 to 29, and demonstrates a higher percentage among lower and middle-income countries where Turkey belongs. It is obvious that only a tiny portion of these suicidal youths listens to metal. One should also consider a synchronic case that had little to do with rock or metal music: an arabesk song by Murat Kekilli, published in 1999, was also blamed for young people attempting suicide and consequently was banned. The song's title translates as "I shall die tonight, no one can hold me back" and has morbid passages such as "I will be your nightmare with my death". The singer/songwriter Kekilli however, claimed the song has nothing to do with suicide and he used the morbid language figuratively to express emotions stemming from unrequited love. He asserted that, if an individual is suicidal, he/she does not need musical encouragement, and indeed no song has the power to push someone into this direction. Science affirms what Kekilli put forth: in their 2005 study, North and Hargreaves found that "merely describing a song a 'suicide-inducing' or 'life-affirming' led to listeners perceiving it as such: by labelling music as suicide-inducing, campaigners and legislators may be helping to create the problem they aim to eradicate" (p. 113).

According to metal fans and interviewees of this study, the first two truly "metal" bands of Turkey were Devil and Whisky. Some bands such as the Ankara-based Dr. Skull, due to their devoted fan base, were able to appear in two gigs a day during the first blaze of metal fandom in the country. An interesting footnote is that, in 2019, after a 20-year hiatus, Dr. Skull in 2019 is still able to make a major public appearance to a paying audience of more than a thousand. Some bands managed to gain international recognition, such as Pentagram (also known as Mezarkabul, since there is yet another, internationally acclaimed American thrash metal band called Pentagram) performing at Germany's Wacken Open Air festival in 2002. The most successful, longer-lived Turkish metal bands abroad so far is the death metal band Cenotaph and black metal band Moribund Oblivion, releasing their 7th album this year and at least bi-annually touring around Europe, Russia and the Balkans.

Vecdi Yücalan, one of the early protagonists of the Turkish rock and metal scene and still active with his protest rock band Objektif, describes the formative 80s with its pioneering figures: “The leading musical vogue was ‘non rocker music’ by then, but guitarists such as Gür Akad and bands such as Klips were rising to prominence, supported by visionary producers such as Melih Kibar. The foundations of the metal scene were laid by youngsters such as Tunç Arkan from German High School Istanbul: he won *Milliyet*’s music competition in 1986 with his Pink Floyd inspired number” (Personal interview, 2015). According to Yücalan, that first generation of serious rockers in Turkey valued good music rather than fun, unlike the succeeding generation. Therefore, he believes that the surge of interest in rock and metal music the 80s and 90s dissolved in the 2000s.

Tunç Arkan gives his account of the emergence of Turkish metal, leaning the roots of the genre to progressive and psychedelic rock like the metal scholar Deana Weinstein does in her *Heavy metal: The Music and its Culture* (2000). Such music, or its ‘Anatolian’ version, was exemplified by Moğollar Band in Turkey. This band had to work with foreign producers for their first album in 1970, since no producer in Turkey back then knew of the sound they desired. Such music was an occupation for the “cultured” person, unlike its global roots, rock and metal music appealed to the middle class in its formative years in Turkey. Arkan believes that curiosity is the greatest fuel to creativity, but it is freedom of the mind that spawns the best music. Musicians that carved themselves a niche in the music industry must have had the right blend of knowledge and freedom such as Steve Vai or Frank Zappa. The Turkish youth of the 80s that followed the footsteps of such international figures were very elite people who for the most part quit music and have diverse careers by now. He lists people such as Murat Beştepe of Dr. Skull who works for the American pharmaceuticals company Pfizer’s research and development department or Kurban’s Umut Gökçen, who is now an academician at Koç University. Arkan, like Yücalan, is not very positive about the current status of Turkish rock or metal: radios ordering new albums, too much negative criticism, bars and venues not valuing good musicians, lack of a modern music academy or a music workers’ union are all detrimental for the Turkish industry, he finds. (Personal interview, 2015)

2.3.2 2013-2016: "A Dramatic Turn of Events"

As a Dream Theater fan, I wish to borrow the title of their 2011 album for this section of this work. It was an unpredictable event for Mike Portnoy, the founding member of Dream Theater, to leave the band. While I was undertaking this research, I did not have any premonitions about covering an extraordinary period such as the Gezi Events and their aftermath. Indeed, this out-of-the-ordinary event and the 2016 military coup attempt seem to be a cornerstone in the history of the Turkish Republic.

Istanbul was the European Capital of Culture in 2010 and there were innumerable rock festivals and two major metal festivals that year, with global sponsors. As a newly-coined metalhead, the first metal festival that I ever attended was the legendary Sonisphere 2010 in İnönü Stadium in Istanbul, where, for the first and last time in Turkey, the Big Four, Rammstein and Manowar, among others performed. That festival was but one of the major musical events of that summer: Musicians such as Jean Michel Jarre and Eric Clapton performed for thousands of delighted fans and there was yet another metal festival called Unirock with major bands such as Cannibal Corpse, Overkill and Belphegor.

In the summer of 2013, there was an extraordinary event in Istanbul: The outbreak of the repressed civilians who were trying to protect one green spot against the forces of the government. Much about the Gezi events in June 2013, a movement of defiance and resistance against the rapidly increasing government pressure on pretty much every aspect of life is currently being researched and committed onto academic writing by scholars representing many disciplines. Taptuk Emre Erkoç, a Turkish scholar at Vienna University who has studied the chronology of the events in "Taksim Gezi Park Protests: Birth and Backlash of a Political Sphere" (2013), reminds that the Gezi protests began as peaceful events by environmentalists against the demolition of the Gezi Park to build a shopping mall, and gives a chronological account of the unfolding events.

The Gezi events involved many metalheads: some of my acquaintances from the metal scene were at the most daring positions during the protests. Wearing biking helmets and scuba diving glasses, they stood against the police barricades defying tear gas, water cannons, and even plastic bullets. Many members of the metal scene were

already tense before the Gezi turmoil, since they felt that the mainstream rhetoric constantly marginalized them. According to the sociologist Nilüfer Göle, “the public space was shrinking and being suffocated prior to the Gezi protests” and “moralizing intrusions into the citizen’s way of life have abounded. New decrees and moralizing discourses have aroused the suspicion that government was intending to intervene in secular ways of life and reorganize public life to align with Islamic values” (2013, p.8). These metalheads felt themselves being targeted particularly with the restriction on alcohol sales in April 2013 and the ban on street side tables for night clubs that came close after. Since smoking in enclosed spaces was banned earlier and enforced with oppressive diligence especially in venues such as metal clubs that the municipality would not approve, their patrons’ only facility to drink, smoke and socialize was at the tables in front. Now they had to do this standing, often harassed by the constabulary looking for the merest excuse to fine the club. The journalist Simon Cameron-Moore (2012), comments that the government's discourse aimed at creating a morally superior youth, abiding by Islamic values thus effectively disowning marginalized groups such as metalheads. From the vantage point of the mentioned Turkish metal fans, this discourse had been an irritation before the protests, but it reached new heights with his pontifications during the events and his censorship of media. It would not be overtly stereotyping when I state that, character-wise, the metalhead acquaintances would feel themselves compelled to be at the forefront during unrest such as the Gezi events.

In his study “Individual Freedoms in Turkey”, Mark Pierini states that the government has responded to Gezi protests with a “divisive narrative and heavy-handed law-and-order policies” (2013). It has used aggressive language against specific people, groups, and institutions both in Turkey and abroad and introduced more conservative norms in various fields, such as cultural policy, the dress code, education, (women’s) lifestyles, and alcohol sales (p.1). At first glance, Turkey keeps on hosting large-scale international open air events that also feature concerts such as the Expo Antalya in 2016. The government lavishes exuberant amounts of funds onto state-sponsored cultural events. In the end, these events, which can be exemplified by the May 2017 Ethnosport Festival or the Teknofest in 2018 and 2019 in Istanbul, turn out to be a propaganda tour de force. Nowadays, most concerts are organized and sponsored by municipalities and feature established popular or traditional Turkish music artists. For

predictable reasons, very few if any metal listeners feel themselves inclined to attend such events.

After the Gezi events, I shared an escalating presupposition with many peers that nothing would be the same for Turkey as before. This impression stemmed from more than the observable alienation for Istiklal Street, which used to be the hub of Turkish metal scene before it became the setting for the protests. Soon after 2013, the Taksim area, in effect a microcosm reflecting all cultural and entertainment life, began to transform from a cultural center into a tourist attraction for mainly Middle Eastern visitors. Live music venues around Istiklal Street began to close their doors, or move away from Taksim. This drift soon affected well-established, large live music clubs along with smaller, local ones: Mojo closing (Url 5), Babylon relocating, even the international chain Hard Rock Café exiting the Turkish market altogether. After a while, a feedback loop leading to degeneration formed: concert goers, nightlife seekers and culture aficionados abandoned Taksim and venues became unable to keep up with the taxes and rent, leading to closure. This trend seems to be in keeping with the changing political and economic profile of Turkey, observable through international press, due to international and local government policies.

Alcohol consumption during attending a live event is accepted to be a stipulation for many metalheads. Not everybody who is part of the community as performer or affiliate drinks, but there are many members of the metal world who are notoriously heavy drinkers, even to the extent of death: Jeff Hannemann, founding member and guitarist of Slayer, passed away approximately four years ago of liver failure by alcohol-related cirrhosis. In *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music* (2009), Philips and Corgan describe the alcohol-metalhead relationship as follows:

Alcohol has long been one of the defining elements of the debauched side of heavy metal music and, along with drugs, is tied into rituals of acceptance and masculinity both in many metal bands and in the general fandom. The use of alcohol is widespread in the metal community. (p. 19)

The revenue from alcohol sales is the lifeblood for any metal event: be it a gig of a local band featuring covers in a small club or the gigantic Wacken or Hellfest. However, owing to the manifold increase on alcohol prices in Turkey, even this indulgence became a budget overshoot for many Turkish metalheads: the taxes on

alcohol have quintupled since 2002. For example, the tax on beer has increased from %18 VAT in 2008 to %63 VAT in 2016. My informants within the metal community of Istanbul still do not like being separated from either their music or their beer, but combined with the indoor smoking ban, drink prices discourage them to drink in a bar, or at least attend metal nightlife less frequently and for a shorter duration. ‘New clubs therefore often close their doors before they can establish themselves or reach their target customer profile’, asserts Umut Öner, who is a passionate supporter of metal music, but recently has been unable to keep either of his enterprises open (Personal interview, 2017). High prices in bars and clubs cause especially younger people with student-level incomes to develop disturbing habits such as drinking on the street in some areas of the city such as Kadıköy, purchasing their beverage from a vendor instead of a bar or club. In Taksim, even DoRock had to recently close its doors, after its management has changed hands three times since 2013.

In my opinion, Turkey has never been the best possible country for large scale open-air concerts and festivals with its fragile economy and the habitual xenophobia of the majority of its inhabitants towards anything not ‘Turkish’ and/or ‘Islamic’. The idea of holding an open-air festival is essentially a Western idea, thus foreign to the majority of urban and suburban population of Turkey, for whom attending any concert is an infrequently activity. A metal event with its distinctive following has always been and will always be considered bizarre, yet Istanbul has seen glorious events like Metallica’s 1999 concert which is said to have attracted forty thousand spectators, or the abovementioned Sonisphere festival in 2010. These last years, though, have been anticlimactic for all kinds of musical happenings: almost like the ebb of the wave that reached its climax in the first decade of the 2000s. Tolga Demir, a blogger at *Paslanmazkalem* webzine who writes about open-air music festivals, gives a survey of cancellations of events between the years 2012 and 2015, more every year (2015). Ertuğrul Özkök, a very well known journalist, who writes a column for *Hürriyet*, expresses his grief over how Turkey gradually became a no-man’s land for music:

Once upon a time my country was also the setting for such large scale music events... Artists such as Michael Jackson, Rolling Stones, Roger Waters, U2, Madonna, and many others were also visiting Istanbul... From 2010 on, we lost it all... We lost our Mediterranean spirit... While seeking to find our own

identity by returning to our past and the Middle East, we lost our spirit. (Özkök 2016)

Alcohol producers are banned by the government from advertising their products or even having their own web sites since 2013, in essence they are not allowed to promote consumption in any way. Prior to this prohibition, these companies' main contribution to Turkish music life was their sponsorship of open-air festivals under their company flag or their support and assistance for other organization companies. For example, many fans still very fondly remember the Tuborg Gold Fest in 2012, a fully-fledged metal festival spanning three consecutive days (Url 6). After the ban, Efes Pilsen did not give up organizing the One Love Festival for a couple of years: though they cannot directly claim sponsorship, there is a Facebook page and Twitter hashtag explicitly linking to the company. The 15th was to be held in 2016, but was cancelled. Their web page announces that the festival will not take place in 2017 but will resume in 2018, but the promise remains unfulfilled as of September 2018 (Url 7). It seems even leading global soft drink companies are finding it difficult to organize festivals to promote their products in contemporary Turkey. The Rock'n Coke festival, which has been a leading event for rock and metal music since 2003, has not been organized for the past three years. I could only speculate if this is due to government pressure centering on the festival organizers. A condemning article appeared at *Akit's* Facebook page, which is a fundamentalist newspaper often supporting the government, about the evils of Rock'n Coke. This article is not available online anymore, but a copy is at *Ekşi Sözlük* ('Sour' Dictionary- a collective hypertext dictionary and bulletin board, based on anonymous user contribution) and other blogs. Fanta Youth Festival, which was organized for two more years after Rock'n Coke, was also recently announced to be cancelled indefinitely and is not held since 2016.

Mehmet Tez, a columnist for *Milliyet*, writes about the tax factor contributing to this decline: although there still are events, the money earned by the artists themselves is about %9 of the total revenue and only major artists can claim that (2015). There is a %10 entertainment tax for concert organizations, plus other taxes. Hicri Bozdağ, a radio anchorman and promoter of rock and metal music from Ankara states that, most venues designed for indoor or outdoor performances have promotion agreements with catering and beverage companies, but this does not much help the organizer in terms of sponsorship. Instead, it forms a monopoly on the concert organization company,

preventing them from looking for alternatives while organizing the festival. (Personal interview, 2017)

Melis Alphan, a journalist in the daily newspaper *Hürriyet* has made an interview with Doğuş Dođukan Celasun, who owns an event management company specializing in organizing university festivals (2016). Celasun claims that after the ban on alcohol on university campuses in 2012, these festivals begun to decline. This process was accelerated by discouraging statements from Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu, the Turkish Council of Higher Education, about concerts in spring festivals. Alphan concludes her article with a statement that the youth culture in Turkey is pushed into domestic spaces and more television and “trash” in the cultural sense is being imposed onto young people by these enactments (2016). Aylin Aslım, a rock singer who has been in the music industry for twenty years, states that in contrast to the past 30 years where, following Middle East Technical University’s lead, most universities held spring festivals, there has been no state university with a spring festival in 2016. Some major and well-established university festival such as Uludağ University’s spring festival has not been held since 2014. My investigation on Aslım’s claims revealed that, although there are indeed many cancellations and announcements about the discontinuation of festivals, a few state universities such as 9 Eylül University in Izmir did keep up their traditional festivals featuring rock, even a handful of metal concerts in 2016. Nevertheless, for the majority of state universities, even some announced festivals are cancelled with flimsy reasons. Aslım also claims to have observed a marked change between the first ten years of her career and the next ten years, where the government pressure caused rectories of universities to divert available funds not to student clubs but top- down supervised events instead. In consequence, only private universities can organize spring festivals that, according to Aslım and three of my interviewees, are more like promotional events for the sponsoring companies.

Yet another major reason for event cancellations in 2015 and especially the turbulent and politically unstable 2016 was safety: every month there was an act of terrorism somewhere in the country with casualties. Particularly Islamic terror targeted civilians, and there have been many incidents in both Europe and Turkey of concert, night club and entertainment site attacks. Therefore, the economic and social factors were topped by security issues as well. Some of the research hereby presented was done before the military coup attempt that took place on 15th of July 2016, and already all but one of

the metal festivals were cancelled. The coup attempt that aimed to overthrow the government, spelled the demise of all cultural and recreation activity in the country for a while. The thwarted coup led to the declaration of a state of emergency. All concerts and festivals were immediately postponed or outright cancelled for a while, even personal events such as weddings were affected for security and mobility reasons (Url 8). Some of these events were postponed by the initiative of their organizers, whereas others were cancelled by municipalities and local government. The Zeytinli Rock Fest, for example, is a case where the organizers aimed at going through with the plan but the local government announced a cancellation. Appeals were made to government officials and eventually the festival was reinstated by the intervention of a parliament member of the main opposition. The situation was brought to the attention of the internal affairs minister Efkan Ala, who in turn ordered the governor of Edremit (the district of Zeytinli village) not to stop the festival (Url 9). Nonetheless, the government does not have a positive attitude to such events. Very recently, Istanbul's Beşiktaş Municipality's youth festival, featuring commemoration of Atatürk, a street painting party and concerts of mainstream rock music and metal artists, was cancelled by the government "due to security reasons"(Url 10). Across the Bosphorus, Üsküdar Municipality had a very busy activities calendar in the same time frame, and none of these events were cancelled (Url 11).

From the viewpoint of many musicians, it is extremely vexing that they have to face an intense double standard regarding the Turkish society, bolstered by the government's policies. Whenever the country is going through hard times, it impacts the music scene: musicians are expected to cancel their concerts when there are big accidents such as the Soma mining accident in 2014 where more than 300 miners were killed. In stark contrast, TV entertainment programs, football matches and of course omnipresent soap opera serials on television went on as if nothing happened. Terrorist attacks are even more difficult to handle than disasters since they turn to be battlegrounds for conflicting ideologies as well by the different factions in the country. The reactions of some seemingly Islam-inclined users on social media after certain attacks such as the Reina night club gunning on the New Year's Eve 2017 were exemplary in that sense. From their perspective, the victims deserved such a violent death at the hand of an ISIS member, since they were attending a dubious event such as attending a new year celebration party – a non Islamic activity. The extension of

this attitude understandably affects musicians: although they have bills to pay as much as non musicians, they are regarded as entertainers and they should volunteer to cancel their shows even if the government does not, in order to avoid sin and/or disrespect to social codes of mourning. This disheartening attitude is in stark contrast with what happens in similar cases elsewhere. When a suicide bomber attacked Ariana Grande's concert in Manchester in May 2017, the police asked the townspeople to take to the streets to commemorate the dead youngsters, guaranteeing their safety. Grande herself returned to the city for a major charity event with other artists, which raised 2 million pounds for the victims' families. Barış Akpolat, a journalist of *Birgün*, judging from similar events and reactions speculates that, if this bombing happened in Turkey, the following events would have happened: People would have been discouraged to go out, especially Western music events would be cancelled for a long while but the football match would go on. The teams would perhaps carry a banner expressing condolences for victims, but match attenders in the stadium would boo the one-minute-homage- silence since they would think the young people who died deserved this end by going to a non-Islamic activity. (2017)

In such a milieu as Turkey, it is understandable that the worldwide decline of guitar music is reflected in manifold ways (Teodorczuk 2018). These days, young individuals have little motivation or funds to acquire expensive equipment and studio time, and devote much effort to form and maintain bands. At least three shops that specialized in guitars and guitar equipment shut down in Kadıköy in the four-year period observed for this chapter. Only bigger retailers of musical instruments such as Zuhâl Müzik and Dore Müzik are still present and able to sell equipment exclusive to rock and metal music making. Music industry professionals such as producers and label companies are reported to be even less sympathetic to metal artists than they were a few years ago, although personally they might enjoy their music. Nevertheless, almost inexplicably, metal continues to occupy its niche in many a youth's psyche and it is still not uncommon to see a teenage metalhead strolling on the streets of Kadıköy as of 2019, as reported in subchapter 2.2.4.

2.3.3 Interviews: making sense of the events

In order to complement this chapter and find out if other observers would confirm my perspective, I conducted interviews with notable figures from the Turkish metal scene

in February and March 2017. Seven of my interviewees granted me a generous amount of their time, either in person or through video conferencing, so we could make free-flowing, unstructured interviews and discuss many aspects of the Turkish underground and public metal scene. A few others whom I wished to speak with in this form chose to respond instead by short written correspondence, either spontaneous on social media or via email. Some knew about my work and agreed that I use their writings and public assessments on social media as material, but were not interested in sharing exclusive opinions beyond those.

By order of interviewing, my interviewees are Burak Ada, Umut Öner, Fatih Azman, Onur Şişman, Haluk Ataklı, Yüce Ağanoğlu, Bahadır Uludağlar and Erdem Çapar. Burak Ada is an economist active in Istanbul Stock Exchange, besides being the owner of alternative music organization company Basty Productions, a metal fan of more than 20 years and a keen observer of the music industry. Umut Öner studied law and practiced his profession for some years before giving up to be a manager for live music venues such as Caravan Rock Bar (not the legendary 90s venue mentioned many times by Hecker, but its new incarnation opened in December 2016) and Herton Rock Bar, which had a very short existence and closed its doors in July 2017. He is the leader of Rock-Metal Birliği (union) (an informal, voluntary society for rockers and metalheads that organizes events), blogger and supporter of the Turkish underground. Fatih Azman works as a social media expert and is one of the executives of Takas Pazarı (swapping market), a platform and fanzine active since 2013 which organizes meetings, fairs and excursions for underground metal artists and fans. Onur Şişman is one of the best-known organizers of the Turkish metal scene, responsible from large scale events such as the Headbanger's Weekend open air metal festival and Parkfest, a notable rock and alternative music festival. His company implemented about 100 concerts including Deep Purple, Faith No More, Dream Theater (three times), Belle & Sebastian and Blind Guardian (all Turkey concerts so far). They are responsible from Anathema, Haggard, Opeth and Epica's Turkish tours among others. Haluk Ataklı is the owner of Hammer Music: active in the metal scene of Turkey since late 80s as an independent label, organizer, merchandise producer, fanzine editor and record shop owner. He is a revered, central character of the underground who has connections to every other figure. Yüce Ağanoğlu is a left-wing politician, author of multiple monographs and a keen metalhead who has observed both global and Turkish metal

since its advent, having lived in the United States of America for a decade. Bahadır Uludağlar is the lead guitarist, singer and songwriter of Moribund Oblivion a Turkish black metal band frequently performing abroad, active since 1999. Erdem Çapar is currently the lead singer of the band Sulfür Ensemble and a veteran figure of the Turkish rock and metal scene, organizing concerts for especially foreign medium-scale bands with his company Mood Pro. He has been active since late 1990s in other band formations performing a variety of metal subgenres.

Well-known metal drummer Alpay Şalt, a veteran of the Turkish metal scene since its establishment as the drummer of Whisky and other bands, recently lamented the closing within weeks of three time-honored and prominent live music venues that featured blues, rock and of course metal: Shaft, Hayal Kahvesi and Ağaç Ev, on social media. He describes how the audience would queue up to get tickets for the Istanbul Music Festival or sleep in front of Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (Atatürk Culture Center, featuring Eurogenetic art music), in 90s and 2000s, since the youth then was hungry for live music and socializing. Groups then used to play covers rather than their own compositions, especially Turkish lyrics were undesired. Şalt admits in retrospect that this attitude was a mistake, but remarks that, out of this trend emerged the artists that we love and listen to nowadays. He finds that now, especially in Beyoğlu, live music venues are bound to close down one by one, since live music does not provide the same satisfaction, and that the original audience either are at home tending families or has left the country. The new, more satisfied profile of customers has already seen many local and international bands live and would rather prefer attending such large scale events to coming to a live music club to listen to covers or local bands. All in all, difficult circumstances that the musicians live by, poor or unpaid royalties, not being able to advertise events and relying only on Facebook for public relations, mediocre service, narrowing economy, cultural transformation, transportation problems and even the indoor smoking ban had a detrimental effect on live music clubs.

“New clubs therefore often close their doors before they can establish themselves or reach their target customer profile”, asserts Umut Öner, who is a passionate supporter of metal music, but was unable to keep either of his enterprises open during the last year. Erdem Çapar reported that, prior to these difficult circumstances, organizing a metal concert of one medium-scale international act with local support bands still meant profit both for the organization company and the venue management, as well as

the band(s). The venue used to ask for a symbolic rent and the organizer was able to guarantee an estimated number of spectators, judging from social media reactions, fan base of the band(s), time of the year (less turnout during university finals periods, for example), etc. Nowadays, with the taxes constituting almost one fourth of the total proceeds, expenses higher due to the high foreign currency rate and the monopoly on consumption, it is extremely difficult to hold such events. The potential audience also has less money to spend for attending such events, if they do; they seldom consume a significant amount of alcohol due to high prices.

Burak Ada underlined that protest musics (rap, punk or metal) have always faced opposition in conservative societies and it is a doubly risky stance both socially and economically in today's Turkey. Although he himself is a fan of rock and metal music, his company keeps its distance from investing in such artists. He shared his view that the contemporary Turkish music industry is dependent on sponsoring companies and they prefer popular musics with a bigger audience to acts that could be considered "marginal". Haluk Ataklı paints a grim picture in diagnosing that the do-it-yourself and crowdfunding concepts that partially redeemed the global rock and metal industry did not gain hold in the country. Except some subgenres of metal that require less recording aesthetic and could be recorded in a home studio, it is becoming less plausible by the day to do something about metal except through intense devotion.

Ali Öztürk, an important figure of Ankara metal scene since the 90's, could easily be defined as a devotee who relentlessly sought to bolster the existence of the underground. Besides running a studio, he has voluntarily organized the Heavy Stage concert series for the past five years, featuring extreme metal and often at a loss. However, 2016's Heavy Stage turned out to be a very consuming event both financially and psychologically. Öztürk expressed his disappointment that despite the circumstances, metalheads do not hold a unified front, the egos of both the performers and listeners are skyrocketing. He wrote: "Probably this (December 2016) would be the last Heavy Stage ever... The sh*tty course of the country is bound to necessitate this." (Personal interview, 2016) Öztürk did his best to keep on organizing the Heavy Stage and managed to bring together many bands of the Extreme Metal Scene since this reported interview. In a recent review of the Turkish Underground, Paul Benjamin Osterlund confirms the observations and statements I make so far about the status of

the scene, but reports a recovery since 2016, especially concerning the extreme end of the metal spectrum (2018).

Onur Şişman, the organizer of Headbanger's Weekend series also remarks on how unsympathetic the Turkish audience is while he details how foreign groups avoid Turkey altogether or else ask for extremely high fees, up to quintuple of their regular tariff, to come play. He states that in those better times, his organization company had the motivation to withhold the buffeting of fans, when they complained about the festival or did not find the line-up to their liking. Now, after struggling extremely hard for a couple of years just to put together a mediocre line-up with one or two foreign bands, he states he will not organize metal festivals any more. As of 2018, he has only organized medium scale events for a few visiting bands such as Orphaned Land.

According to Aġanoġlu, the stereotypical Turkish metalhead is in a mental state of constant exasperation which leads to depression and a negative outlook: he/she used to represent whatever is novel, deviant and 'wild' in Turkish society a decade ago, but now, thanks to the rapidly increasing illiteracy and the glorification of ignorance by the government representatives, violence against women, children and animals has increased among the suburban and rural population. Although stigmatized by these mentioned portions of the society as a marginal element, and being used to metal's discourse contains references to violence and gendered slang, the educated and self-critical Turkish metalhead is seldom inclined to commit such acts of violence himself/herself. It is commonplace to see the members of the Turkish metalhead community express their revulsion on social media whenever a new atrocity unfolds and makes it to headlines.

Ending on a positive mode, among all my interviewees, Fatih Azman was the youngest and the only person who believes that the underground scene is still thriving in Turkey. Fatih defines the mission of Takas Pazarı as bringing the cult figures of the heyday of Turkish underground in the 90s together with the post-2000s youth and exchanging and protecting their output from the tape swapping era. In his opinion, metal can only withstand the current local existential crisis by upholding the legacy of its past, both globally and in Turkey. During our written interview, he shared the outlook of his Takas Pazarı club and some bloggers of his generation, claiming 2016 was the best year in a while. In spite of the pressure of all the above mentioned aspects, 2017 also started very promising for Takas Pazarı crew. They organized events featuring

underground bands in Ankara, Bursa and Izmir, brought together a paying audience, and arranged board and transportation through social media and their fanzine. Fatih remarks that, it is in the soul of metal music to stand against despotism, and that the subjugation of the metal scene in Turkey these days can only render the underground ever more vibrant.

Summing up: some interviewees such as Öner, Ağanoğlu and Ataklı are very pessimistic about the future of the Turkish metal scene and lay the blame partially on the uncooperative, snobbish attitude of the Turkish metal fan as well as the factors engendered by the political situation and the consequent change in the fabric of society. Nevertheless, underground metal keeps its dedicatees excited and both veterans such as Ali Öztürk and the younger generation such as Takas Pazarı or Izmir Attack communities are adamant on ‘defending’ metal’s territory. Bahadır Uludağlar believes a new generation of metal fans is coming, and metal will live on and become stronger in Turkey despite all these odds. It is the ‘duty’ of all members of this society to make a stand together, just as was done during the Gezi events, he claims.

2.3.4 Closure: Metal Scene as of 2018-2019

In late 2017 and early 2018, the metal scene somewhat recovered. A few metal acts visiting Turkey such as Pain of Salvation found new venues such as the Zorlu Center or Volkswagen Arena in ÜniQ Maslak for concerts. Although ticket prices are much more expensive than comparable events in early 2010s these days, the frequency of an international event is low enough that, even those metal fans who do not normally listen to the featured subgenre usually attend, even if it is only to “breathe in the atmosphere” (Erdem Çapar, Personal Interview, 2017). The absence of metal festivals is compensated by the underground scene especially concerning extreme subgenres having few but very well-attended events. The ever-existing hard rock-glam metal-early hard’n heavy cover bands performed in DoRock Taksim, but had to search for new venues such as The Wall or return to old/new venues such as Caravan when it shut its doors. Judging from social media, few fans show enthusiasm about such gigs these days but tend to populate extreme metal events or events than feature original music.

As is reported in Chapter 5 of this study, Uludağlar’s prediction about a new breed of metalheads is being fulfilled and it is not an uncommon sight these days to see

teenagers dressed in black roaming Kadıköy's streets with an electric guitar case on their backs. However, compared to the earlier periods of the presented research, the visibility of any type of extreme music is less and some of my contacts are complaining about studio prices, production costs and the unrest the economy causes on young people's minds: causing instability in a band situation. As of September 2018, the Turkish Lira to US Dollar rate is about 6.5 to 1, and musical instruments are entitled to %18 VAT, thus equipment is extremely expensive. Even largest distributors such as Dore Müzik and Zuhâl Müzik are feeling the strain of dropping sales. On social media, it is a very common sight to see guitarists and bassists complaining that they are performing for a week to earn enough money to buy a set of new strings for their instrument. With skyrocketing prices, only few newcomers to music have the means to acquire decent starting gear. Even 2nd hand market is in its lowest ebb so far, judging from the available advertisements and prices.

The absence of large-scale events for metal drives the metalheads who have enough funds to visit nearby countries such as Bulgaria, Georgia and Slovenia for metal festivals. Europe and Britain house larger scale events, but the abovementioned currency rate means few can afford to go to events such as Bloodstock, Wacken or Hellfest. With Metallica, Iron Maiden and Rammstein doing stadium-tours around Europe and the Americas and metal music, despite all odds, enjoying an insurrection, not being able to go is disheartening for many metalheads with whom I spoke.

A few events that popularize rock and metal have also taken place and were visible on the mainstream media such as the Senforok Project: a Turkish counterpart of the aforementioned Grammy crossover performance of Metallica and Lang Lang, modeled after similar, larger-scale events such as Britain's Royal Philharmonic Orchestra's ever-popular "Symphonic Rock" concerts. Musa Göçmen is a classically trained conductor with an interest in rock and metal music and he has made all the arrangements of the staple rock and metal anthems suggested by Hicri Bozdağ, a well-known Turkish radio anchorman and DJ of rock and metal. The group consists of a small-scale symphonic orchestra, a few rock and metal soloists from Ankara and a choir consisting of rock and metal loving amateurs. All these performance forces were rehearsed by Musa Göçmen himself for a period of about six months. I have indirectly been involved in the Istanbul leg of their tour, and the group intends to seek more concert opportunities around Turkey.

Turkey's only exclusive rock music radio station on air, Rock FM, has been sold to an Arab company and is now broadcasting religious programs. Some local and / or international rock artists are featured on mainstream channels such as Power FM during some programs, but there are no podcasts devoted to metal music on air. Blogs and Youtube channels devoted to metal still exist, but, in contemporary Turkey, "metal is not visible as long as you are not exclusively looking for it" (Stutz 2017).

2.4 Metal As A Global Phenomenon From The Turkish Perspective

As this research unfolded and I had the chance to compare notes from other scholars and representatives of the metal scene from Islamic countries, I was relieved once more to confirm that metal never was and probably would never be the target of a topdown ban in Turkey. I attended a panel surveying the metal scenes of Morocco and other North African countries given by Amine Hamma on June 18, 2019 in Nantes and learned that in Morocco, the only event that could be considered an opportunity to listen to "foreign" music including metal was an annual event held in Casablanca, subject to heavy censorship. I was surprised to hear that even in Tunisia, often perceived as the most progressive of Islamic countries, the metal scene is very limited. I compared these notes with Anis Jouini of the Oriental metal band Myrath: he reported that during their entire history, Myrath was able to perform only a handful of times in their home country. Recently, they were invited to perform at the Carthage Festival for the first time. Carthage Festival, held in the amfitheater of the ancient city is the most significant in the region and hosted many world-renowned artists since its beginnings in 1964. Anis related Myrath members felt less euphoria when Myrath was booked for Wacken Open Air, still considered one of the most significant metal events in the world. On 25th June 2019, Gabriela Licsko, an Israel-based scholar who presented a paper in Modern Heavy Metal Conference in Aalto, Finland, reported having conducted some fieldwork in Lebanon and related her observations that any metal concert organized in Beirut is subject to having all song lyrics and clothing inspected before and/or during a concert. To my knowledge, such an event never occurred in Turkey.

Judging from such accounts, compared to many other countries whose dominant religion is Islam, Turkey is much more tolerant and thus is a more welcoming climate for metal subculture and events. The reason for this tolerance is partially the country's vanguard geographical position on Asia Minor, partially the modernized, Western

founding principles of the Turkish Republic and partially the now lost but still fondly remembered multiculturalism of the bigger urban areas of Turkey such as Istanbul and Izmir. From what I collect from the accounts on social media, being a metalhead in Konya is still much more difficult than being a metalhead in Istanbul Kadıköy, but few if any report outright hostility to their attire of demeanor these days.

2.4.1 Metal and Turkish Society

Hecker finds that, as of the first decade of the 2000s, metal music in Turkey acquired a “strong and passionate following” (2012, p.5), but repeatedly underlines the inherent conflict of a musical genre often associated with heresy and deviant social practices, and the religious and moral sensibilities of Turkish society. Almost all chapters report on the struggle Turkish metalheads had to go through to form even a small niche in the fabric of society that could allow them merely to exist in the way they wished. For a long while, printed material such as press items and fanzines were the main sources of information for any scholar who wishes to do research on the Turkish metal scene, as exemplified in Hecker’s volume, but it takes close scrutiny and fluency in both Turkish and practices and habits of underground metalheads to follow that stream.

Metalheads in Turkey, especially adherents to more extreme types such as black metal or recent blends such as all ‘core’ variants, could be deemed xenophobic and suspicious. Since most have experienced hostility and social pressure towards their attire, demeanor and lifestyle, they quickly can assume a too-defensive or exclusionary stance that would compromise my data collection process. I had instances when my to-be-informants attempted to justify themselves by casting their actions under a too-becoming light, therefore were not being frank. Some responded to my attempts at getting familiar egotistically with ‘you would not understand’ or even with derogatory comments such as ‘you are a poser’. For the most part, being a figure of the scene with the proper dress code, manner of speech, behavior and purpose helped to establish more and more connections to conduct research along with promoting my band.

In his study(2012), Hecker underlines the sense of belonging with the sense of “coming home” (p.7) and states that he “never felt treated like an outsider”, although he did not even know a congregation point for Turkish metalheads when he started his fieldwork and did not have a single connection in Istanbul. Most of his Turkish interviewees were “pretty dogmatic” about metal and questioned what could be considered metal

and what not in a very straightforward way. The misoneism of the Turkish metalhead could be exemplified with the reaction towards Turkish folk music artist Ferhat Güzel being invited to DoRock stage on 16.06.2017 for a song. DoRock stage, famous of hosting the metal and rock bands, invited Ferhat Güzel for a surprise as he himself is a frequenter of the club, but the reactions were not welcoming at all. The negative comments that have been posted on Uludag Sozluk and Eksi Sozluk can be considered as typical example on the part of Turkish metal listeners, not open to flexibility and perceive change only as corruption/degradation.

Apart from being biased towards music, in only a few countries are behavioral codes about how the young should behave towards their elders are as strict and pronounced as in Turkey. Turkish language has many proverbs about how parents, grandparents, mentors, teachers, in short those figures that would shape the next generation, should be revered. Culturally, in many regions of the country, no matter how 'rebellious' a young person might be, s/he is expected to settle back into a semblance of respectable order, otherwise s/he would be disowned, cast away and declared 'lost', 'wasted' and/or 'degenerated'. When the era of 'delikanlılık' (mad-bloodedness: an idiom used for adolescence and early adulthood in Turkish) is past, music preferences are also expected to 'return to normalcy'. I have encountered many a middle-aged person who claimed to have had long hair and have been attuned to newer, louder music in their youth, but cannot abide by such music anymore.

Another hallmark of the typical Turkish family is some sort of reverse Orientalism: no matter how much Turkish society seems to revere the West and 'muasır medeniyetler seviyesi'³ paradigm, no matter how 'modernized/Westernized' a certain surrounding would be, there is an underlining belief that the West is actually quite corrupt. Zealous and overprotective Turkish parents staunchly believe that European/Western parents kick their offspring out of their homes at the age of 18 and do not assume any responsibility for them after that. They believe that in the West, the society is consisting of apathetic, selfish individuals; there are no concepts such as neighborhood or extended family or the possibility of sharing deeper aspects of life beyond hobbies among friends to bind the people together. According to such reverse-orientalist views from modern/secular factions of Turkish society, Turks should import only the good

³ The level of civilized Western countries, quoting M. Kemal Atatürk's famous statement in his *Nutuk*.

deeds and aspects such as industriousness, gender equality, individuality and freedom of expression, from the West.

With this view, there emerges a kind of conflict. More traditional/religious surroundings would reject any imported cultural phenomenon originating from the West, as long as they are aware of its origins, as corrupt/blasphemous/threatening to Turkishness and Islam, but would gladly use Western technology without seeing any irony or conflict. Thus, there are endless debates on the celebration of the New Year's Eve each year. Traditional Anatolian Islam emphasizes values such as demureness, tranquility, piety and soberness in its disciples. These qualities are pressed upon young people by their elders, sometimes with excessive zeal and menace. It is obvious that metal, already a symbol of protest against the values of mainstream society, would be abhorred in more religious/traditional surroundings. Nevertheless, especially the more extreme types of metal are ever popular in Turkey, in most unexpected surroundings.

Besides this irony, one more interesting trait becomes apparent in Turkish audience. According to Adrian North (2005), metal has a lot of drama: "There's also a sense of theatre which is common with both groups. (classical music and metal music). [...]For heavy metal bands it's about putting on a show" (p. 38). Turkish society does not tolerate drama easily: for many people, being 'mazbut' (neat) is a goal. Anything out of the ordinary is a source of gossip and social exclusion. Turkey is, in that sense, an interesting country where the social pressure for normalcy is mounting but people are very much interested in the 'corrupt', 'deviant' behavior. When it comes to following and commenting upon the abhorrent deeds of a rock star such as debauchery etc, people are very keen. They revere such icons as long as they are away from themselves. In the unlikely case that such a figure would enter their close surroundings, those 'mazbut' people would turn into condemning moral police figures, yet they would lap up magazine programs and soap operas that feature deviant social cases.

Most parents in Turkey follow the footsteps of this kind of behaviorism. What matters most is that their children should not stand out as rebellious social figures, a young person is desired to be blindly obedient to the norms of the society and to have nothing to do with rebellion, the desired method of standing out is only academical prowess. Having a child who has different tendencies about music, schooling and/or art might be considered as shameful. These children are sometimes forced into resignation of their newly developing inclinations. There are accounts that such individuals are

stigmatized in the society and pointed out as a dishonorable family member who is corrupt and immoral. As stated above, for such Turkish parents, being immoral is somehow also connected with the Western society and their family values. Thus, whenever a child strikes these stereotypical parents as different, they associate his/her behaviour with an imagined, immoral image of the West and attempt to reform him/her with the 'correct' behavioral pattern in keeping with the traditional values as the family perceives.

I would like to specially cite one research paper, written by Mücahit Gültekin working for a pro-government NGO, with the objective of determining if metal music is dangerous for Turkish youth. (2013) He keeps his neutral stance towards the music but his choice of references are mainly from before 2000, where metal had a strong association, in Weinstein's words, "with attacking the central values of Western civilization". (2000, p.3) In his study, he emphasizes the relationship between metal music and violence, alcohol and drugs. Even though he keeps his distance from making a thorough judgment, he points out the fact that more studies should be conducted in order to understand the psychological and personal traits of those who listen to metal music. (Gültekin, p. 21) The reader still does get a sense about whose side Gültekin takes and occasionally, perhaps with good cause, papers associating metal music with the themes Gültekin mentions still get to be published.

In this context, with all characteristics of metal music and its audience, it can be inferred that being a metalhead in Turkey is harder than in a Western country. It is surprising and strangely gratifying that, despite all odds, metal has managed to capture the attention of its target audience: working class youth who feel rebellious, frustrated with rules and social forces, have opposite political opinions to the leading ideology or want to explore alternate definitions of social norms. This is not to say that the (upper) middle class washed its hands off metal in Turkey, but it seems that the accessibility to the world of metal music that came in the wake of digital revolution played an important role to help metal music transcend economic borders in the Turkish case. More on the social profiling of the Turkish metal listener and the place she/he situates himself/herself in society is to be found on Chapter 5.1.

2.4.2 Metal and Islam

At first glance, a conciliation between Islam and metal seems inconceivable. Even the existence of white metal, which arguably could form a middle ground between these two central social forces, does not seem to make the association easier. However, in the 2nd half of the 2010s, there are many bands hailing from Islamic countries and have Islamic overtones to explicit Islamic content in their output. There is even a subgenre in the spectrum of metal music called “takwacore metal”, which, according to Dougherty, begun among Islamic diasporas in the Western world, but later imported/exported, dependent of the vantage point, to Middle East and is a fusion of metal music, punk subculture and Islamic faith (2017, p.207). Actually, Dougherty criticizes and disdains this initial sentiment that metal and Islam do not go together and leans on metal’s punk aspect to explain its presence in takwacore subculture.

Mark Levine who is the author of *Doing the Devil’s Work: Heavy Metal and the Threat to Public Order in the Muslim World* (2009), has conducted meticulous research concerning the metal scenes in the Middle East and North Africa and explains how metal takes on a new meaning in these places. Here metal is a cultural tool used to criticize the status quo and imagine a more positive, fulfilling, and free life that removes members of its subculture from under the oppression that they are experiencing. Governments in many of these countries outlaw metal recordings, concerts, metal clothing, and even alterations to appearance that would associate a person with the metal community or the Western world such as long hair and tattoos. These governments seem to fear metalheads because they threaten the authoritarian order that has been established and raise moral, ethical, and political questions.

According to LeVine (2011), extreme metal has become popular across much of the predominantly Muslim world precisely because of its brutal vocals, intense, dissonant and powerful music, and violence-laden lyrics dealing with themes of corruption, war and oppression. These constitute a powerful vehicle for fans and musicians to critique the politics and social dynamics more broadly across their societies and the global world. LeVine determined that metal has an important role to play in the transition to greater transparency, tolerance, and democracy in Islamic nations, including Iran (Prindle 2014).

Mark Levine quotes a metalhead from Iran who claimed that when he discovered metal music, it was “like a flower in the desert.” (2010) What metal music represents for young people in Iran is quite different than other countries. Being ruled by Sharia, Iran and many other Islamic countries demonize metal music and its followers. While many Western countries perceive metal music as a way of catharsis for rebellion, for Islamic countries which have been devoid of freedom of expression, it stands for freedom. Hecker quotes informants expressing similar sentiments in his volume *Turkish Metal*, whose title and content foregrounds Islam and explores its repercussions for Turkish metal fans.

Metalheads are still persecuted and expunged from some countries almost 40 years after the onset of the genre. During my fieldwork, I have made contact with an Iranian metalhead couple who had to flee Iran since they were flogged in public and were threatened with more serious punishment unless they renounced their ‘vile ways’ and embrace Islam. They would rather leave everything behind and abandon their friends and family than giving up their metalhead identity. Their band: Master of Persia is defined as “the most influential of Iranian metal bands” by Jeremy Prindle, who made an extensive observation of the Persian Metal Festival this band’s own organization company, M.O.P Music, organized in Yerevan, Armenia to write his Master’s Thesis. This band’s plight in their north Iranian hometown Mashad and their exodus story out of Iran into Armenia and into Çanakkale, Turkey, even drew the attention of MTV, which made a documentary relating this experience. I had the opportunity to interview Meraj and Anahid, the vocalist and guitarist of Master of Persia during my band Listana’s appearance on the 2015’s Persian Metal Festival in Çanakkale. They seemed content to live in the smaller, tolerant Western Anatolian city and found Islam, as is practiced in their surroundings tolerable, even comforting to some extent.

There are some recent developments in the global metal scene which give hope regarding the future of Islam and metal music fans. In Indonesia, three teenage girls who come from humble rural farming families formed a metal band called “Voice of Baceprot” and have commandeered a wide audience including their nation’s president, who is a metal fan. The girls, wearing the hijab, claim “they want to prove that they can be observant Muslims while also playing loud music and being independent” despite all kinds of criticism, resistance, even death threats from extremist Islamic groups that are abundant in their 200-million country (Cochrane 2017).

2.4.3 Writing Turkish Metal: Scholarly or otherwise

The Turkish metal scene first came into scholarly attention in the past decade with the 2012 publication of the book *Turkish Metal: Music, Meaning and Morality in a Muslim Society* by the German anthropologist Pierre Hecker. In a subsequent study, Hecker reminisces that, back in 2006 to 2008 - the period he conducted his fieldwork for *Turkish Metal* - studying metal music, its practitioners and fans was still a novelty (p. 95). His volume on Turkish metal thickly describes the scene and its protagonists from diverse paths such as performers, promoters, managers of live music venues, book and record shop keepers, radio and TV figures and, of course, fans. Hecker finds that, as of the first decade of the 2000's, metal music in Turkey has a devoted audience (p. 5), but repeatedly underlines the inherent conflict of a musical genre often associated with heresy and deviant social practices, and the religious and moral sensibilities of Turkish society. Almost all chapters report on the struggle Turkish metalheads had to go through to form even a small niche in the fabric of society that could allow them merely to exist in the way they wished.

Hecker's study, whose main corpus of information was gathered during the first decade of 2000s, is still the most influential and widely cited academic source on Turkish metal today. Among studies that cite Hecker are Dawe and Eroğlu 2013, Şenel 2014 and Demirci 2015; but none of these studies follow up with the current status of the metal scene in Turkey.

The Turkish chronicles on metal music still seem like oral history for the most part. For a long while, printed material such as press items and fanzines were the main sources of information for any scholar who wishes to do research on the Turkish metal scene, as exemplified in Hecker's volume, but it takes close scrutiny and fluency in both Turkish and practices and habits of underground metalheads to follow that stream. The Turkish Council of Higher Education's thesis database reveals that there is only one dissertation on metal music, presented to Dokuz Eylül University in 2011 by Aykut Çerezcioglu, detailing the extreme metal scene of Izmir. The list can be extended with a handful of unpublished undergraduate and master's theses submitted to various music departments around the country.

Less ephemeral but non-academic sources about and on metal music include some well-established webzines such as *Pasifagresif.com* or *Delikasap.com*, trusted web

portals like *Turkgitar.net* and various pages on social media where fans and practitioners congregate and exchange knowledge and opinions. A number of recent monographs in Turkish such as *Metallica: Mahşerin Dört Atlısı*⁴ (Sadi Tırak and Erdem Tatar, 2014), or novels that feature Turkish metalheads as protagonists like *Taksim Bahçesi*⁵ (Murat Arda, 2017) and documentaries such as “Gri değil Siyah: Ankara Rocks!”⁶ (Ufuk Önen, 2017) were greeted with enthusiasm by metal fans.

⁴ Metallica: The Four Riders of Apocalypse

⁵ Taksim Garden

⁶ Not Grey but Black: Ankara Rocks!

3. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: THE METAL BAND EXPERIENCE

Generally speaking, any “social sciences” text is dramatically different than any “natural sciences” text in terms of flow, wording, organization and objectivity/subjectivity dialectics. The stereotypical natural sciences paper has multiple authors since the hypothesis presented is either affirmed or refuted through replicable experiments often conducted by more than one research group member. The “fact” presented is not an “opinion”, and its factors and parameters are independent from the authors. Essentially, humanities research output is almost a polar opposite: very often a single author is involved and the discourse is dependent upon the nuances inherent within the secondary, even tertiary meanings of words. Replicability is not an issue: even the same field and same protagonists displaced in time could mean different results. The author’s degree of involvement varies from discipline to discipline within entire domain of the humanities, however it is always considered a risk in academic writing that the author should be “too involved” in the outcome. Epistemologically, it is neither possible nor anybody’s intention to isolate and “decontaminate” the human element in the paradigm of humanities research. Nonetheless, a careful, almost to the point of precarious balance must be maintained, lest the scholarly perspective is deemed lost.

Some years ago, it would not have been regarded academic to pursue research which involved not only being closely associated with a given field, but also doing the activities within that field as a member of the studied society. The scholar was expected to be a respectful outsider and ensure that his/her presence did not alter the phenomenon he/she observed. It would not have been considered ethnography if the agent acknowledged that his/her presence, decisions and personage was to be branded upon the outcome. The assumption was that the author should act like a camera and not even acknowledge the stance of a film director: claim to observe anything and everything and relate in terms of thick description, audiovisual output and/or analysis using one or a selection of the habitual tools of social sciences.

As laid out in Chapter 1, practice-led research is the preferred method for this section of this work. Skains provides a bolstering insight to why such methods, at times formulated with slightly different wordings such as practice-based research and/or practice as research and/or studio-based research etcetera, lend themselves useful when researching any discipline that involves creativity and/or artistic expression: “When we as practitioners pursue our art as research, we not only offer insights into art and the practice of art as it occurs, but can throw new and unexpected light onto a range of topics including cognition, discourse, psychology, history, culture, and sociology” (2018, p.84). Accordingly, the creative process is both artistic and analytical and practice-led research thus resembles a simile of a hard-sciences researcher working in his/her laboratory. He describes the method as “a targeted combination of autoethnomethodology, reflection applied to cognitive composition and creativity models, and post-textual media-specific analysis of the creative artefacts” (2018, p.85) and points out to similar methods used for medicine and engineering. However, within humanities, perhaps due to the quest of presenting the research outcomes in a more “scientific” sense, thus having as much common properties as hard sciences as possible, the use of practice-led research is relatively new.

I have already stated in Chapter 1 that, in the course of this work, at a certain point, process became more important than the product. The focus on process concerning the central research question is thus justified, and it might even be added that communication itself is a procedure. To analyze these aspects, the aforementioned ethnography based on observation would not have been sufficient. One might easily miss, for instance, the learning process involved, non-verbal communication and/or the cognitive impact of outside criticism no matter how closely he/she observes. For these reasons, practice-led research might be the only method that facilitates a real closeup investigation of the procedures themselves. In his widely referred model for practice-led research, Sullivan identifies this supposition and states that practice-led research could be utilized to build theory (2009, p.48).

Chapter 3 of this monograph is constructed around the mainly diachronic story of a metal band christened “Listana”. Hereby, different aspects and activities of popular music making paradigm will be explored, treating the Listana experience as a central pole that connects and interrelates these subjects. The present chapter therefore

contains the practice-led research of this project and doubly important since it gave me intimate, insider access to the field. My findings and my way of analyzing them would have been from an entirely different perspective had I remained the “classical musician who is somehow interested in talking to metalheads”. I would essentially remain an “outsider” in a field which, according to many scholars who do research on metal, “xenophobic” (Unger, 2016) and “distrustful to strangers” (Hecker, 2012). Although, at first glance, the following section resembles “an impressionistic novel” (Boran 2019), it is the irreplaceable central core of this entire study. It is not a brain but a heart: indispensable in terms keeping up the connection between chapters, maintaining the motivation and morale necessary to keep on doing the research and engineering the flow of both the knowledge and the expertise.

3.1 The Meta-Narrative of Being Part of a Band and The Okullu-Alaylı Dichotomy

This present section is labelled a “metanarrative”. My initial aim for this choice was merely the prefix’ colloquial and factual meaning: the experience captured in the historiography of the metal band I am a part of is central for this study: it is not a story but is “beyond” narrative. “Meta” also implies that whatever concept it is coupled with will be handled in a higher, more abstract level, such is the aspiration here. Metanarrative is a term developed by Jean Francois Lyotard in his work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979), to denote a grand narrative that seeks to connect separate events in a timeline to plausibly explain phenomena such as social contexts and experiences. A metanarrative must be grounded in the context of universal truth, in my understanding similar to a causal chain, elucidating and explaining knowledge. Lyotard, however refutes his own concept by stating that postmodernism can neither be merely defined as a historical period nor a paradigm, it is an “incredulity towards metanarratives” (p.24). The time of the grand narrative, an all-purpose archetypal story to explain the workings of the universe, is past. The world, thanks to information technology, is a much smaller place and instead of a lofty universal metanarrative, relativism and skepticism to question what 'truth' is, prevail.

Considering these aspects, this work’s endeavor to employ a mixed method with elements derived from a quantitative, positivistic method from political science should be interpreted as targeting the objectivity and universality of hard sciences, thus 'truth'. Inherently, the account provided will have to be subjective, though it seems an

agreement upon scholars who map out practice-led research as a method not to consider this problematic. Nonetheless, during the course of the narrative, the aim is not to push the band experience to artificially elevate it into the theory level, either by highly abstracting it or forcing generalizations. Instead I am aiming at a thematic structure based on the narrative in the sense of chronology, meanwhile also following the scheme laid out as a road map to do practice-led research. In their work *Postmodernism and Education*, Usher and Edwards articulate: “We construct our world through discourse and practice and that therefore, with a different discourse and a difference set of practices, things could be otherwise” (1994, p.28). To refrain from such a fallible trend, the events are given with as little elaboration as is possible.

In this way, I treat the “metanarrative” as a “selfdirected form of ethnomethodology during the composition of the texts, in the form of a research log (noting insights, process, difficulties), and draft materials and revision notes (which can later be analysed as in situ utterances). Together, these methods of documentation constitute a ‘creative analytical processes ethnography’ in which the creative process and products, and the analytical process and products are deeply intertwined, offering opportunity for insight and nuance into the creative practice through a necessarily subjective record” (Skains 2018, p.87). According to Skains’ manual of implementing such a research project, I have divided the following discourse into subsections corresponding to the phases. Establishing the research problem corresponds to the formative phase of the band, the first time the different backgrounds prove a problem. Conducting empirical and contextual background research corresponds to the bricolage of playing other bands’ music, learning music technologies, subsuming musical style, analyzing other bands’ compositional/creative processes and gigging. Forming arguments leading to exegesis could be perceived as going through the phases leading to the release of an opus. Revisiting the research question after the band has made a successful release, thus some [temporary] solution to the research problem has been found, brings new insights to the information garnered through the procedure. Finally: the conclusions are lessons learned, and the output in the form of this monograph.

Listana was founded in 2011 as a five piece female-fronted metal band from Istanbul, Turkey. We founded the band as idealist amateur musicians, who sought to develop their musical skills further by making exact covers: playing other bands’ music without interpreting, but as close the original as possible, then turning into composing our own

numbers. Despite being even further marginalized as a female-fronted band within the music industry of Turkey with its endemic hardships, we managed to maintain the band through the emerging stage, culminating in releasing an economy play album and a single. These efforts paid off as Listana received the level and recognition that led to supporting international metal artists in domestic festivals and abroad. Being subjected to both rollback and support like many young metal bands, it became part of the vibrant scene Pierre Hecker describes in *Turkish Metal* (2012) for about five years, falling out of performing capacity in summer 2015 due to reasons detailed in Chapter 3.4.1.

The name, which phonetically resembles Istanbul, was chosen to represent an imagined city: The name originates from Amin Maalouf's 2000 historical fiction novel *Le Périple de Baldassare*⁷ as a Lebanese Levantine's referral to the big metropolis far away in the novel's universe. There is no evidence that it was ever used to denote Istanbul in the past. In this time period, Listana was among a handful of bands making and performing (playing covers) the symphonic metal subgenre, habitual for female fronted bands. A short while later, the band revised its playlist and sought to form and occupy a niche of its own by turning into progressive metal, a technically demanding subgenre not much attempted or in high demand in Turkey. Having a female lead and refraining from stereotypical themes of metal music such as anger, violence, masculinity and promiscuousness inevitably branded the band as "alternative". The band sought to create original music featuring daring harmonic effects, novel textures and odd time signatures. Although it sounded nothing like the ever popular, 80's style trash metal bands or the extreme metal Kadıköy bands performing derivatives of doom, death or black metal, Listana managed to gain some following, both physically and on social media.

Prioritizing live performance over output, Listana made an appearance in more than 40 local and international concerts. Despite shortcomings such as inadequacy of musicianship, frequent line-up changes, insufficient rehearsing, lack of experience in terms of producing and promoting original music, mediocre equipment and meager stage experience, it was possible to find gigs and we played at full venues whenever or wherever we performed. Istanbul boasted many live music venues that welcomed metal bands on their stage, among these were DoRock, Rock'nRolla, K6, Factory and

⁷ The Journey of Baldassare

Kemancı in Taksim and Shaft in Kadıköy. Occasionally we visited other cities in Turkey to perform such as Ankara, Kocaeli and Çanakkale, each with its own distinctive metal audience, if smaller than Istanbul. Especially Ankara metal scene, with its passionate audience, was a favorite. Listana also appeared, between 2010 and 2013, at spring fests of major universities such as Istanbul Technical University and Marmara University in Istanbul, Uludağ University in Bursa, and Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Combined with the smaller events of private universities like Kültür University, these festivals were an important opportunity to reach our target audience and gain following, and establish connections with the music and student rock clubs of other universities as well. Finally, there were also opportunities to partake in miscellaneous events organized by broadcasting companies such as the Battle of the Bands by Radyo Boğaziçi of Boğaziçi University, Power Garage Emergenza competition by PowerTürk media group and join radio programs on air in channels such as Rock FM, Yön Radyo and Açık Radyo.

“It is often in junior high that young people first develop a passion for popular music and buy their first guitars or join their first bands” (Boespflug 1999, p.37). On the contrary, my exposure to metal music therefore came at a late point in my life, when I was drawn to the so-called “symphonic” subgenre of metal, through its well-documented connection to Eurogenetic art music (Brizard 2001, p.116-7). I did not have any interest to try performing metal until opportunity presented itself in 2010, the year my journey as a member of the band begun. I was first recruited into this emerging garage band as keyboard player and backing vocalist, with the intention of performing symphonic metal. Unlike the other five members that constitute the band, I did not have any kind of band experience except performing in some Eurogenetic art music ensembles, rendering me much less skilled than my band members about studio equipment, I was not even able to connect my instrument to the Public Address System (PA) myself.

Stephanie Pitts, begins her noteworthy book *Valuing Musical Participation* thus:

Musical participation shapes people's lives, drawing on their emotional, mental and physical energy. Its activities are valued highly and demand great commitment, sometimes to an extent that seems incomprehensible to those who are not involved. Participants often cannot say just what it is that matters to them about music — but they know that it does. (p. 1)

Christopher Small labels musical participation as “musicking” and describes it as a cultural practice that “establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies” (1998, p.13). As Patsiaoura puts it, when musicking is the aim, ‘taking part’ could mean ‘belonging in’, ‘contributing to’, ‘sharing with’ and ‘identifying with’ as well as ‘making music together’ (Russel, Ingram eds, 2013). I was able to observe the validity of such statements from the first hand through this new musical experience: by being part of a band. Our band started as a hobby for some of its members, whereas some members had higher expectations from the band and music in general. The founding members were hailing from diverse backgrounds for whom being or having been a student of Istanbul Technical University happened to be a common denominator, who soon began spending leisure time together around rehearsals. I had little explanation to this other than a remark like Pitts’: I was not able to identify per se what the appeal of spending time together in and around the music but enjoying that time and company nevertheless.

Unlike an art music ensemble, whose members are seldom if at all known to the audience, a metal band’s following would know and display their approval/disapproval of, member changes. In the course of the five years, the line-up, aims, practices, even the subgenre preference of the band changed fundamentally. Some member changes were especially dramatic: the remaining members had to endure incidents such as losing the band’s social media accounts, negative talk behind one’s back and/or organized mobbing campaigns on YouTube. The only founding member who kept his position is the guitarist; the founding bassist returned to the band after a long hiatus and I had to change roles from keyboard player to vocalist, finally shouldering both roles by the help of backing tracks and keytars as preferred instrument on stage.

It was the first time for me, an institutionally trained musician according to the Western conservatory system, to work with musicians hailing from different backgrounds. The conservatory tradition, with its roots in the early-to-mid 19th Century mainly acts as a repository for the oral performance practice of Eurogenetic art music, currently mislabeled as “classical” music. There certainly are regional and national differences between conservatories but a person who attended such an institution anywhere is expected to show some musical feats such as literacy of (Western) standard notation, performance skills to a given degree on a given instrument/voice, knowledge of

(Western) music theory, a canon of major works and treatises that constituted the social/communal/ritualistic aspects of (Western) music in general. Even some genres like jazz, which started off informally as an offshoot of folk, spiritual and ragtime music, is now formally studied in institutional contexts both in terms of theory, performance and context. Popular and “light” music these days are also studied, created and performed under the roof of the conservatory. Music production and sound engineering are strictly institutionalized and are taught in interdisciplinary musical academies such as the SAE chain. All of these mentioned disciplines are taught using comparable methodology, didactics and ontological considerations. Consequently, the common denominator being the music itself, and performance under the roof of an institution providing epistemologically ‘Western’ conservatory education, I hitherto had never encountered any problems that originate from not being proficient with conventions, rituals or jargon.

At first assuming that my newfound colleagues in the metal band would have had at least some kind of similar musical education, I expected the same procedures I was familiar with. However, as time progressed, adaptation and advancement became a difficult issue for everyone. Some unfamiliar terms such as ‘riff’, ‘patch’ and ‘guitar tone’ seemed to belong to the genre we strove to perform, but I did not have a grasp on them, my colleagues could not verbally define them to my satisfaction and internet sources were not agreeing on their exact meaning. I was unable to communicate my knowledge, intentions or opinions through the musical jargon I was proficient with. The more my network of metal musicians and listeners grew, the more diverse their description of metal music as a practice and phenomenon became.

The expectations and performance standards of metal music were quite divergent with Eurogenetic art music as well. Meticulousness and clarity of passages at times were, for lack of a better expression, ‘drowned in the noise’ during studio sessions but my colleagues did not seem to mind as long as the flow was not affected. When instrumental mastery is considered, I was expecting my classical training to give me the upper hand. During practice sessions, I would strive to get a passage clear and well coordinated as it should be, but my meticulousness only would cause exasperation among my band members. Precision yet seemed to belong to the domain of the trained musician and often I would give up in frustration and just go along, trying to ignore

the sloppiness. I was not skillful at using the devices of my synthesizer effectively, either.

I had to work closely with the band's semi-professional guitarist, who picked up the instrument at thirteen but never had any tutorage, since we would often have to play antiphonal, parallel, even unison solos. I constantly attempted to teach him music theory, notation, and the 'correct' language (such as not calling lower strings 'upper' strings because they are vertically at a higher position). Yet he did not show any significant interest, being content with his mnemonic and tactile musicianship and asked me to watch the guitar instruction videos he learned from, hoping to evoke my admiration to his idols. I believe we eventually arrived at a mutual understanding and respect for each other's skills and perception of music after spending nine years together, but some issues of musical communication seems to have been left unresolved.

When problems described above begun to deduct from my musical satisfaction, I thought it is worth to contemplate the reasons and started analyzing the experience. In Bohlman's words: "Thinking—or even rethinking—music... is at the base an attempt to claim and control music as one's own" (1999, p.17). Thinking along the lines: "I have the longest musical training, so I should have the most authority on musical decisions", or, "it is my band mates' shortcoming if they do not understand when I speak about third degree modulations or thematic transformation", or even "my band mates do not know much about music because they cannot even read notation, but use tablature charts to learn" did not solve any problems. It was a revelation to discover that performing metal, thus learning another genre's performance practices was a means to indulge in the pleasures of escapism for me. I was, in a way venturing into the realm of the musical "Other", but I was behaving like many a classically trained musician: enjoying the popular music experience but not quite subsuming it or declaring it a permanent part of my musical identity, out of unacknowledged subconscious contempt. This behaviour is almost colonial in its own sense. Even while I was devoting my time to learn conventions and performance practices, I was still the superior, justified "Self" being able to govern the musical experience in the manner I was taught to during the formal training.

Daniel Newsom reports a similar experience:

As a professional musician, often in a rock and roll context, I saw how much more efficiently music could be assembled and performed if certain rehearsal techniques were observed. I assumed that the same economy of musical organization would benefit young rock and rollers. But this clash of ideologies, one resisting the principle of order and the other unable to function without it, questions the practicality of applying anything resembling a traditional instrumental music methodology to the teaching of popular music without first addressing certain sociopolitical issues. (1999, p.9)

My approach was probably unfruitful since I failed to understand that “one of the pillars of rock ideology: opposition to authority and discipline, and, by extension for musicians, opposition to a structured approach to the learning of music” (Newsom 1999, p.10). According to Joseph Kerman in his seminal *Contemplating Music* (2009), music scholars incline to be conservative, and I needed to break this attitude and accept that I too had deficiencies and things to learn for progress. For one, I found out that I was totally insensitive to what popular musicians refer to as “sound” and I was only approaching the music through notes. My approach was in fact very Adornian since I was seeking the meaning and significance in the formal characteristics, notated or otherwise writable/prescriptive instead of the elusive and mysterious “groove” my band mates emphasized. On the contrary, my fellow band members were there since they felt rebellious towards this very approach. By deciding to make metal music, they already manifested their unacceptance against a structured approach of music learning they could acquire at a music school. I have witnessed the same attitude repeatedly over the years as band members changed: They seemed to respect my knowledge, but did not find the rehearsal techniques or aims I offered as economical or efficient. They criticized my perspective because of the only way I knew into music was stiff and too organized in their eyes. Knowing Beethoven well but Led Zeppelin little was a conflict in this perspective, since I was not a metalhead enough to make judgements and decisions.

3.2 Songwriting

Rock, eventually metal music tradition, since its beginnings in the rockability era of the 1950s was dependent mostly on oral procedures and had a limited but important improvisational aspect. Especially when composing new music, the performer and the composer being the same person provides a great deal of freedom. The popular music

composition, unlike the art music composition, is a plastic process specific to each individual creator of popular songs. In Boespflug's words:

Pop musicians frequently create, often spontaneously, musical strands that are woven through the structural fabric of a composition. The performer's responsibility thus goes beyond executing what appears on a page. Through this extemporaneous approach, the pop musician contributes directly to the musical material of a composition, influencing tone color, melody, rhythm, harmony, and even structure, and thus becomes a co-arranger/composer as well as performer." (1999, p. 34)

In my band mates' view, in terms of composition, the rigor and discipline of my classical training rendered me stiff. According to Daniel Newsom, popular music seldom "takes after the formalism with which we approach European art music and, to a certain extent, jazz. We assume that a work's meaning and significance inhere in its formal characteristics—chords, pitch relationships, structure—and that successful adaptation to another instrumental medium requires transference of only those elements that can be notated" (1998, p.3). As my experience grew, I came to understand that it is actually those elements between the notes that are making the music idiomatic and "metal". To a mind which is programmed to use prescriptive Western notation to produce sound, it is hard to accept the reversal of this idea. In the limited sense notation gets to be used in metal music, it is an inadequate, descriptive tool. In metal's case, idiomatic ornaments of guitar, unwritten rules of composing bass and drums parts, timbral quality and treatment of scalar and/or modal material outside the conventional rules governing Eurogenetic art music are habitually captured by the recorded version. The composer and performer often being the same individual bolsters these properties to an extent few instrumentalist/composers of the Western music canon, such as Chopin, ever could achieve. Yet, again resulting from the seeming inadequacy and incompatibility of notation, if one is not skilled in treating the recording as a source, even an accurate transcription would not guarantee an authentic performance. I am yet to encounter a metal songwriter who composes using Western notation.

The absence of a common medium to use among members that came from different backgrounds was most hampering when Listana strove to write their own musical numbers. 'Writing' meant jotting down some tablatures using a computer program

called Guitar Pro for one band member. The next, the keyboardist who is proficient with Musical Instrument Digital Interface (MIDI) protocols, would write the MIDI sequences for all instrumental tracks and then, using a Digital Audio Workstation (DAW) program and Virtual Studio Technology (VST) sounds, create a simulation of the the song. The next band member preferred using another DAW-type program to create a rough template recording by employing an external sound card (that amplifies and converts the electric signals that originate from the string resonance on magnetic coils of an electric guitar and/or electric bass guitar into wave sound). I needed to see a written full score, using standard Western notation, to compose and preferred to use a software called Sibelius, designed for classically-trained composers. Predictably, there were all kinds of problems when one seeks to transfer the data between there different media. I was often the difficult-to-satisfy band member, since even the highest-rated program available in music market today does not feature a plugin that would simultaneously and flawlessly transcribe a song's MIDI data into standard notation. Actually, the programmers of DAW programs do not target classically trained musicians. The operator, who is going to use the DAW to record or compose, is assumed not to need staff notation. Likewise, neither conservatory curricula nor musical institutions that follow traditional methods include call for proficiency regarding recording software, techniques and procedures. Eventually, we developed a procedure to convert the information into MusicXML, which is a musical script all software used by the band could recognise and replicate, export track by track, then importing into a mediator program to create the midi notation. This script then was re-imported to whatever program each band member prefers. The procedure is slow and patience requiring, but at least it saves the time lost in translation between the different media.

Although my interviews and readings have given me some perspective about how other metal musicians and/or bands compose, it is not proven but potentially true that this is not a uniform process. No Listana song was composed by the same band members, in the same manner and with the same procedure. Buszard finds that, “those that learnt their skills via informal practice were more inclined to write and create music. Indeed, more guitarists than pianists came from informal practice backgrounds.” (2014) Listana is thus in a peripheral position that the band's compositional engine role has been bequeathed to me, the classically trained composer

rather than the autodidact guitar and bass player(s). Although I sought to enlist every member's opinions and suggestions, Listana's chordophone backbone never manifested much of an interest in composition. There exist songs that carry traces and material composed by other members, but the main compositional tasks such as structural decisions and textures were always done by me. In essence, each song unfolded in a different way and took different amount of time to write out, and the only parts that I can claim to have exclusively composed are the vocal parts. The easiest to compose, "Elveda" took only a couple of days, whereas some numbers such as "Persona non Grata" and "Hasret" took notoriously long, spanning a few months and undergoing drastic changes involving form and instrumentation over the final version penned by me by the rest of the band.

I have documented of the composition process of one song bound for Listana's first studio album: the first group composition session took place in Moda, Kadıköy, in our keyboardist Ali's home studio, on 19th of October, 2014 and it took many more months and endeavors to finally set the song aside for professional studio recording. It is unusual for many bands that composing just one piece takes so long, but all Listana members have full-time day jobs and it was not easy to keep up with performing and composing in a city like Istanbul where logistics is a major obstacle. We started off with a couple of "riffs": nuclear compositional material written by our drummer in a Guitar Pro file, basically a midi sequence that was about 20 bars long and had partial drums, keyboard and guitar tracks. When we received the file, prior to getting together to work on it, I and Ali took turns jotting down our respectable ideas onto the file, expanding it somewhat, but prior to the meeting, the piece did not have any recognizable song form or any compositional direction. We got together on 19th October Sunday afternoon, we started working on a logical order of respectable themes. Initially, there was some disagreement on issues such as what was to go where, augmented by the fact that the vocal line was non-existent. When finally we decided which theme is to go where, we began composing the bridges to connect them. Our bassist Tolga and guitarist Alp contributed their idiomatic ideas with their instruments and we directly recorded them as waves onto the midi tracks. The temporary patches that we used for playing back were the drum samples of Ali's Roland digital drum set and Virtual Studio Technology (VST) patches that come from either the Digital Audio Workstation that Ali uses in his home studio (The program Cubase, version 5.2, from

the provider Steinberg) or a Roland sound module that features samples beside synthesizer engines. The most difficult transition that we could not complete on that day was how to return to the pre-chorus and chorus material after the keyboard and guitar solos, but we had a 4-minute song without its lyrics and vocal line, keyboard and guitar solos, rendered both as midi and as .wav track for us to work further on it. We nicknamed the piece Cmaj, since it was in the key of C major, though similar to almost all of Listana's music, it changes key between sections.

In the upcoming months, Alp composed a guitar solo, improvising on the sound file that we recorded on that day. When he declared he was ready, we recorded it on the preexisting track in our home studio. The bassist had some objections to the complete bass line that I wrote; we implemented his suggestions into the song through MIDI. We would exchange versions through our shared Dropbox account and collectively work further on the most recent file: cloud technology, which came about around 2015, proved to be a perfect tool for collaborate composition.

I composed the vocal line for Cmaj mainly during commuting to work. The song, being in an easygoing andante tempo and having c major as its central key, had, according to my feeling, an almost surreal, "too sweet" sense of tranquility. It is unusual to encounter a metal song in a major key, so I thought the tonality choice should represent irony and criticism. My students at the university provided the inspiration to depict the world of a stereotypical young person who only lives on social media, often encountered in late 2010s. I named the song Lethargy and bit by bit, wrote the lyrics down as phone memos. Once I was satisfied, I begun working during my vocal training sessions with my then-vocal coach Murat İlkan, in his home studio. Being a much more experienced songwriter himself, Murat pointed out unconvincing phrases or improper prosody aspects of the vocal line and helped me to design the back vocals. We also made technical exercises to use my voice effectively to record the final version.

The song was finalized and pilot-recorded in our home studio in Çekmeköy on 25 July 2015. The entire group got together to record their respectable parts and we rendered the song out as the guide recording for the album. I expect that this recording and its accompanying MIDI tablature will prove descriptive enough for the band members when the song will proceed into the professional recording phase. The guitar and vocal effects, pre-amplifying and some keyboard patches will be different in the final

version, since the sound engineer that is to produce the song probably would express his opinion about the sound, timbre and texture.

Biasutti's 2012 paper titled "Group Music Composing Strategies: A Case Study Within a Rock Band" depicts a similar process, the compositional procedures of an Italian rock band. Biasutti analyses videotaped data to categorize his findings into five themes: context definition, experimenting, constructing, playing and evaluating. He then goes ahead to use an adaptation of comparative ethnographic method, which I also find useful, to calculate how much time is allotted to which respective compositional activity. There are many similarities with my documentation of the composition of "Lethargy": the band Biasutti observes is also an adult rock band and they are working on the composition of one single piece. This paper does not identify any subgenre or has any in-depth definition of the musical properties of the piece composed of the overall "sound" of this rock band. The three Italian musicians, just like most Listana members, learned music from various sources such as music schools, but none possesses a diploma. Their average age is slightly lower than Listana, and they are an instrumental ensemble, composing a piece without a vocal line. This group also preferred constructive conversation rather than argument and worked both individually and together on the piece. They never "wrote" their piece aside from the "harmonic contour", namely the chord symbols on paper. The main difference is that they were also rehearsing the piece while composing in their respective sessions, whereas the Listana piece was first composed, then individually rehearsed to be recorded on July 2015. To this day, it is not performed on stage or elsewhere so I do not possess any feedback on the success of the compositional process or the ensemble performability of the piece.

As an active participant to the compositional session, I did not have the chance to employ an identical data collecting or analysis method with Biasutti, but his research serves as a good case in point to depict the different phases that I have also listed above. Biasutti remarks, "When actions are driven by the researcher, the participants are not free to express all possible behaviors" (2012, p.343-344). Nevertheless, it is beneficial to adapt his approach partially to analyze the compositional procedure of the Listana song Lethargy. For example, the "experimenting" label Biasutti applies defines the compositional procedure Listana also found necessary while composing the bridge sections. One property of progressive metal subgenre that Listana performs

is that it has very elaborate transitions employing harmonic tools such as third-degree modulations, augmented and/or diminished chords and irregular meters. The listener would diagnose a composition as “progressive” mainly through these hallmarks. Therefore, no “fill-in” was sufficient to render Lethargy a convincing progressive metal song, we had to invent some more musical signifiers to steer the song into the progressive metal subgenre’s territory. Being keyboardists, the material Ali or I wrote often happened to be non-idiomatic and extremely difficult to perform for guitars. We needed to come together to render these passages not only playable, but also idiomatic on a chordophone. This meant that, aside from the first group session, there were meetings between the band members, but never a collective session on this song till the 25th of July, 2015 session.

Aside from the reported technicalities, Listana’s a biggest problem that eventually drove the band to an inert phase is motivation, speed and skill about songwriting. As for composing, unfortunately, none of the past or present band members happened to be a prolific, inspired musician, since standards and expectations are extremely high. In conclusion, I have observed that, to bring a piece from scratch to the channel recording phase during the past four years of the band’s existence takes about a year, with those reported exceptions among the published numbers. Eventually, the building pressure of having to create new music to satisfy everyone’s tastes and standards became a burden. The ongoing process of composing the remainder of the album’s material is thus postponed until after this present text is released, and seemingly, once more, be spearheaded by me.

3.3 Recording

In an essay titled “The Form of Phonograph Method”, Theodor Adorno observes:

If at some later point, instead of doing a ‘history of ideas’, one were to read the state of the cultural spirit off of the sundial of human technology, then the prehistory of the gramophone could take on an importance that might eclipse that of many a famous composer” (1990, p.279).

In its almost 150 years’ history, recording has transformed music almost as vastly as staff notation in the medieval era and movable-type printing press in the Renaissance era did. Recording dramatically changed the paradigm of music making. Arguably, it can be perceived as the most important tool in the advance of popular music and global

dissemination and consumption of it. There are countless studies on the impact of recording on music and music making practices. Jacques Attali, in his much-cited 1985 work *Noise: the Political Economy of Music*, sets up a very interesting frame for the evolution of music and the effect of recording: He refers to the pre-notation, pre-recording era as the period of "sacrificing", since music only existed in any form as long as it is performed (p. 21). This period is followed the period of "representation", capturing music onto script as a prescription for performance. If one wants music, then they must get their hands on it, unless they are wealthy enough to employ professional musicians (p. 77). This rule of thumb is changed during the "repetition" phase, with the technological ability to recall music while it was being performed by the means of the record. Attali's prediction of the "composition" phase (composition used in the general sense of the word, not musical composition per se) was not very apparent in the mid-eighties when his book was published (p. 135). Nevertheless, as the afterword by Susan McClary and the review contained in Taylor's work demonstrate, and in keeping with my own humble opinion, making one's own music even while one is music illiterate is a frequently-encountered phenomenon of the postmodern age and is a laudable achievement enabled by technology. One of the center arguments of this work is that music making is not and should not be the exclusive domain of "properly trained", schooled musicians. Autodidact musicians might not per se have identical skills; however, to serve their aim of making, preserving and disseminating their music, the traditional tools and devices of music making taught at conservatories are, for the most part, not suitable, thus dispensable. Obviously, without recording technology and the ensuing commodification of music, there would not be a popular music industry to speak of; hence, I would not be writing a monograph mainly focused on a popular music genre and the communication and learning practices of popular musicians.

Once a band's endeavors arrive at the recording phase, its existence is affirmed. A "demo recording" is an initial, which is usually technically flawed sound and/or video recording that fixes the lyrical content and musical ideas of the band into being. My observational claim is that this "demo recording" is the first outlet of a band to its audience. Without a demo, a venue would not let a band perform on its stage, since musical ineptitude would make them lose their customs and might even damage their inventory of sound and/or stage equipment. Therefore, as soon as a garage band

decees itself ready; its members attempt to record their output. Recording together in such a matter is called a “rush” recording (*hücum kayıt*) and is seldom a flawless, immaculate affair. The recorded song could be a cover, especially if they are intending to perform at a venue, or plan to draw a social media based audience who would place them within metal oeuvre according to their similarity with pre-existing bands.

During the fieldwork phase, I have interviewed many professional musicians. Among them are some that relate the recording step of music production is a daunting period needing great concentration and patience to bring to a satisfactory conclusion (see Chapter 4). For musician candidates in the learning process, this is doubly so. Newsom makes some strikingly valid comments on recording as follows:

Recording drives home the cold, hard reality of what the ensemble sounds like—not what we think the ensemble sounds like. Recording affords an opportunity for intense scrutiny of musical detail. Interspersed with playback, recording can motivate students to strive for mastery of their parts in every detail. Concentration and focus quickly improve when recording in front of a microphone. (1998, p.5)

Recording is thus a challenge for any amateur or semi-amateur band, be it at the relatively comfortable environment of a home studio or a fully equipped professional studio, where time and expertise has to be paid. Usually, while jamming or gigging, less proficient musicians only can focus onto their own instrument, without much regard to what the others do or how the ensemble sounds together. From my perspective as a newcomer to the studio environment, the recording process has proven to be a worthy experience that taught me vastly besides providing some important data for this work.

The idea of recording a performance or a composition has seldom been an objective in my musical career up to Listana. For a classically trained pianist, the target is seldom the recording studio, rather, to show off the “finished product”; unless this person is among those who make it to the pinnacle and land recording contracts. For many others, the main objective is to perform the works studied or composed in front of an audience. In his work *Exploring the Musical Mind: Cognition, Emotion, Ability, Function*, John Sloboda defines this mode of music making thus:

The characteristics of [classical conservatoire culture] tradition are (a) a concern with accurate and faithful reproduction of a printed score, rather than with improvisation or composition; (b) the existence of a central repertoire of extreme technical difficulty; (c) definitions of mastery in terms of ability to perform items from a rather small common core set of compositions within a culture; (d) explicit or implicit competitive events in which performers are compared with one another by expert judges on their ability to perform identical or closely similar pieces, such judgments forming an important element in decisions about progression and reward within the culture. Other musical cultures exist, such as jazz, pop, or folk cultures, which have very different characteristics. It should not be supposed that findings from studies of conservatoire culture musicians can be straightforwardly applied to other forms of musical activity. (1996, p.278)

The “work of art” is thus not only the composition itself or its performance, but the “Gesamtkunstwerk” (Wagner, 1849) that emerges from a well-composed piece, performed well in a suitable environment. The internet revolution in the 2000s brought an emphasis on audio and video recording of performances, but the context of extending an artwork’s area of influence by recording it to reach more people is still an optional enterprise in Eurogenetic art music. Nevertheless, without sharing immediately through social media, popular music just does not achieve its aim of spreading as much as possible, and the objective is thus to “write” a musical opus and/or performance down to recording it.

What is essential to any pop style is how recordings are produced. The use of certain drum, guitar, keyboard, or bass sounds is often the signature of a particular style. Learning to recognize the subtle textures and colors of a recording canvas is important to understanding pop music. The role of the sound engineer and producer in pop music recording is crucial. For a young musician who may be interested in pursuing a career in pop music, some understanding of engineering and production is essential. (Boespflug 1999, p.36)

Especially considering a band as a youth culture in microcosm, the significance of recording comes once more under the limelight. During Listana’s existence, there have been innumerable recording sessions, some fruitful, others not. At the onset of the

band, none of the members had enough proficiency with home studio techniques or even minimum equipment, so even the earliest demo recordings had to be outsourced. From home studios with poor equipment to high-end studios where the hourly rent would be hundreds of liras, the band has explored the music production scenes of Istanbul and Ankara, gaining valuable insights. As band members, we usually had the means to hire professional studio staff and use decent equipment, but this did not always ensure that a proper “sound” emerged or indeed the resulting recording proved usable. Often, the older ones were discarded in the presence of a newer recording that was meant to fix the “flaws” of the previous one.

Another reason we had to discard Listana’s earlier recordings before 2013 is that the band had to change vocalists four times in its initial two and a half years, due to various reasons. If the replaced member would have been an instrumentalist, the recording could have been used with the permission of both the ex- and the current member, but there is no way to redeem or alter a finished recording with vocals short of re-recording. All but one of the incoming vocalists were recorded performing original songs at various levels of professionalism, only one recording within the “official” output of the band not featuring me as a vocalist is still publicly available.

I have documented the recording phase of one of the numbers called “Hasret” (Longing) through field notes, photos and the recordings itself. Least to say, the evolution of the piece is striking, and its last form remains to be recorded. I have begun composing the song with the aim of creating an avant-garde number has its roots in progressive rock and Turkish Folk Music. The earliest saved MIDI Sequence file is from 3rd of March, 2012. After that, there are versions worked by the band’s guitarist and drummer and the earliest recording was made of a version labelled “official” on 23.01.2012 at Erekli-Tunç Studios, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Since it is a professional studio with a busy schedule and charges regular fees, thus quite expensive for a not-yet-money-making band, we booked a single day for channel recording this song.

The recording was not good due to many reasons: the drummer could not perform his part accurately and he refrained from even coming to the recording session. We needed to substitute sampled drums instead of the drum track, which actually saved a lot of time. The bass guitarist, after trying in vain to record his track for a couple of hours, told me that the track I have composed for him was not at all idiomatic and therefore unplayable. I recorded the bass track myself, on a Roland AX-Synth keytar, which is

an instrument designed for a keyboardist to emulate a guitarist or a bassist on stage with passable guitar and bass guitar patches. The vocalist was very unsure of her line and the lyrics, although we had to devote almost two hours of studio time to recording the three and half minutes of track, the result was full of intonation and spelling problems. The vocal recording was passable at best, but the ordeal made our vocalist very upset during the session. Some takes were corrected by choosing the best take from multiple records and editing with Melodyne, a software used in recording to improve vocal lines, even out-of-tune guitars. Objectively, it was not completely the vocalist's shortcoming: the vocal line was idiomatically constructed almost for a keyboard instrument, without any breathing spaces or organic phrases. The guitarist had to play a poorly conceived substitute solo since he could not accurately play the fast shred solo we had earlier composed with studio stress and the booked time was rapidly running out. There was no time to record keyboard parts, and instead of playing, I had to give my consent to use the midi files, bequeathed with VST sounds hastily found to resemble the keyboard patches I created for this number.

The studio staff was very helpful, but we were warned many times during the recording day and later that this recording would not “sound” as we have imagined. It was, using the studio staff's jargon, “too crowded” and “too tight”, and not well performed either. Translated into sound engineering jargon, what they meant was that the separate tracks did not have enough sonic space and constantly would invade each other's areas within the spectrum, especially without mixing and mastering. Rhythmically and pitch-wise, any metal genre should be extremely meticulous and tight since maximum amplification and distortion effects are to be abundantly used. This first recording was none of that, and without any editing, proper mixing and mastering, it was not at all usable. The studio made clear that we only paid for the recording phase and not there three further steps of music production. Since we did not have any experience regarding these, we uploaded the recordings onto the band page for a short while, but even sympathizers said they could not understand anything. Detractors were more than happy since, although recorded in an expensive professional studio that is frequented by very well-known artists of Turkish pop and rock, this recording did not fulfill expectations. The mutual decision was to trash the track.

For the second time, Hasret got on record in August 2012. By then, the band had gone under a revision and the lineup had changed: a new drummer and a new vocalist rose

to the challenge of raising the proficiency level. Meanwhile, we got an offer from a semi-professional studio called 2MT to record, mix and do mastering of this song for a much smaller fee, in return for using it in their own project as well. Thanks to the home-studio environment, we could record on multiple days and on a much more relaxing environment. The earlier, seemingly unusable recording thus served a purpose by causing us to face our mistakes, leading to reconsideration and rearranging of some aspects. The guitar solo was passable this time, but the bassist still could not play his part, although I have revised and simplified that as well. He insisted that he would record, so we booked yet another session for him, but the sloppiness was still there with his uneven touché and timing inaccuracy. Fortunately, The recording engineer himself was a bass guitarist; so he patched and salvaged the track as much as he could. After discussing with both the producer Tunç and the new vocalist Serra on the vocal line she found unsingable and overall structure, I relented to revise the composition for a more conjunct and simpler text setting of fewer words. The vocals were recorded twice: first the initial, folkwise, garrulous, patter-like vocal line, then the lower-range new version that had sustained long notes and less rhythmic density. Tunç, as the producer, gave some advice about the form of the piece: he thought the catchy, folklike melody I wrote for the introduction and one of the bridges would better be used as the center theme of the song. His suggestion was implemented by making the intro enter with two long electric guitar power chords instead of this melody, before the bass and keyboards come in. I Although the performance and its recording was still far from perfect, the result of the 2MT trial sounded better with mixing and mastering using relatively low-end equipment, in comparison with the first version done in Erekli-Tunç studios with an analog, state-of-the-art mixing table and high-end equipment. Obviously, a decent sound system would reveal the shortcomings and flaws of this new recording as well. There still were many compositional, performance and equipment-related issues, such as the need of having higher-quality synthesizer sounds from a better keyboard than my Roland Juno DI which merely is a beginner level performance synthesizer.

Hasret was recorded for the third time in Ankara in February 2013 at Mars Productions, another professional studio that specializes in rock and metal genres. The deal made with this studio entailed recording four numbers in total, including Hasret. The production phase was to be co-supervised by Mehmet Uğur Memiş, a well-known

and very articulate sound engineer who is originally trained as a classical singer at Gazi University Music Department among other schools and me. After initial meetings and discussions, we recorded the tracks. This time, the phony Juno string patches I used were replaced by much better-quality Korg Kronos sounds. As the composer, once my own part was recorded, it was my task to assemble the separate parts of the song together, overseeing their recording as well. This time, we were all much more experienced and we ended up recording the instruments well enough, needing only one or two extended/exclusive sessions for difficult guitar solos. The bassist, for example, stepped down from the onset and asked that a professional recording artist should perform his parts, since he still could not play in recording niveau. The drums were still done by midi tracks realized by drum machine samples, since Mehmet Uğur was convinced that our 20-year-old drummer was not seasoned enough for the task of recording. Meanwhile, the friction with Serra was constantly increasing: she was criticizing all band decisions without offering any solution herself and openly distrusted the producer. According to Mehmet Uğur, her recorded tracks were not the best she is capable of doing, but she did not really internalize the music; in any case, as the producer, his opinion was that her vocal timbre did not fit the band's overall sound. During the recording sessions, the tension between them escalated and Serra decided to leave the band. The band had a busy schedule in terms of concerts ahead, the contract of a four-song EP album paid in advance whose instrumental tracks were recorded. In order not to void all, Mehmet Uğur suggested that, as the songwriter and musical mind that supervised the entire enterprise, I should do the vocals. The late February recording session therefore had an appendix in May 2013, where the instrumental tracks were tuned one semitone down and I, with a weeks of vocal training and all the inexperience and inadequacy of a non-vocalist, attempted at recording the vocal tracks.

In terms of what the band aimed to achieve, progressive-veined Hasret turned out to be the most representative number among the four songs that were recorded. With slight revisions from Serra's version, my vocals seemed to be adequate for this song and everyone seemed satisfied this time with the result. Of course, my untrained voice was uneven and not all the while pleasant, and I believe a great deal of editing was applied for proper intonation to the end result.

The entire EP was revised many times during the course of the summer of 2013. As a professional sound engineer who specializes in metal, Mehmet Uğur had many criticisms about the project: for instance, he was sure that Hasret was too much out of the mainstream to have any chance for becoming a hit among Turkish metal audience. We never asked for anything complimentary and paid the regular fees he asked for similar projects, but in the end he was dissatisfied to such a great extent that he argued not to let us use his company's name for 'such a weak outcome of an album'.

Once Hasret was published in 30th of October, 2013, we began collecting feedback in the form of verbal, written and social media-based responses. Playing the piece in concerts before and after the release also gave access to commentary and criticism, as well as hands-on experience of performing this particular number. Eventually, it was clear to me as the composer of Hasret that even a recording that was technically adequate, and mixed and mastered by professionals, might not function as promotional material if the material at hand is incompatible with the imagined outcome. To my musical ear and taste that is familiar with advanced Wagnerian chromatic harmony and 20th Century music, Hasret was a conventional composition. In Eurogenetic art music standards of the 21st Century, it is considered normal and acceptable for a composition to shift tonal center by unprepared modulation or brief transitions/bridges. In the course of three minutes and twenty seconds, Hasret features a tonal voyage of A minor- E minor- C minor- B flat minor- C minor and back to A minor. Besides, the piece is built on a collection of shifting rhythmic patterns known as "Türk Aksağı", unevenly subdivided 9/8 and 5/8 time signatures, again common practice for art music. However, popular music very seldom if at all features any kind of time signature, meter or subdivision changes, let alone advanced ones like the ones in Hasret. As if these complexities were not enough, the song at times had layers of independent polyphony, which were indeed a great challenge for the mixing process. I also assumed that I could treat my fellow band members like classically trained chamber music players who could perform virtuosic parts whilst listening to each other. It is very understandable that, for the average popular music listener, even those who are open to subgenres that are more sophisticated such as progressive metal, the song was too much to handle.

In Fall 2014, a year after the EP was released, we revised Hasret once more. This time the entire band was involved. We discussed which parts sounded best and worked effectively on live performance and which aspects needed revision. Eventually, the

mutual decision was to take out the confusing backing vocals in the middle section, simplify and take out most of the syncopation from the drum track and replace some string/pad based keyboard patches with more dense and compressed organ-based patches. We also altered the overall structure to give the composition, and us performing it, some breathing room. Extending both the guitar and the keyboard solo and adding rests at places and expand some modulatory bridge material meant that the harmonic transition comes with more orientation for the listener, and less stressful for us to play. This version is not channel-recorded yet, but we have made a midi-based recording guide with VST sounds.

Although it is not about the communication disruption within the band, there is one more relevant episode I would like to include, during the recording of another song. This incident vividly exemplifies the outlook and contrasting practices of *okullu* vs. *alaylı*, a blatant example for the lack of common vocabulary between me and a group of “*alaylı*” string players. Mehmet Uğur told me of an opportunity that I should grasp, where he would have an acoustic string ensemble in the studio. The ensemble, which was playing according to the Western temperament system, was paid for a full day by the owners of the project they were featuring in. Their recording session lasted shorter than predicted, so they could be assigned to the task of recording a Listana song’s parts. During their lunch break, I re-scored the track of the song written for a synth string patch on a synthesizer for an acoustic string ensemble consisting of four violins, two violas and a cello. As a trained composer I worked as fast as I could, using standard notation and writing by hand: treble clef for the violins, dividing the group into two, alto clef for the violas and bass clef for the cello. I used articulation signs, alternative repeat signs, *dal segno* sign and similar notational symbols. When I got into the studio to conduct and supervise the recording session, after a short evaluation, the players objected that my scoring would not “sound right”. They also had a deluge of questions: why I would want particular notes downstroke, what the *segno* sign meant, what kind of “traffic” is there (they were referring to the form of the piece), if I could re-write the viola and cello parts using treble clef. I ended up spending another hour transcribing the handwritten score to the treble clef, but in the remaining hour, we could not come to terms with the string ensemble players. Working with written notation was simply not their habit and I was unable to pick up one of their instruments in the manner of a *konzertmeister* and show them. They would communicate among

themselves using terms foreign to me such as *purpırlamak* but did not have the repository of musical terms to communicate with me. They also did not respect my authority as the composer of the music in question and their constant offer to “amend” what I committed to paper was not much help within the short period of time available. Certainly they were acting out of good will, but the recording ended up to be haphazard, full of errors and eventually unusable.

The next extensive recording of Listana was finalized in December 2014, of a song called “Persona non Grata” that was digitally released as a single. Compared to the earlier recordings, some aspects of Persona non Grata’s recording phase went smoother, but the band could not devote resources for a professional studio and sound engineer at that time. The drummer, a self-taught studio person who needed a portfolio track done by himself for his admittance for an undergraduate study of sound engineering undertook the production of this track. The result, which is available on YouTube, is a vibrant piece whose composition and instrumental performances are often praised by the audience, but the vocal writing and performance, and production procedures such as equipment used, mixing and mastering should definitely be improved upon. I plan to re-work and re-record this song in the light of this experience, criticism and comparative research.

3.4 Performance

Every musical genre has its own conventions and performance practices. For some musical genres, these signifiers are so characteristic that you might tell the genre apart even by watching a video without sound. Arguably, in such an experiment, metal would be the easiest to distinguish because of the characteristic mannerisms and stage attitude of its performers. Metal music performance has some ritualistic aspects concerning the audience, as well. A headbanging audience, actively participating in the metal performance by not only singing along but corporeal involvement to the point of “Pogo”, which is an extreme physical action involving running in a circle and violently ramming each other is to be found in no other genre. Motion is thus a vital component of metal music performance and recent research treats it as an important factor for performance, refuting the traditional outlook which conceptualized motion “as a one-way trajectory from active performer to passive listener, minimizing the contribution of the listener and the collaborative nature of communication” (Bishop and Goebel, 2018, p.1). Thus, motions, mannerisms and attitude contributes to

interperformer coordination, visual and aural expressivity and also audience's perception and should be regarded as "dynamic interaction between individuals, and emphasizes the role of the physical body in mediating between environmental stimuli and subjective experiences" (Bishop and Goebel, 2018, p.5).

Most avid metal fans are conscious about the individuals constituting their favorite bands and know them by name and background. Some metal artists have solo projects and might perform in more than one band, even different genres and/or subgenres than their main projects. On the stage, even performers who must remain at a distance from the audience such as drummers and keyboardists are expected to display stage attitude and are certainly called to the forefront by their fellow band members during salutation. Nowadays, it is becoming customary that at the end of each concert, the bands make a selfie photo with themselves and the audience.

When compared to global pop where the performers except the lead singer are downplayed, the importance of the "team" concept in metal is better understood. Only very closely attending fans of a pop act know the identity of the drummer or the keyboardist touring with their favorite singer. It is rare for a pop artist to arrange and/or produce his/her tracks in collaboration with the same performers who would later perform with him/her on the stage. Most band musicians accompanying pop artists on concert tours are recruited after the release is produced. Consequently, instrumentalists of a pop band are seldom visible on the stage or in a music video. They are seldom cast in the limelight as indispensable elements of the show. Supporting stage personnel such as dancers or backing vocalists are also rarely introduced to the audience by name.

What is also unique to metal is that, a significant number of metal fans pick up a metal instrument and learn to perform to some extent. In my opinion, the percentage of metal fans playing an instrument is higher than fans of other music genres doing the same. I have not come across any large-n statistical study to confirm or refute this idea, the opinions of other metal scholars I have discussed with are also on the feasibility of such a claim. It is indeed rare to find a jazz or classical music listener who has enough skill to play their favorite pieces on an instrument in 21st century. Their favorite genres' virtuosic nature and the fact that the concert repertoire is composed to be performed by a professional musician are discouraging factors. Metal fans on the contrary like to perform their favorite music, even form cover bands or make amateur videos of their

performance. Most garage bands are constituted of such individuals, performing just for the fun of it.

The opportunity to perform on stage thus is a valuable opportunity, but accessible for musicians representing any skill level. Bands that make it to the level sometimes seek to write their own music; sometimes they are content playing other metal artists' numbers. This is not to say that metal is easy to play, on the contrary, it demands absolute precision in coordination with the other members of the band. A metal band is only as good as its weakest player: thus many professional bands strategically create technically less demanding music at first sight, but elevate their standards of ensemble performance to very high standards (Rammstein, Slipknot, Gojira). Being a guitar-centered music, most metal songs feature a solo to show off the skill of the lead guitarist and provide the opportunity for engaging with the audience, at times overshadowing the vocalist. Some subgenres of metal have keyboard, drums and even bass solos as well. Besides, there might be demanding musical elements such as chromaticism, extreme speeds, rough timbres and virtuosity in many a subgenre, creating a challenge for aspiring musicians. In that sense, metal has its own school embedded in the music itself.

Bauman's *Performance Theory* states "performance enhances experience, bringing a greater intensity of communication between performer and audience. Semiotic structures, through metapoetics, allow performers to imaginatively comment upon themselves and provide cultural self-definition" (1974, p.291). For a metal act, it is almost a requirement to post live videos and performance-based video clips. Especially subgenres that require significant instrumental skill such as power metal, progressive metal, symphonic metal and djent exploit the cult of the virtuoso and position their music as "musicians' music", sometimes emphasizing its connection with Eurogenetic art music. As related in Chapter 5.1 and 5.2, metal musicians regard their instruments as an important part of their identity. Almost all metal musicians I have met use concert photography as their social media avatars, and would boldly and proudly display their skill with their instruments in every opportunity. Most metal artists I have interviewed feel themselves dependent on the "feedback interview" technique (Stone 2008: p. 131-132) to reach to the "self-definition" Bauman states: evaluating their performance by closely investigating the audiovisual recording of an event such as a gig or a recording session. Most also seek secondary and tertiary opinions of fans by personally following

their comments on social media, YouTube and concert critiques about their performance. My closest circle consisted of musicians who freely admit to making amendments according to sometimes anonymous opinions they deem valid.

Infatuation with the performance aspect and the inherent high volume and thick textures render studio sessions noisy to the three-digit decibel values, painful to the ear. Most musicians need to hear their own instruments foremost to be able to monitor and coordinate their playing. It is inferable that less experienced players do not possess a great deal of skill to really listen to the other members of their ensemble, or adjust their timbre or style to fit the rest of the band. Besides, performers almost never have the opportunity to hear the sound or the mix from outside before or during the performance. Newsom states this problem thus:

In a typical musical ensemble—say, a symphony orchestra, a string quartet, or a large jazz band—the individual player has, on the music stand in front of him or her, music that represents only the part he or she is playing. In other words, in a jazz big band, for example, the third trombone player knows what the drummer is playing only from the sound he or she hears coming from the drums. Rarely, if ever, are indications of other instruments articulated on an individual part; from the reference point of the sheet music (as opposed to the sound of the group), only the conductor is privy to the collective musical instructions, printed in the full score. (1998, p.5)

In the performance practice of metal, the conductor's role in choosing to foreground the ensemble's sound production is partly assumed by the sound engineer or whomever is available behind the mixing console. Even in ideal conditions, this is a daunting task in high-volume and distorted sounds. Only professional bands would have a live sound engineer and/or roadies-stage technicians who would be standing sentry during setting up the stage and check the monitor levels for each member of the ensemble. The amateur bands will have to do their sound check themselves and have only control over what their in-ear or external stage monitors reproduce. In such a case, what the drummer hears through his headphones might totally be different from what the audience hears. I have often witnessed musicians' complaints about not hearing themselves or the cue providers they need within the music. The audience is also notoriously difficult to satisfy: everyone has their own preference of what they would like to hear in the mix, and few know whom to blame when they do not like the live

sound during a concert. Well-established acts are devising solutions to this issue by completely resorting to digital equipment, saving their presets and administering directly through the PA these days, instead of analog equipment and amplifiers.

3.4.1 The experience of a band within the Turkish Underground Scene

For local metal artists, being on the stage for large-scale events is a seldom-fulfilled longing. Metal artists, who have to invest much time and money to acquire their skills, equipment and networking, almost never make any money from gigging in Turkey. Within the period of this research, metal clubs in Turkey usually had their selection of bands-in-residence that play covers of the favorite music of the audience. These are professional musicians, expected to play every week on their designated day, with an agreed payment per performance, split among band members. Very few of such house bands have their own compositions or target the same route to success with bands that seek to emerge into the domestic or international music market as indie artists. This way, metal clubs that have stages hardly ever pay new bands with an original discography, other than with free pints of beer. Since there is more supply than demand, most of these young musicians have to call their performances “concerts” where the expected outcome is exposure, beer and fun, rather than a “gig” where they would receive some payment in currency. Murder King, for example, began their career as a cover band, then composed their own songs and released a successful album. Since they do not wish to perform free or for a symbolic fee, they are very rarely on stage, waiting for worthy opportunities to turn up. They cannot market their music abroad with its Turkish lyrics and political content, nor are they preferred for still existing rock festivals by the organizers due to their political stance. Barış Akpolat, a columnist, sums up this dilemma the Turkish live music/entertainment industry has to face: the club managers do not (or cannot, especially after the events related in Chapter 2) wish to pay musicians, if they do, they prefer to have house bands that play cover songs rather than bands with original work.

Listana, during the time it was actively performing, was a conspicuous band because of the female lead and technically demanding music it sought to perform, rarely if ever attempted by cover bands. In the period between October 2011 and August 2013 Listana gigged very often: besides a lively club scene, there were also summer metal festivals in Turkey in that period. The average live club performance would be around 60 minutes, but also were shorter appearances such as university festivals that would

typically have about half an hour time allocation, including changeover and sound check. For three months, the band performed regularly on Thursdays in DoRock Taksim as a paid house band that plays a two-hour program. Listana even made it as far as the big stage as support band for international bands such as Orphaned Land, Dark Tranquillity, Sonata Arctica and Theatres des Vampires among others.

A major achievement for the band was to perform abroad in Ukraine in summer 2013, supporting Overkill, Artillery and Dying Fetus. This first venture outside Turkey was a revelation from many perspectives. Foreign currency rate in 2013 was not as high as it is today, so we could contemplate such developmental prospects for our band project and planned to go as frequently as we could after our full-length album was ready and released.

For an emerging band, an invitation to a festival meant that they would have to pay their travel and board expenses themselves: such event organizations only have the budget to fully reimburse headliners and co-headliners. There is even a concept called "buy-in" which means that, a young band paying a certain sum might get a slot to perform at a festival or accompany a more established band on tour. Major European festivals seem to shun this practice: I have witnessed the organizers of Hellfest to claim that a non-proficient band is not allowed on any of the nine stages of the festival and no lump sum of money can alter that.

Acquiring the expertise to perform any music for an audience is a hard task and is more demanding with some genres of music than others. One of the more difficult aspects of my conversion from classical pianist to metal keyboardist and singer was learning to move and interact with the audience on the stage. For metal, the rules are clear: a performer must move and look representative enough on the stage to communicate with and animate his/her audience. Inevitably, the focus is divided on the stage between performing well enough and interacting with the audience, verbally and/or nonverbally. Even for the virtuosity-centered alternative- progressive metal subgenre that Listana performs, I had to absorb some gestures by watching other performers, invent signature moves by myself and practice headbanging at certain spots of songs where the passage I would have to play will not be drastically affected by the inescapable dizziness. Shadrack summarizes: "Make no mistake, if you are in a metal band, remaining static whilst you perform negates the performance itself. The physicality, endurance and focus required to ensure precise playing whilst head-

banging for example, takes practice (2014). In terms of stage attire, a female performer is often at a harder situation because of the male gaze and I had no desire to look promiscuously inviting or be dominating the performance with my sexuality alone. It was fortunate that I came to the front stage after my two-and-a-half year sojourn at the keyboards, which taught me how to connect with the audience to some extent, but I esteem that the musical skills I possess were not all the way satisfactory for the twelve concerts I appeared as a vocalist. No matter how much one practices on their own or with the band in the studio environment; genuine stage familiarity can only be acquired on the stage in front of a real audience.

Considering the performance practice of Eurogenetic art music that I am accustomed to, or genres such as jazz or blues, the performer is not constantly required to display corporeal behavior on stage such as outward visualization of feelings and/or musical gestures. In fact, such mannerism is discouraged in Eurogenetic art music, since there are strict codes not only for performers, but also for the audience to remain as still and silent as possible, thought to be a display of respect and homage to music. Some performers such as Glenn Gould and Fazil Say are often criticized since listeners claim that they find the intense bodily expression of music displayed by these pianists to be exaggerated, distracting gestures. Even in the flamboyant world of opera, the only tradition bound to Eurocentric art music where moving, and to a certain extent, interacting with the audience is allowed, there is a limit to how much is allowed. When a singer seeks to express his or her role through intense body language, the criticism is often a mixed blessing. In 2005, when Australian soprano Danielle de Niese was catapulted to fame by a colorful and sensual production of Georg Friedrich Handel's *Giulio Cesare* at Glyndebourne Festival, her obvious talent was attributed, at least partially, to "bringing sex into Sussex" by her voluptuous, sensual body language: utterly more feminine than what the opera audience would be accustomed to (Carpenter 2016).

Admittedly, in the instance reported above, Danielle de Niese's slim and muscular physique and Sri Lankan descent must have inspired an unusually revealing attire somewhere between a Thai dancer and an oriental belly dancer. The opera's Act 2, Scene 2, where Cleopatra seduces Caesar with the sensual aria "V'adoro, pupille", is augmented in this production by sinuous dancing and the abovementioned costume with considerable skin exposed. Considering the unwritten codes for attire for

Eurogenetic art music, the abovementioned remark becomes very real. It is nowhere specified that female performers should dress demurely and male performers should wear dress clothes on stage, yet, even a technically spotless and artistically eloquent pianist such as Yuja Wang is often criticized owing to her décolleté stage costumes (see Hewitt 2014). Conductors such as Antonio Pappano claim that the waistcoat, for instance, is a very uncomfortable garment and is restrictive for the bodily movements required for conducting a three-hour opera, but they are expected to endure the hardship if the occasion calls for it (Boros 2012). I have reported my experiences with the dress code as a member of Listana under the Social Context subchapter (3.5.1 and 3.5.2), since it is more related to the sociality than performance except perhaps affirming Pappano's statement: it gets very tasking to wear high-heeled boots and a tight faux-leather corset on stage in a venue with a narrow stage, further heated by the crowd and the stage lights and jammed with audio cables.

Learning to sing is no different than learning a new instrument and it took me a year and a half to gain a semblance of confidence again. Being used to during-show and after-show compliments as the immaculate keyboardist during the first two years of my career did not help, either. The audience drifting in and out of the venue, approaching to listen or going out for a smoke and/or chatting was not much of a concern for me before, but after I had to assume the role of the vocalist, it often made me feel insecure and I kept asking myself if they were fleeing from my poor performance. The after show adulations that I became used to in the first two years of my metal musicianship were now replaced with some audience members avoiding eye contact with me or even ignoring me altogether. It did not help to know that I would at times be reading anonymous derogatory comments on social media after important shows. Until Fall 2014, the festival in Ukraine was the only performance that I was received warmly after the show. I do not have enough data to report about my progress as a vocalist, but in our last few concerts in late 2014 and early 2015, I was finally getting occasional praises in the form of "you are not bad at all". I am anticipating the revival of Listana's performing career to observe if the extensive evaluating and doing research on performance has pertained the missing elements and added to my qualities as a vocalist.

As reported in Chapter 2, the Turkish underground metal scene suffered a major stroke in 2016 and 2017, from which it is barely recovering. There are not many live music

stages left, new bands have limited chances to gain a following since few youngsters seem to be using Facebook and Twitter anymore and the economic situation seems to be worsening by the day. Except cover bands and extreme metal bands which require less resources in terms of expenditures such as studio recordings, only a few veteran bands like Saints'n Sinners and Sabhankra could remain active. Since there are less events domestically where they could perform, they are aiming the stages of neighboring countries such as Bulgaria or using Youtube and the social media to strive to reach their audience.

3.4.2 On Stage: Thick description of performing live

According to Jacques Attali (1985) and Baxter-Moore and Kitts (2016), live performance is the oldest and most essential emblem of music making. In their article in the special issue devoted to live performance experience of Rock Music Studies Journal, Baxter-Moore and Kitts state that:

Live music has always been with us, but perhaps has never been more important in the history of modern popular music, an era that is often dated from the advent of sound recording, which allowed “live” performances in a studio to reach a mass audience. Yet, in comparison to the number of articles and books on recorded music, there is relatively little published work on the live music sector. (2016, p.2)

Most studies detailing the experience of live metal concerts are from the viewpoint of a spectator present among the audience or in the backstage. When considered from the perspective of the performer on the stage, there is next to no research available. During my research period, I only encountered one other scholar working with a design similar with my own: Dr. Jasmine Shadrack from University of Northhampton who reports her experiences entrenched in black metal. Even with the abovementioned shortcomings and unavoidable subjectivity, the thick description of a performer's perspective is valuable in metal research in my opinion.

As a matter of fact, specific events might vary from gig to gig and occasion to occasion, a general template of a Listana concert would be thus: arriving with the stage equipment to the venue, sometimes a few hours before if we are the opening band, unload the car, set the stage up, socialize if possible, perform, disassemble our own gear and abandon stage for changeover with the equipment. Once the equipment is safely

stowed somewhere, the socializing would continue with the band that follows ours in the lineup performing. I always carried and set up my own stage gear: two 16-kilogram keyboards and the Ultimate keyboard stand which weighs 10 kilograms by itself, for important concerts. I had a lighter rig consisting of a 5-kilo expandable synthesizer for less significant concerts, and would even rely on the venue for a keyboard stand at times. For our two highest-profile gigs, we never had roadie assistance at all. I am not fully convinced that, unless they really know what they are about and are versed in that particular band's "technical rider" (specific performance requirements), roadies are helpful for emerging bands.

As expected, very often I would be the only female performer and the only keyboardist around and I was seldom treated as an ordinary metal musician. Shadrack reports a very similar situation:

We would turn up to a venue, unload, set the stage up, get sound-checked and all the while I can see eyes on me, I can see the cognitive and psychological processes I am being filtered through in order for them to work out what I was even doing there. 'Oh, perhaps she's just helping out, she's just 'with the band'' was something I was frequently confronted with. (2014)

Although the stage "vibe" resulted in extraordinary iconography in terms of photos and/or videos, I was seldom satisfied with my own performance, or the performance of the band in total. There was not a single concert where everyone claimed to have been hearing themselves and everyone else sufficiently and clearly. Again, very seldom would everyone be satisfied with the outcome and leave the stage in a depleted but satisfied way. There are many reasons that the expectations are seldom met and a live gig would fall short about generating enough satisfaction, consequently enough presentable new footage and/or social media material besides photos. Some of the most apparent of these reasons are listed below.

Regardless of the genre they play, when musicians do have day jobs, they obviously have less time to devote to practice. Although in essence all Listana members were idealistic musicians, in terms of expertise, they were a divergent lot. Not having enough mental discipline and/or physical stamina and/or practice time caused their integrity at facing the challenge of performing a pronouncedly virtuosic subgenre of metal and/or long playlists to fall considerably. On the stage, mostly due to lack of

practice time, some problems were never solved. Drummers rushed the tempos with the stage mood and speeding the music up caused unclear passages or wrong entries in case of instrumentalists. Technically challenging passages, regardless of how much individual practice went into them, often became muddy with stage excitement. The band would not or could not devote sufficient studio time to get a problematic passage perfectly clear during practice sessions and then follow up by enough repetitions to enable confident performance under every circumstance. Besides, a band needs at least one person with an appropriately trained ear to determine how analog and electronic instruments different band members possess and/or employ should be combined in the mix. A band must be meticulous in terms of finding complementary guitar and keyboard patches plus the right level of compression so that these two mid-range instruments do not curtain each other in the sonic spectrum. The bass and drums must be in perfect rhythmic unison for a tight-knit, sturdy sound. Without sufficient aural awareness and conscious manipulation of the spectrum, there is simply no guarantee that the most expensive and/or the most technologically or craftsmanship-wise advanced equipment would deliver the desired results. All in all, when there are shortcomings among the internal factors that constitutes the “sound” of the band, “outside” factors, gain significance beyond control, putting the outcome at risk.

A budding band seldom has a live sound engineer of its own, competent with all frequently-used mixing consoles and sound systems, unless they are exceedingly lucky. Let alone having a professionally trained sound engineer at a band’s disposal, under the circumstances in Turkey, few venues go into the expense of hiring a presumably self-taught person with significant skill for everyday events, such as underground metal bands performing gigs. Mostly, they make do with underqualified individuals who barely know what knobs to turn at a mixing table. Even when Listana managed to play at some events that had a sound engineer, few professionals knew how to adjust the PA for an unusual metal band with multiple keyboards and female lead. There is also the technical problem of having insufficient sound systems, damaged cables, microphones and amplifiers showing wear and tear, in clubs. As metal music performance is –justly or unjustly- thought to damage the hardware even further, metal bands are often asked to make do with the poorest gear available in a venue.

Considering that Listana played in more than 40 events large and small, we have had our fair share of all kinds of technical problems. There were a few instances when the backline fell short so we could not connect the second keyboard and/or back vocals, since there were insufficient connections on the mixing table, which ideally should have at least 16 channels. Having purchased my first professional synthesizer in September 2010 and gone through the frustrating and consuming effort to learn to program it, I would often be disappointed that a particular patch would not be heard at all on the stage, getting lost in the spectrum of the guitar and the vocals. Ali encountered even more problems since he used a more complicated keyboard rig that involved midi equipment. His greatest dismay was when his ipad, which he preferred to use as a fretless synthesizer, got smashed during stage changeover and he had no choice but to perform with glass fragments grazing his fingers for the next half hour: miraculously the ipad kept working with its shattered screen. One memorable instance was that Ali's system totally malfunctioned during a concert in Ankara and we had to keep going without the keyboards, hoping that the audience would not leave in frustration. In one major concert, the absence of an stage current regulator meant that Alp's analogue pedal rig was affected by the current fluctuations and his performance was compromised. My greatest problem as a vocalist was not being able to hear myself properly, often backing vocals would not blend with the lead due to poor intonation or the lack of a vocal processor that could provide some reverb. When I attempted to employ a pitch correction device, the inbuilt limiter and compressor would dull my tone and noone seemed to like the result. I ended up purchasing an expensive in-ear wireless monitor set to solve the hearing problem, but I could never use it on stage, since noone knew how to connect it properly.

Over time, a band acquires a portfolio of live performance photos and clips, often shared by social media, organized either by themselves or sometimes by fans. Naturally, Listana has many memories and recollections in the form of photos and shorter clips from performances and it was a pleasure for me to collect and post them on social media as multimedia albums. For the purposes of this project, I have documented two Listana performances by field notes and recordings. One of these is a medium-sized international festival called "Metal Head's Mission" that took place on 3-4-5th of August 2013 in Ukraine, representing the most significant cornerstone of the band's career (Url 12). The next one is a club concert: a short affair of 40 minutes

that took place on 22.03.2015 at DoRock Taksim, and filmed for a live performance video (Url 13).

These obviously were the occasions I had to prioritize being a band member over doing research, therefore I had to perform other duties before and after the concert, such as performing sound check or packing and carrying equipment and assisting roadies for changeover. In order not to disrupt the flow of events, some of the footage except our performances was recorded as audio and/or video memos with my Android smartphone, supplemented by a written thick description of events penned in the first 24 hours after the performance. Under such circumstances, technicalities such as battery life and file size limit the material collected on the field. The performance in both cases are recorded using mid-range camera equipment by third persons, with whom we have agreed upon before the occasion. These materials: my own footage and the professional recordings together yielded two multimedia items published on Listana's YouTube channel and were watched by a few thousand viewers up to date. Of necessity, only highlights of the preparatory phases are included in these publicly accessible videos.

We were informed that Listana was accepted as a guest performer for the Ukrainian festival near Odessa, Crimea, during a gig in Ankara in February 2013. Since none of the band members had any experience with large stages or has participated in festival organizations as a team member and/or performer prior to that time, we were naturally very excited. The preparations took three weeks for a 25-minute performance with 15-minute changeover time and we were asked to perform predominantly if not exclusively our own music. Regularly, as a performing band, the practice routine involved renting a studio for two hours a week as well as individual study. For this concert, we doubled the studio time and met two times weekly. I was a very inexperienced vocalist yet with limited command of my voice, therefore I also devoted resources to frequent singing lessons. All band members stayed together the day before the flight: the equipment was packed according to the technical rider requirements sent by the festival organizers, guitar strings were changed and setlist was printed out.

It was a challenge to travel by air in economy class since there was significant luggage to carry, some fragile and most oversized. When we consulted the airline administration, we were told that, if we require the guitars which are sensitive to temperature and pressure changes even in hard cases to be transported inside the cabin,

we should buy extra tickets for them. As an emerging band, the invitation meant that we would have to pay our travel expenses ourselves: such event organizations only fully reimburse headliners and co-headliners. Thus, it would have been a stretch on resources to get extra tickets, but acquaintances who have travelled for gigs advised us to simply take the guitars along in gigbags (soft cases) and claim them as the only piece of cabin baggage during check-in. In the airport, the ground personnel helped us out and the guitars were grudgingly accepted into the cabin, along with the three other bands' that we travelled with that would perform at the same festival. I have investigated the issue, but it seems there is not an international regulation for musicians who have to carry their instruments, observed by all airline companies.

We were met at the airport by a member of the organization team, but had to wait for the next shuttle to the festival area which was about 35 kilometers away at a seaside town called Evpatoria, close to Odessa. The member of the organization team who accompanied us was called Alex and his team has organized the Headbanger's Mission Festival since 1999, giving him considerable experience. Understandably, he had limited time since he had many issues to deal with during the festival, so he left us where he could in the hotels area, which caused a slight panic among less experienced band members. Among the town's huge but empty resort hotels from the Communist Era, we located a hotel to our liking. The festival was held on the beach on an entertainment complex called The Sun that had dining and gathering areas besides the festival tent. With the favourable currency exchange rate, we had the luxury to enjoy more luxury than most other attendees of the metal festival. Most employees of the organizing committee were volunteering local metalheads, thus we had some difficulty in communicating: not everyone was fluent in English.

The event was spread over three days and featured 38 bands from all over Europe, even an occasional overseas band from Brazil, making a stop in the festival on a pre-organized concert tour. Our performance was on the 2nd day around 16:30, immediately before the headliner Artillery, a veteran German thrash metal band, out of courtesy that we were there as a foreign band with its own financial means than our merits so far. There was also an extreme metal event on the same stage at a later hour called "Black Sea Storm", which indeed took place during an intense thunderstorm during the night.

We had taken part as audience the first day we arrived and had the chance to compare the elements we observed with the metal festivals we attended elsewhere. The party atmosphere we encountered was unique to itself while participants could also swim, drink and chat on the beach when the band on the stage did not particularly appeal to their musical tastes. There were some conventions such as the “Boob Show”, where, the commentator would invite women from the audience to climb the stage and expose their breasts, the large screens located at the sides of the stage magnified the action so everyone present could indeed observe the details. The “winner” would be declared according to how much the crowd would cheer in terms of volume and duration and was offered a free drink. I have never seen such behaviour elsewhere, and with seemingly more female audience compared to other European metal festivals I have attended, it was not perceived like a misogynic behaviour one would expect from extreme metal festivals. We were told by a female audience member that this event was an oddity remaining from earlier festivals, owing to the venue being a beach recreation facility (See Url 14). With time and drinks, we made acquaintances with some more people and did not only keep to ourselves or the other Turkish bands whom we travelled with. On the second day, after our performance, there was an afterparty featuring pyrotechnicians and dancers, with a dark, fetish theme, while the extreme metal event was going on. The rainstorm I mentioned meant that this outdoor party was cut short, and we had to walk back to our hotel dripping wet.

I rate our performance as poor, since we had about 5 minutes changeover time, much shorter than promised, the incident of the broken ipad took place and my already fragile unseasoned voice, further strained by the travel and partying, absolutely disobeyed my command. Nevertheless, as far as I could follow, there were no negative reviews and the audience was really enthusiastic. I assume that for the most part, they did not recognise the cover numbers we were performing since we were the only progressive metal band around, but people moved along and headbanged and interacted with the stage. There were even a couple of women doing some sinuous bellydance in stage front, during a slower and sentimental song. This is a practice associated with female-fronted bands thanks to the Dutch Band Epica, a forerunner of the symphonic metal subgenre. They prefer, by their own account, to incorporate the sounds and the textures of an imagined East into their music and visual portfolio, since

Mark Jansen, the main composer of the band thinks it is more interesting than, for example, Dutch folk music (Personal Interview, 2014).

My second set of field notes stem from the end of March 2015. Although we performed regularly during 2014, 2015 did not seem abundant in terms of gigs and my pregnancy was advancing to the point that I could not wear my regular stage attire anymore. Nevertheless, it was required to submit a live video as a portfolio item for applying for a slot in a Northern Cyprus rock festival in September. In the last few years, we had often performed in DoRock but lately among the frequenters of the club, more conventional, mainstream metal subgenres became preferred so we were not asked to perform there lately. Therefore, we had to specially ask for permission to perform and shoot the live performance video. The venue's owner and the PR manager being our friends, our wish was granted; despite the early hour the club was almost full.

We had limited stage time but there was no band before us, so we could at least set our equipment in a relatively broad stretch of time. As is usually done before the live music starts, we left the stage after the soundcheck the projector screen in front of the stage came down and the DJ of the club broadcasted a selection of videos from artists he found similar to our band. Listana very seldom, if ever covered songs written and/or performed by other female fronted bands, especially after I took over the vocals. The obvious intention was to avoid any comparison: I needed years before I could put up a comparable performance with the likes of Floor Janssen or Diane van Giesenberg. Performing songs written for male vocals all the time attributed to part of the alienation both the band and the audience would be experiencing: a conscious choice of staying in the male domain and balancing weaker vocals with good instrumental performance. Thus, it would have been musically more appropriate if the DJ would have played Dream Theater instead of Epica, but from his perspective, we belonged to the camp of Epica and Nightwish no matter what music we played.

Just into the performance, between the first two numbers, a woman begun to argue with the sound technician. Although she shouted, we could not catch what exactly she protested from our vantage point on the stage, but apparently she was upset about something. Since my confidence was already quite fragile as reported earlier, I assumed she must have been bothered by my performance and my morale sank. After the show, we were told that she was upset about live music commencing earlier than scheduled and she was in the middle of a discussion. I believe I must have been the

only pregnant woman to grace DoRock Taksim's stage, but thanks to this incident, my recollections are not all positive.

By the time of this performance, Listana managed to get the instrumental parts sufficiently coordinated, Ali rendered our two-keyboard standard setup mostly functional by designing a iOS software that he kept developing and ended up commercially releasing, but there still were mishaps for various reasons on the stage. In terms of skill and expression, this performance could have been rated as our best, but some challenges such as keeping stage anxiety at bay and performing without noticeable mistakes were never conquered within this period. Evaluating the recording, we decided to forgo the plan of producing two videos out of this performance, the cover video filmed after Elveda simply had too many mistakes.

3.5 Social Context

This section mainly focuses on the in-between events of being part of a metal band, the occasions where one makes a public appearance without the exclusive context of performing music. During such happenings, I witnessed that, one still represents and is evaluated by his/her band even in the absence of a performance context. In Listana's case, this representation trend was quite pronounced since as band members, we were frequently getting together to spend time outside music such as picnics or swimming trips, thus, thanks also to social media, the metalhead community following local bands became used to seeing Listana members together.

Most metalheads I have made acquaintances with during the fieldwork of this process decided to interact with me after learning about my band and performer status. As reported elsewhere, my status of being a researcher did not fully convince all people, especially if they already have a trauma about their education and/or professional life. Some I attempted to speak with would find it dubious that I was doing research on something such as metal music that they hold so sacred, thus devaluating it, but most of my informers made clear that I deserved their interest as a as a band member than as an individual or a researcher. My "fakeness" in their eyes was redeemed by the fact that I was performing.

To make sense of most of the debate presented, it is necessary here to recapitulate Bourdieu's terms "habitus" and the process of acquiring "cultural capital". It is argued in Chapters 2 and 5 that, for most young beginners in Turkey, metal music is an

extraordinary way to gain social acceptance, since one also becomes part of a subculture that has a different paradigm than urban daily life. For an adult to enter this domain consciously and armed with the knowledge of social theories such as Bourdieu is an altogether different, but no less striking experience.

3.5.1 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: A brief sociological account

For Auguste Comte, music is the most social of all arts. In the case of metal music, since it has a tight and well defined community, this statement rings even more true. When I decided to do my research on metal music, I thought my situation is in keeping with R.L.Stevenson's classical 19th Century novel: it is the social definitions and pressure of class and status that push the protagonist Dr. Jekyll to cross the boundary to become Mr. Hyde, forgetting the experience afterwards. I found my own dichotomy clearly delineated when Dr. Jekyll eventually embraces and reconciles with his alterego. Although my students at the university were, for the most part, unfamiliar with this novel's archetypical story, I made a habit of introducing myself as Dr. Jekyll and drawing on the cultural and identity resources of the Mr. Hyde persona to present myself closer to their world than they might otherwise think.

Between 2010 and 2013, as a member of a metal band, I frequented the area around Istiklal Street, the music and nightlife hub of Istanbul, for studio sessions, performing and socializing. Socializing by discussing performers, bands, festivals and new albums as well as the classic tenets of metal music was a quick way to gain knowledge, thus my education of being a metalhead could be considered straightforward and comprehensive. My new friends cycle were frequenters of metal clubs such as DoRock and Rockn'Rolla and were already recognized figures of the underground metal scene, the sense of belonging relatively quickly extended to include me. We were often invited to launching shows of new albums, gigs, birthdays, gettogethers, or rendezvous with acquaintances to watch international acts as they performed in Istanbul.

To "blend in", I needed to manifest metalhead traits such as assuming the metal dress code even when we weren't performing, and display behavior which seemed at great odds with the "habitus" of my academic environment. Reading the academic literature at the same time on international heavy metal subculture and reconciling with its Turkish counterpart was also instrumental to fit in. Professional local bands such as Murder King, higher on the ladder of popularity and following thus earning money

from their music instead of playing unpaid gigs like us, were closer targets of aspiration. We were also observing peers through social media from across Europe, comparing our milieu to the gigs and activities they were participating, their promotion materials and of course their new music.

Both as musician and researcher, I consciously disregarded the gender inequality in metal music as much as is possible. For various reasons, many female protagonists of the (Turkish) scene that I interviewed, and my late found rolemodel in my interpretative performance autoethnography Jasmine Shadrack, whom I could establish connection and compare notes in length, also thread carefully around the gender aspect. My conviction is, to emphasize femininity would be to demean female presence by exploiting it. This entire “female fronted” and/or its “male backed” counterpart is actually de-evaluating musicianship and reducing music and musicianship, using the French expression, into *Metal a Chanteuse*. In my opinion, it would have been very trivial and leaning towards the easier side to assume a feminist stance for this study. This seeming paradox is best explained by a comparable approach to metal performance itself. Since female performers are rare in any type of metal music, it would have been a much shorter path to recognition to establish an all-female band that uses hyperfemininity as a centerpiece attraction rather than or along with their music. During the period that I have observed the Turkish metal scene, a few such projects emerged (one recent project was called *Femme Fatale*), but none could progress beyond performing covers. There was only one all-female metal band I witnessed, *Kırmızı*, making it to the professional level without seeking to exaggerate their female identity. I have limited means of knowing *Kırmızı*'s inner dynamics and tensions that eventually tore the band apart in 2015, and I do not assume I know every aspect only through my interactions with Idil Çağatay. Judging from Listana's own experience, it could be said that, perhaps more than one woman's meticulousness and ego might cause instability in a metal band.

There are two “possible” dress codes for a female (death) metal figure, as Sonia Vasan puts forth: either to assume an utterly gender neutral or even masculine dress code, or a hyperfeminine dress code (2011, p.334). Shadrack reports that, for her, the choice was the gender neutral clothing and the only difference from her male band mates were her breasts (2014). According to the subgenre, variations on these two basic templates are possible. I was not able to accept myself within the masculine attire consisting of,

for example, thick, metal studded, flat-soled boots or loose-fitting band logo t-shirts over baggy jeans, so I always sought to find a middle ground of feminine metalhead attire for my stage costumes. I sought to establish a personal style by appropriating corsets and to some extent tulle and lace from female-fronted symphonic metal, but moderating the medieval/gothic/Victorian look with modern forms, leather trousers and out-of-genre emblems and clothing items, sometimes even emphasizing my academic personage.

Neither Listana members nor other metal musicians we performed with, verbally “islanded” me as a woman: what mattered was music, not chivalric privileged treatment. The audience was another issue, though: there was no way to deny at least the male gaze, in every shade between fervent admiration to outright misogyny. Although I was refusing to acknowledge it, I represented the “Other” in some audience members’ eyes: the anomaly. During the initial two-year phase when I was solely the keyboardist, working hard at my live sets and performance skills would spare me from the negative end of this spectrum, resulting in more laudation for my skills as a performer. As stated earlier, metal keyboardists are already rare; a female metal keyboardist was, in short, unique in Turkey. Besides, from the perspective of the audience, she seemed a skilled musician, at least as much as her male counterparts.

Assuming the lead with a less than ready voice foregrounded my gender in the worst possible way. In Shadrack’s words, I was bold enough to occupy male space in an overtly male genre. Understandably, considering that, we perform technically advanced progressive metal songs and most of these pieces are written for male voice, the initial reaction to my live performance was not at all favorable. We have performed some of those same numbers with our previous vocalists, but they were all more experienced singers than I was and the sexism they faced thus had a different nuance, from what they told of their experiences. For me, the accusation was a gendered one: That I was a bad vocalist who thought I could make up for my lack of talent by being a woman and controlling my band members with my ego and sexuality.

Interestingly, the most relentless criticism and discouragement came from other women, who were not even musicians themselves, or had projects in their earlier states than Listana. My interpretation is that, the space for women is still narrow in metal music performance, and competition becomes inevitable. It is, from those female detesters’ perspective, utterly unfair that I get to “reign” in front of the stage,

performing with more than adequate musicians and commanding their respect despite my obvious shortcomings. The men were another matter: for some there is always the attraction and the flaws in my performance thus serve as a pretext to approach me. For others, it is sacrilege that a woman and an inexperienced singer is offending their musical senses by daring to perform progressive metal numbers. Shadrack reports very similar experiences from her performing instances:

As is typical of a Death Metal audience, which has a high percentage of other Death Metal musicians in attendance, men would stand in front of me with their arms folded, waiting to be disappointed or with the facial expression which stated ‘impress me’. This was a consistent mode of behavior and interaction for many gigs over a ten-year period but what happened when our set was over provided some very interesting reactions, sometimes genuine appreciation or veiled sexism. This would range from ‘great set’ to ‘you play quite well...for a girl’. When the polemics of this were experienced, learning to ignore the verbal sexism became an important paradigm of existence in this context. The active engagement with music and performance was not enough to silence all of my critics. (Shadrack, 2014)

Undeniably, for the endeavor of becoming the lead singer, I had much encouragement from within the band, partially stemming from the members’ exasperation about the conflicts and problems we experienced with the four vocalists we tried. It is a cause of remorse that, they had to endure the buffeting from the audience as well during this transitory period. The entire process has been a philosophical eye-opener and led every band member to question musicianship and social pressure associated with metal.

3.5.2 Social media: YouTube, Facebook, Instagram and other platforms

I maintained social media accounts of Listana, interacted with social media contacts impersonating the band, directed advertisement campaigns for new releases: effectively designing and behaving as the online “persona” of a collective entity as well as my own person, since early 2011. Back then, the paradigm of social media in Turkey was clearly defined within the boundaries of youth subculture and recreation, and it was only after the Gezi events that holders of political and/or social power and official entities such as government corporations began to employ Twitter as an “official” outlet. It is a global transition that today every politically, economically or

culturally significant entity has to have its social media channels. In fact, to establish a social media portfolio, which is referred to as the “persona” of a particular enterprise is one of the earliest requirements for developing an idea into a startup company.

In the domain of any endeavor associated with art and culture, the social media plays a direct and vital role. Cecilia Suhr, in her much cited work *Social Media And Music: The Digital Field Of Cultural Production*, articulates that:

Unlike many painters and writers who commonly struggle for the right to be called “a painter” or “a writer,” musicians who use the social networking sites enter the field without a need to be legitimized as such. To a certain degree, any individual could be considered a musician if he or she wished to make that claim. (2012, p.35)

I was not a social media proficient person prior to becoming a band member, and my Facebook account was deactivated at the time the group was founded. I was soon persuaded by my colleagues in the band to connect to them through social media. They claimed, aside from communicating among each other, a popular music artist’s social media profile should serve the purpose of building up an identity and becoming part of a community. They claimed such an enterprise would also benefit the band, reinforcing Suhr’s statement: “Social networking sites are perceived as places where musicians can exercise full control over their careers, gaining independence and empowerment through do-it-yourself methods”(2013, p.1). The main social media outlet Facebook did not support group chat back in 2011, we were using MSN Messenger, which was also transmitting sound and video besides only text. After about eight months, there was a dramatic twist in the band story that eventually meant that the band pages should be re-established but of course with half a band (me, the guitarist and the bassist) we had no material to present. Having no page meant having no band at all. Once we found new people to perform with and went into the studio for rehearsals and recordings, we re-established the pages, started from scratch and began to share news to attract followers again.

Facebook timeline allows users to travel back in time to see posts from specific time periods, so beginning with March 2011, there is an audiovisual archive of all the events Listana participated. The band has an email address which is connected to its Youtube channel, and thus acts as a repository of released items, withdrawn items, crowd

interaction, comments, Reverbnation chart rankings and correspondence. Thus, in Suhr's words, a "digital field" was forming around the band activities, even before I was aware that the social media trace could be intentionally used as a source of data. In today's network environment, every user is made aware of his/her digital footprints and precautions are encouraged both in the personal and institutional levels against data mining.

Nowadays, professional social media managers learn algorithmic protocols of Facebook, Twitter and Instagram and often maintain advertising campaigns and customer support through company pages: in fact, social media corporations earn their income from these advertisements. Although all band members had clearance to post anything on Listana's Facebook, Twitter, Reverbnation and Instagram pages and Youtube, it was me running the social media. The person who assumes this duty has a great deal to learn since there is a precarious balance between attracting and keeping an audience and losing by posting too profusely or irrelevantly. It helped to boost posts when there had to be an announcement such as a new video launched, an important concert coming up or support for any cause such as gathering donations for stray animals or migrant families. At times, competitions required the incorporation of social media followers showing their support by liking and sharing, and Listana had its share of such events as well.

Summarizing all, the experience of managing the social media was significant since it gave the band a means to establish itself, get in contact with peers, collect feedback from followers and announce events, agendas and new releases. Even with meager advertising budgets, the social media pages doubled as visit cards and bulletin boards. Unlike a web page, which usually needs to be designed by a professional web programmer and updated frequently, social media channels lend their control directly to their users, and our act never reached the magnitude that the manager would be swamped and overwhelmed to follow up its social media channels. Bigger, more established acts eventually have to employ professional management for their social media outlets unless there is one among their number who can devote the required time.

3.6 Making a Release

The enormous surge of popularity of symphonic metal in Turkey during the first decade of the 2000s, marked with the success of professional female-fronted Turkish bands Almora and Catafalque, lasted for quite a significant time period before waning slowly but surely. These two bands were being regarded as familiar and significant by fans when Listana begun its performance career. Consequently, there were many bands of various skill level in Istanbul metal scene with a similar repertoire, competition was fierce and criticism and rollback was abundant. The fertile environment and vibrancy of the scene meant that Listana could experience the thrill and driving motivation of an emerging band, similar to the accounts of internationally famous bands.

To consolidate this rising trend for the band, it was expected that an album should be released. The motivation of the band members was more in keeping with the performance of international acts' numbers. However, the lack of a solid recording of original music meant that Listana would not be perceived as having enough identity and/or skill for large scale events. We quickly discovered that we had next to no chance of finding a local label willing to make a commitment in terms of promotion and digital distribution to a music outside the Turkish mainstream. We did not have yet the presence, skill and connections to seek an international label, either. In the end, with digital streaming swiftly and aggressively replacing more traditional modes of music consumption such as physical production and distribution of music, Listana's output to date was gathered together in an EP album, released digitally in 2013 under the name "Unveiled", followed by a single called "Persona non Grata" in December 2014, both without a label in the traditional sense.

Following some unsuccessful endeavors, we finally were able to record, produce, package and digitally publish the Listana album in 2013. Such an enterprise would have been immensely difficult without intermediaries just a decade ago, but online distribution companies such as CdBaby, able to provide an artist's track with the UPC/EAN code which is an international stamp of copyright, validating it for use everywhere on the Internet, enabled that an artist would, with a limited budget, legally release their output across the planet.

What is seldom mentioned in this bargain is that, without a proper marketing budget, the visibility of any "indie" release would be extremely limited. There are more than

six centuries' worth in time of available music in streaming services worldwide, but, according to Sanchez, "99% of all music streaming on Spotify and Apple Music came from the top 10% of songs" (2018).

In the United States, audio streaming consumption exploded 50.6% over 2016, with the trend towards legally paying for what one listens to: instead of the piracy era of downloading mp3's from obscure websites has passed and subscription streams such as Spotify, Youtube Red, Deezer and Apple Music made up 80% of all audio streams, increasing from 76% in 2016. Research shows that digital album and song sales, as well as physical albums continued their slow decline into obscurity: with some curious twists such as people opting to buy vinyl instead of CD. People wish to clutter their homes and devices less and less with music, be it in the form of physical articles or bits of downloading data, occupying drive space.

What is unfair in this equation is that, less than 1% of streams accounted for music other than what was popular according to charts and sales graphics, in essence, whoever has more financial means to get to boots a release by advertising on streaming platforms reach their target. Rather than implementing precautions to solve this discrepancy, music streaming platforms like Spotify and Apple Music have only helped to augment it, in essence this is the main method of making money for them. So under the illusion of free will, both presented to artists making releases by paying the costs themselves and consumers who are under the illusion of freely choosing what music they would consume.

Sanchez asks the question that we all wished to shout out loud: "With more people only streaming songs from popular musicians, how exactly will indie music survive?" (2018) When, the total production costs of our 2013 release, with its recording, mixing, mastering, promotion photography (an example is below), artwork design, music video production and digital publishing costs arrived around the total sum of around 4500 United States Dollars, we were warned in advance that we would not be earning as much. As our intention was to enter the status of a solid band, represented in the global world of metal music, we were not resentful to pay.

Following is a document from CdBaby, our digital distribution company, detailing our earnings so far, and proving the bitter reality for most emerging indie artists regardless of the musical genre they perform or how well they perform it. Since extrapolating

this data, the band probably earned about 3-4 dollars more, bringing the grand total to around 40 United States Dollars in the five years that the release is available for streaming.

Table 3. 1: Account Overview.

ACCOUNTING OVERVIEW

Total Sales Overview			
ACCOUNT BALANCE		\$2.57	view transactions
TOTAL REVENUE			\$24.67
CD BABY Sales Overview			
TOTAL CD BABY SALES		\$6.34	view sales
TOTAL CD BABY SALES (CDs)		\$0.00	view sales
TOTAL CD BABY SALES (Digital)		\$6.34	view sales
Listens			
Unvetted		\$5.44	view sales
Persona Non Grata		\$0.90	view sales
	Total Sales	\$6.34	view sales
Digital Distribution Sales Overview			
TOTAL DIGITAL DISTRIBUTION SALES			\$17.73
Listens			
Unvetted		\$15.64	view sales
Persona Non Grata		\$2.09	view sales
	Total Sales	\$17.73	view sales
Licensing and Royalties Overview			
TOTAL SYNC LICENSING ROYALTIES			\$0.00
Listens			
Unvetted		\$0.14	view sales
Persona Non Grata		\$0.45	view sales
	Total Sales	\$0.69	view sales
Swiper Sales Overview			
TOTAL SWIPER SALES		\$0.00	view batches
Recent Transactions			
REPORT DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	
Nov 27, 2018	iTunes Match - Americas Sale	\$0.00	details
Nov 13, 2018	Spotify Sale	\$0.01	details
Oct 09, 2018	Spotify Sale	\$0.02	details
Sep 20, 2018	Deezer Sale	\$0.01	details
Sep 11, 2018	Spotify Sale	\$0.03	details
Sep 03, 2018	iTunes Match - Canada Sale	\$0.00	details
Aug 22, 2018	Deezer Sale	\$0.02	details
Aug 07, 2018	Spotify Sale	\$0.02	details
Jul 17, 2018	Spotify Sale	\$0.03	details
Jun 16, 2018	Tidal Sale	\$0.05	details

The only music platform which actively seeks to overcome this disparity is Bandcamp, they claim to be more egalitarian towards indie musicians, thus they have a large number of metal acts in their artists portfolio. They claim to pay their artists and their sales of both digital and physical music is on the rise since 2016. After CD, magnetic cassette seems to enjoy a comeback as well. Confirming that their researchers also noticed the inclination of larger music platforms Spotify and Apple Music exerting control over what music fans listen to, Bandcamp spokesperson Ethan Diamond states:

Allowing the distribution of an entire art form to be controlled by so few has troubling implications... The streaming giants exert tremendous influence over what music gets heard, and must primarily serve their most important supplier, the major labels. The result is that independent labels, and especially independent artists, are far less likely to be discovered on those platforms. (2018)

The most effective course of action for a music fan would therefore be using the platforms Discogs or Bandcamp and encourage their preferred artists to both fill up gaps for existing releases such as information. As earlier sections of this chapter proved, this is possible through social media. Visiting blogs, keeping up with fan pages, writing content and critiques and, naturally going to events and purchasing merchandise seem the best course of action at the moment. Now that music consumers have realised that the content providers must be paid for their work, this awakening could be a rebirth for indie music.

Listana's original music displays many influences, multifaceted like the city of Istanbul that provided the name and the inspiration. We aspired for being able to play everything on record live as well, so the overall music could be described as the clean sound of a single- guitar band, with some adventurous polyphonic textures and solo work. In terms of discourse, there were mostly epic themes, some dream and alternative reality subjects and some personal reflections in this first release. The 2014 single "Persona non Grata" had political overtones. For both of these releases, through DIY practices such as emailing press releases and sending promo packages to portals, webzines and potential foreign promoters, we received album critiques and joined in the global pool of emerging bands, getting many positive reviews from abroad. Most critiques were along the lines that this was a decent first effort, and although the band did not yet seem decided which direction to go to, as soon as they kept to their

idiomatic sound, it should be fine. Most acknowledged that the songs in this album are connected by what they are not: the classical symphonic metal themes of depression, darkness, fantasy or fiction were absent: bordering the discourse thus with progressive metal, which is thematically less predictable. Judging from the international comments, Listana was able, even with two songs of the release being in Turkish, convey its sense of locality and narration rather than a pagan-goddess stereotype leading lady who relates personal perspectives. As the mastermind who oversaw the entire project, I was intrigued by some of the domestic criticism that declared my voice and/or English pronunciation inadequate, while foreign bloggers found my spelling “exotic”(Url 15). The star rating, featured in almost all portals promoting new music was around 7.5 over 10 for Unveiled. The most motivating comments were remarking the originality of the music and the balance of symphonic and progressive elements. Reproduced here is a quotation by Katarzyna Zakowska, whose use of language I did not correct:

Each song is different from each other. This music has atmosphere. Musicians of Listana have their way & follow it perfectly. This album is totally interesting; in their music is noticeable passion. You wouldn't be bored, because you can still find new sounds. From powerful song to relaxing on good night. Surely you nowhere can find a band that plays such music, which triggers so many emotions through sounds in music. (Url 16, 2014)

It seems at this point that Listana's chances are low with the current currency rate on an international market concerning the next release, since a huge budget in Turkish standards would now be a meager sum in international standards. At the moment, even the Finnvox studios mastering we could afford for this release would be strenuous for the next album. The best course of action, it seems, is sticking with Wagner's “Gesamtkunstwerk” idea and doing as much as possible with the band's internal resources. This includes recording, photography, filming and social media management.

4. ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK

In today's world, an often institutionalized, rigorous musical training is required to perform most Eurogenetic musical genres at a professional level. There are virtually no concert performers in today's world who have not started at a very young age and went through a rigorous training routine, and far fewer composers who can launch their careers globally without the skills and connections their schooling provides for them. As stated elsewhere in this study (see Chapters 1.6.3, 1.6.4, 3.1 and 5.3), one of the presuppositions of this work is that there is a largely fixed path to become a professional performer for Eurogenetic art music, with more or less a stereotypical education in music theory, history and performance. Most mainstream composer and/or performer biographies, especially after the advent of institutional music education, manifest a similar *lebenslauf*: a young person (usually a middle-class male) shows interest and aptitude for music so that his family provides for conservatory education, followed by some groundbreaking event such as winning the *Prix de Rome* in the case of Paris Conservatoire. There are some notable exceptions to this biographical archetype such as Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov or Charles Ives; however even in the case of non-conservatory trained major figures of the 19th century such as Verdi or Wagner, it is inferable that they received a pretty solid compositional education through private tutorship.

Although popular musics have been excluded from this rule of thumb for the initial decades of the recording era, the establishment of Berklee School of Music in 1945, entirely dedicated to popular musics marked a change in this trend. In consequence, some genres such as jazz were "raised" into the category of art music. Today, along with "light music" department of European and American conservatories, schools such as the Dutch institute "Metal Factory" are established, entirely devoted to learning metal. Blues, rock and metal are texturally more complex than pop-induced genres, but retain somatic and textural independence from established music theory due to their genesis through oral tradition. However, such generalizations do not give one the power to map out an archetypical trek to metal musicianship. From what I knew

beforehand and learned by reading about metal music and musicians in non-academic and academic resources such as Philips and Cogan's *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music* (2009), metal musicians come from very diverse backgrounds and thus their narratives to world-class careers seemed inconsistent compared to classical performers. In the opening section of his similar book *Running with the Devil*, Robert Walser remarks that the discipline and devotion needed for success in both Eurogenetic art music and metal are actually quite similar, only the surface details are different (1993, p.3). Thus, in order to confirm his statement if possible and find commonalities beyond the middle-class, male interest to become metal performers and/or composers, I made genuine contact with metal performers.

In the world of popular music, "prodigious self-education" is often seen as an indication of talent and employed as an aspect of the superhuman to reinforce stardom identity. There are instances of such figures who would seek to downplay the master-apprentice learning cycle he or she had been through for various reasons. Some performers I encountered in the metal realm who have studied music formally would similarly downplay their education and not admit to using the skills gained through schooling. Also given the exaggeration tendency mentioned in Chapter 2.2, it became clear that only by reading, I would have limited capacity of mapping the learning processes of metal musicians. Participant observation thus once more became a significant asset since it provided both an "emic" and "etic" perspective on the subject. Besides connections to forge the liaisons required for this chapter, my bi-musicality also gave me the perspective to understand these fellow metal players. I would not have grasped the points they made during interviews without performing the genre myself and being active in the scene. As Szego pointed out, the process of reflecting about my own socialization and enculturation and especially after I begun reading the literature concerning fieldwork, informal learning and popular music education, was necessary in order to reach "new understanding, which is the goal of ethnography" (2002).

With the majority of this section's informants, I conducted semi-structured interviews which are recorded as sound or video, forming a repository onto which I could apply the analytical methods described below. The length and content of the interviews had to vary greatly: with some informants I had ample time, with some just a few precious minutes. With two renowned Turkish metal vocalists, after my formal interviewing, I

formed closer relations and took singing/vocal coaching lessons between 2014-2016. Therefore I can report more about their overall experience and outlook. Since teaching could be considered as an expansion of one's own learning process, these lessons were invaluable in understanding if there is indeed an archetypical path to metal musicianship. The interviews were complemented by a survey whose details are explained below. In total, for this study, I have made contact with an estimated 110 people in the years 2014- 2015, listed under the Fieldwork section of this text.

Although “purely schooled” or “purely autodidact” musicians exist in today's world of metal music, most of today's metal bands feature “in-between musicians” such as Metallica's James Hetfield. As mentioned earlier, most of these interviewees, performing different subgenres of metal and hailing from different geographies are hard to classify as either “schooled” or “autodidact”. There is naturally a large gray zone between these poles, and it is hard to encounter music professionals who belong purely to one camp or the other. Some notable names out of the autodidact musicians list with whom I could speak are Joey Belladonna of Anthrax who never had any musical training at all, and Mike Mangini of Dream Theater, who, albeit eventually embarking on a teaching career at Berklee School of Music, never had conservatory education and learned drumming during his studies for a degree in computer science. Among the classically trained musicians in my list are the keyboardist Jordan Rudess of Dream Theater, Marcela Bovio, who is the vocalist for the Dutch band Stream of Passion and Mayan, and Idil Çağatay, a well-known Turkish female metal vocalist who occasionally still sings classical repertoire with her rare contralto voice.

As the aim of this study is to delineate the learning pathways and understand if the intra-musical communication problems are universal or local, this research design would have to include both international and Turkish artists. It could well be that, due to some conceptual and/or contextual shortcoming of the Turkish language or some semantic shortcoming endemic to Turkish musicians, only communication procedures between Turkish musicians could be compromised. The problem could arise from a lack of understanding of the necessary musical signifiers and/or signifieds due to the late introduction of the Western musical codes into the Turkish music education. Having almost as many “alaylı” musicians within the Turkish music industry could be an extension of the tradition that, for Turkish culture, music making is a practice embedded in oral tradition. The “written” nature of Eurogenetic art music taught

nowadays in Turkish conservatoria could be the contributing factor to “okullu” musicians not accepting or respecting “alaylı” musicians essentially. Even metal music being a global musical phenomenon might be a factor of resistance on the conscious and/or unconscious level. Thus, to either prove or refute such suggestions and formulate a hypotheses stating “regardless of language, ethnicity or gender, there is a communication disruption between metal musicians who mainly learned through colloquial methods, supervising their progress themselves and metal musicians who have learned through supervised vocational musical training”, the broadening of the informant pool to include global artists was necessary.

4.1 Surveying

The original project design of this work entailed that a large-N group, consisting of individuals who can perform metal music to some extent, would be present. The data from the surveys was to be comparatively and analytically examined with the data gathered by the interviews. The information onto which Chapter 5 of this study is based on is provided by 52 amateur metal performers between ages 15 to 37, whose mean age was 25, at the time of volunteering for the survey. The period of data collection was about three months, starting on August 2014. I employed the free version of the platform SurveyMonkey to collect the responses and asked for assistance on social media to reach to more informants. SurveyMonkey provides data about how many people left the questionnaire unfinished, but does not provide IP addresses to pinpoint every participant. Since I ushered participants to take the survey through social media, I can guess that they are mainly from the bigger cities of Turkey that feature a metal scene. According to the survey, the majority of the informants were males. For an average-speed reader, the survey must have taken around ten minutes. The survey did not proceed to the next question before one question was answered, so there are no partial participants. Some of the data provided is not consistent, such as a person supposedly 16 years old marking himself as a PhD holder and answering all Likert Scale questions with a 1. I had to eliminate such results as well as the incomplete entries aside to compile results into the table below.

The questions of the survey I prepared were sorted into two types. The five first type questions were designed as drop-down for age (I had from 13 to 60 available), sex (only male and female were the options Survey Monkey allowed at that time), educational status (primary, secondary, high school, university, master’s and

doctorate), relationship status [single (S), in a relationship (R), married (M)] and which instrument that person plays (guitar, bass guitar, voice, drums, keyboards and other). For multi instrumentalists, there was the request to choose one they considered themselves more acquainted. The second type were fifteen Likert Scale questions which had the gradual five-step range for answers, expressed by words of rating and ranking exemplified by never/not at all/very bad to always/all the time and very good.

The Likert-Scale questions used in the survey were as follows:

- 1) How do you describe the economical status of your family?
- 2) How do you rate the educational status of your family?
- 3) How do you rate your family relations?
- 4) Please rate how important your family is for you.
- 5) Do you feel that you belong with your family?
- 6) Is metal music a lifestyle for you?
- 7) Do you adhere to the dresscode of metal?
- 8) How long have you been affiliated with metal?
- 9) Approximately how advanced do you rate your instrumental skills?
- 10) Do you listen to other genres besides metal?
- 11) Did you have lessons to learn your instrument?
- 12) Would you describe yourself as a solitary or social person?
- 13) Please rate your contentment in life: are you an upset or a content person?
- 14) What is your relation to violence?
- 15) How do you rate yourself as a spiritual person?
- 16) How do you rate yourself as a religious person?
- 17) How do you place yourself on a political scale?
- 18) Does your behaviour in public reflect who you are, in your opinion?

Although the original language of the survey is in Turkish, I have translated the questions and the findings to integrate into this section of the text. The survey questions were centered upon three themes: the participant's experience and concept

of family, the place he/she attributes to metal music in his/her life and his/her identity as an individual in the society he/she lives in. I kept the wording at a very basic level and the questions somewhat crude on purpose. The need for reaching as many participants as possible and unavailability of mobile phones compatibility at the time of the survey meant that the attendance rate would fall further, if I had more and/or more complex questions. As long as the pursuit for data remains general and the sole aim of this survey remains merely to provide some basis for comparison with Hecker's profiling of the Turkish metalhead, this simplicity should pose no problem.

In order to present the findings, the results are compiled to reproduce them in this section, but the interpretations are to be found in Chapter 6 below. Unfortunately, the survey group did not expand to include a sufficient number of informants to be classified as a large N, statistical study, thus are not conclusive enough for bolder, definitive interpretations. Consequently, the need arose to conduct further interviews with a fresh group of participants for writing out chapter 5.2 and 5.3 in 2017. This time, there were more women turning in than the original survey from 2014, enriching and balancing my findings.

The design to do a combined large-N and small-N analysis enabled me to draw a line according to some factors to categorize the informants. Some of the professional musicians I interviewed for Chapter 4 had day jobs, just like the 32 participants whose responses are presented in Chapter 5.1. For example, the Oriental Progressive metal band Myrath's lead singer Zaher Zogatti worked in 2015 as a singer at a luxury restaurant in Tunis, performing 50s and 60s hits and Mediterranean-style pop: albeit musical, a day job in essence. Therefore, I sorted his account into the interview group. On the other hand, some of the interviewees who rightfully belong to the "gray zone" such as Aytek Akçakaya, who currently works as a landscape architect, were placed into the survey group. Aytek did have an episode in his life where he was a full-time musician, but his main source of income is his profession and not (metal) music at this point. Thus, since I had to make a distinction, I sorted out which musician is to go into which group by considering what they do to make a living.

32 of this survey's participants were from my band's closest circle, who volunteered filling in the survey through our acquaintance. Knowing them to some extent, I could at times infer from their results who was who, although the survey, whose questions are reproduced above, does not ask participants to provide names. After the period of

surveying, I constantly stayed in correspondence with these select informants through social media, resulting in “transcribed” data and expanding the impersonal Likert-scale into delivering more personalized answers. By participants’ permission, I copy-pasted the Facebook correspondence, with appropriate time and date, into separate Word files and store them by participant’s name. This closer relation made both parties feel comfortable about using their names and ages for Chapter 5.1. Thus, there was a change to the original design, but I believe this fact is compensated by the depth and genuinity of the results.

The following tables are organized according to the themes of the already given questions: Self and Family, Metal Music, and Social Identity. Admittedly, there are some discrepancies especially in the last one of these documents: some surveytakers complained after they completed the survey that it was too long, even with Likert Scale and not typing anything at all. Thus, they might have just randomly crossed boxes for the survey to end. A few younger surveytakers also were seemingly not mature enough to provide consistent answers. Nevertheless, there are visible patterns that were already pointed out by the literature reviewing, especially concerning the music itself and the identity thereof.

In my initial research plan, I was to tackle these emergent patterns employing principles and procedures that belong to Grounded Theory Approach. I am aware that, any study that should rightfully be labelled as a GT driven study, regardless of which branch of social sciences it represents, should have in its theoretical core some elements that this work does not have, as explained in Chapter 4.3. However, even used in a pragmatical, loose manner, GT provides the researcher, who is already involved in the creation of the theory, with some useful tools to interpret the patterns emerging from the data. The call through the social media for participants substituted for a type of sampling for participants, and my continuing liaison with some provided a methodological advantage. “Data collection and analysis progressing in tandem is the GT ideal because it is only by analyzing and sampling concurrently that concepts and theory can be developed in an inductive, grounded manner” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.5).

Establishing three themes out of my questions and thus compiling the survey answers into fact sheets is in fact, a crude “coding” procedure, perceived from the GT perspective. The aim of coding procedure of GT is perceiving similarities and/or

recurrent patterns between categories (my themes in this instance), and employ these as building blocks for ideas and finally form a “conceptual framework that will (ideally) amount to theory” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.5). Actually, in this recent article, Timonen et al voice their conviction that the comprehensive, time-consuming coding procedures detailed by, for instance, Strauss and Corbin (1994), could, strategically, be shortcutted likewise by theoretical sampling. The prerequisite thereof is to have more data: “as a study progresses, additional data are gathered via sampling for the concepts that came about in the initial coding phase” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.5).

Next step of GT is to work through coded material to formulate memos: The “memoing” concerning this collection of survey answers are thus done collectively with the deeper interaction presented in Chapter 5.1. However, this step is a notoriously time consuming procedure and works best on fully written data. Thus, it did not lend itself as well as I thought it should for participant observation fieldnotes, or social media captures of loose conversation. Memos require hypotheses, whereas my data pool consisted of merely thematically coded, non generalizable statements.

Table 4. 1: Survey data regarding questions 1-4, extracted from (Url 17).

	NR	AGE	SEX	EDUCATION	INSTRUMENT	STATUS (S, R,M)	QUESTION 1 How can you describe the economical status of your family?	QUESTION 2 How do you rate the educational status of your family?	QUESTION 3 How do you rate your family relations?	QUESTION 4 Please rate how important your family is for you.	QUESTION 5 Do you feel that you belong with your family?
Surveymonkey.com	1	34	F	Doctorate	Bass	S					
	2	17	M	Secondary	Drums	S	x	x			
Period/Time: 3 months	3	21	M	University	Guitar	R	x				
	4	16	F	High	Drums	S	x				
Hale Fulya Celikel	5	32	M	Masters	Voice	M	x				
	6	31	M	Masters	Keys	M		x			
Chapter 4	7	19	M	High	Drums	S	x				
	8	19	M	University	Guitar	R	x	x			
Ethnographic Fieldwork	9	22	F	University	Guitar	R	x				
	10	29	M	University	Guitar	M	x				
	11	32	M	University	Guitar	S		x			
	12	32	M	University	Bass	R		x			
	13	23	M	University	Voice	S			x		
	14	17	M	High	Drums	S	x				
	15	32	M	Masters	Guitar	S	x				
	16	28	F	Masters	Bass	R	x	x			
	17	27	M	University	Voice	R	x	x			
	18	23	M	University	Guitar	S	x				
	19	25	F	University	Drums	R		x			
	20	16	M	Secondary	Drums	S	x				
	21	27	M	University	Drums	M		x			
	22	27	F	University	Voice	S			x		
	23	35	M	Masters	Guitar	M	x				
	24	25	M	High	Guitar	S		x			
	25	30	M	University	Guitar	R		x			
	26	18	M	High	Guitar	S	x				
	27	27	F	University	Bass	R		x			
	28	21	M	University	Bass	R		x			
	29	28	F	High	Guitar	S	x				
	30	28	M	Primary	Bass	M	x				
	31	20	M	University	Keys	S	x				
	32	26	M	University	Voice	S	x				
	33	22	F	University	Guitar	S		x			
	34	18	F	High	Bass	S	x				
	35	35	M	Masters	Guitar	R		x			
	36	23	M	University	Guitar	S		x			
	37	21	M	University	Bass	S	x				
	38	27	M	University	Guitar	R		x			
	39	37	M	University	Bass	M		x			
	40	33	M	High	Drums	M	x				
	41	30	F	University	Bass	S			x		
	42	15	M	Secondary	Bass	S			x		
	43	23	M	High School	Drums	S		x			
	44	28	M	University	Guitar	S		x			
	45	25	F	University	Bass	S		x			
	46	31	M	University	Voice	R	x				
	47	34	M	University	Drums	S		x			
	48	16	F	High	Guitar	S	x				
	49	20	M	High	Keys	R		x			
	50	24	M	University	Guitar	S		x			
	51	28	M	University	Bass	S	x				
	52	30	M	University	Guitar	R	x				

Table 4. 2: Survey data regarding questions 1-6, extracted from (Url-17).

	NR	AGE	SEX	INSTRUMENT	QUESTION 1 Is metal music a lifestyle for you? (not all-> certainly)	QUESTION 2 Do you adhere to the dresscode of metal?(never->always)	QUESTION 3 How long have you been affiliated with metal? 1-2 years -> 10+ years)	QUESTION 4 How well do you think you play your instrument?	QUESTION 5 Do you listen to other genres besides metal? (never->always)	QUESTION 6 Did you have lessons to learn your instrument? (no, 1, 2-3, 5+, 10+)
Surveymonkey.com	1	34	F	Bass						
Period/Time: 3 months	2	17	M	Drums						
	3	21	M	Guitar						
Hale Fulya Çelikel	4	16	F	Drums						
	5	32	M	Voice						
Chapter 4	6	31	M	Keys						
	7	19	M	Drums						
Ethnographic Fieldwork	8	19	M	Guitar						
	9	22	F	Guitar						
	10	29	M	Guitar						
	11	32	M	Guitar						
	12	32	M	Bass						
	13	23	M	Voice						
	14	17	M	Drums						
	15	32	M	Guitar						
	16	28	F	Bass						
	17	27	M	Voice						
	18	23	M	Guitar						
	19	25	F	Drums						
	20	16	M	Drums						
	21	27	M	Drums						
	22	27	F	Voice						
	23	35	M	Guitar						
	24	25	M	Guitar						
	25	30	M	Guitar						
	26	18	M	Guitar						
	27	27	F	Bass						
	28	21	M	Bass						
	29	28	F	Guitar						
	30	28	M	Bass						
	31	20	M	Keys						
	32	26	M	Voice						
	33	22	F	Guitar						
	34	18	F	Bass						
	35	35	M	Guitar						
	36	23	M	Guitar						
	37	21	M	Bass						
	38	27	M	Guitar						
	39	37	M	Bass						
	40	33	M	Drums						
	41	30	F	Bass						
	42	15	M	Bass						
	43	23	M	Drums						
	44	28	M	Guitar						
	45	25	F	Bass						
	46	31	M	Voice						
	47	34	M	Drums						
	48	16	F	Guitar						
	49	20	M	Keys						
	50	24	M	Guitar						
	51	28	M	Bass						
	52	30	M	Guitar						

Table 4. 3: Survey data regarding questions 1-7, extracted from (Url-17).

NR	QUESTION 1 Would you describe yourself as a solitary or social person?				QUESTION 2 Please rate your contentment in life: are you an upset or a content person?				QUESTION 3 What is your relation to violence? (I hate it -> I love it)				QUESTION 4 How do you rate yourself as a spiritual person?				QUESTION 5 How do you rate yourself as a religious person?				QUESTION 6 How do you place yourself on a political scale? Left -> Right)				QUESTION 7 Does your behaviour in public reflect who you are, in your opinion?				
1				X				X				X				X			X								X		
2		X			X									X		X			X			X							X
3			X				X				X		X				X			X									X
4				X		X				X				X		X			X			X							X
5				X			X			X				X				X			X								X
6			X				X			X				X				X			X								X
7		X					X			X				X				X			X						X		X
8		X					X			X				X				X			X						X		X
9	X						X			X				X				X			X						X		X
10			X				X			X				X				X			X						X		X
11			X				X			X				X				X			X						X		X
12				X			X			X				X				X			X					X			X
13			X				X			X				X				X			X					X			X
14	X						X			X				X				X			X					X			X
15			X				X			X				X				X			X					X			X
16			X				X			X				X				X			X					X			X
17				X			X			X				X				X			X					X			X
18				X			X			X				X				X			X					X			X
19	X						X			X				X				X			X					X			X
20			X				X			X				X				X			X					X			X
21			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
22			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
23		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
24			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
25			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
26	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
27			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
28	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
29		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
30			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
31	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
32	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
33		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
34		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
35				X			X			X				X				X			X				X				X
37			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
38		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
39		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
40			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
41	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
42	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
43			X				X			X				X				X			X				X				X
44		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
45	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
46		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
47		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
48		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
49	X						X			X				X				X			X				X				X
50		X					X			X				X				X			X				X				X
51				X			X			X				X				X			X				X				X
52				X			X			X				X				X			X				X				X

4.2 Interviews

Interviewing is the oldest and most widely used method for any form of ethnographic research. Most output of metal music studies I have studied for the course of this monograph is either third person or first person narratives, supported by interviews (See Philips and Cogan 2009, Hecker 2012 or Shadrack 2014). This research design involved interviewing from its onset, but it did not go as smoothly as planned. I have followed the guidelines that were taught during Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology classes, so the entire process could be conveyed through the phases that Edward Ives describes in his somewhat dated but useful manual for folklore and oral history fieldworkers (1995). He outlines the phases of making an interview as follows: Finding People to Interview, the Initial Contact, the Preliminary Interview, Advance Preparations, the Diary or Journal, the Interview (with a Camcorder) and Obtaining a Release; all of this before even processing the data. Unfortunately, from this meticulous and fastidious perspective, none of the interviews I have conducted could be considered perfect, or even complete.

First of all, although, my research plan divided my informants into the two pools of fieldwork procedures: interviewing and surveying, but I did not reach enough surveytakers to justify a Large- N study and some of my survey group ended up providing interviewlike data, thus the impersonality and impartiality to ascend into abstraction was compromised. Secondly, considering the decline of the Turkish metal scene, Istanbul of 2014-2015 was a far-fetch from early 2000s, where, for instance for Rock the Nations Festival in 2004, there were around twenty major acts in the city, some foreign. I unfortunately had but limited choice about whom to interview, thus I had to make do with whichever artist happened to visit Turkey and agreed to spare some time for my work. A select few I caught abroad and/or online, whereas many whose contributions to this project would have been very valuable proved to be unreachable through social media. Thirdly, I did not have the chance to always secure ten-minute interviews in a quiet environment, especially with international figures, therefore I could not ask prepared, identical questions. With some informants I had ample time, with some just a few precious minutes. With two renowned Turkish metal vocalists Murat İlkan and Idil Çağatay, after my formal interviewing, I formed closer relations and took singing/vocal coaching lessons in 2014, 2015 and 2016, therefore I have now much more information about their overall experience and outlook to

present, expanding the scope of my original plan. Since my ideas and knowledge of the field improved over time, my later interviews proved to be much more to the point than my earlier ones. Thus, it could be said that this work's interviews database manifests a consistency problem.

Ives describes the Finding People phase from the perspective of a historian, from my perspective, admittedly, this phase was simple enough. Given the increasing deficiency of metal events during my fieldwork period, the metal network on social media did their best to at least announce and share events. I do not have reports such as "I did not know this artist was visiting Istanbul". The Initial Contact phase, though, proved to be difficult since it entails more than Ives' description of simply introducing yourself and making an appointment. Given the circumstances and the fervent and passionate Turkish metal fans, organizers do their best to hide from the public where most metal artists stay or their timetable when they visit. I know from first hand that when Dream Theater visited Istanbul in 2017, the organizers had to hire a team of professional bodyguards. I feel fortunate that my network enabled me to reach so many foreign metal performers.

The Preliminary Interview phase is a crucial phase where nervousness is rampant: as a metal performer myself, there was no way for me not to be tongue-tied in the presence of Jordan Ruddess, the legendary keyboardist, for example. Ives describes that this phase is "several things at once. It is first of all, a time for you and the interviewee to get acquainted, but it is also a time when you can answer questions and explain more fully what it is you are doing" (1995, p.30). However, in my case with the foreign interviewees, I would have been announced by the intermediaries and for Turkish interviewees, we would be acquainted previously. Ives highlights that it is possible to encounter "people who, for any one of a number of reasons or for no apparent reason at all, are simply not interested in talking with you" (Ives 1995, p.31). I have had two such cases: Udo Dirkschneider and John Myung, two metal icons whom I was fortunate to meet face to face, declined my request of making an interview.

The Advance Preparations phase was easy enough: since I already knew my interviewees by name and deeds, all I needed to do was to determine what I need to exactly know. The prepared questions below served me well for the most part, but as stated earlier, I could not always be consistent about posing them:

- 1) Tell me about your background, how did you pick up your instrument and decide on becoming a music professional?
- 2) Do you still practice your instrument? How many hours per week on average do you spend doing this?
- 3) How do you learn new music? Do you use tabs or midi sequences or classical notation or videos or play by ear?
- 4) According to your own judgement, how much music notation and/or music theory do you know? Do you think this knowledge is necessary for what you do?
- 5) How do you create your own music? By recording or writing tablatures or any other method? How do you arrange it?
- 6) Have you ever worked with classically trained musicians? If so, did such a collaboration work for you?
- 7) Have you ever experienced any communication difficulty with any other musician? Could be terminological, technical or referring to another aspect of musicmaking.
- 8) If you had the means, time and chance, would you go to a music school to learn traditional modes of music making such as score literacy or supervised, systematic practice?

With some interviewees, I could take Ives' advice and did not let the questions to "get in [my] way in the interview itself". The most memorable of such interviews was the one I had with James LaBrie, the vocalist of Dream Theater, with whom I could even share his toast of cigar and whisky, after having withstood the vigors of their long 2014 tour a luxury he "rarely allows himself" (Url 18). I am grateful that my project enabled me to see the human side of at least some of my idols.

Leaving the nervoussness and inconsistency issues aside, the Interview phase of this study happened to be as memorable as Ives suggests. His guidelines, albeit helpful, are markedly different from my experience because of a multitude of factors: my clients were professional musicians with long careers spanning at least ten to twelve years, so they already had a notion about what I might ask of them. They were much more seasoned in terms of delivering information in clear packages, having given countless

interviews before. I never had to resort to probing questions: my attentiveness was taken for granted: they were used to seeing people attend to them and would act accordingly. Another factor was that, this enterprise is done when the omnipresence of mobile devices capable of making sound and video recordings: both parties were well-used to the sense of voyeurism permeating life in the postmodern era we live in. It is perfectly natural to my interviewees that a young person with an unassuming mobile device (although I had the project budget to acquire devices specialized in sound and video recording, the development of mobile phone technology made the long procedure and paperwork unnecessary) which is considered like a natural appendage nowadays, is asking about their experiences. I therefore argue that Ives's identification of the camcorder being the third party in an interview is an obsolete statement at this point (Ives, p.39). I had to tackle a few interviewees, as reported in the Figure 4.4, in the absence of the means of recording, but did not get the impression that, after having explained my purposes, their account would have been markedly different had I been able to record it.

Unfortunately, due to the nature of practice-led research, it has not been possible to be more meticulous with the Diary or Journal Keeping phase Ives describes, and it took me a change of computers and running out of hard disk space to finally at least partially organize my interview data on a cloud drive. I intended to make transcriptions and abide by the rules Ives describes in the Processing phase of the data. However, due to the sheer volume of written and/or recorded material I have accumulated over the years, I have decided not to transcribe my interviews mot a mot. It would have been close to impossible to decode and type all interviews, eventually I had to choose between which ones to work into paragraphs providing the main points of interest.

Following is a chronological report of my interviews, the earliest being the Metal All Stars concert on 29th March 2014 at Istanbul Live and the latest the interview with Jordan Rudess in Musikmesse Frankfurt on 17 April 2015. I have interviewed more Turkish rock and metal artists and/or organizers in August-September 2016 and January-February 2017 in order to write Chapter 2, but I did not ask about their background and/or musical experience with musicians representing “the opposite school”, thus their account is not included here.

Table 4. 4: Informants and their musical careers.

Music Industry Professionals				
interviewee	Profession	Affiliation/Band	Involved (Sub)genre(s)	Instrument
Murat Ilkan	Singer, songwriter	Pentagram, solo project	Progressive Metal, Heavy Metal	Voice
İdil Çağatay	Singer, songwriter, producer	Kırmızı, solo project	Hard Rock, Metal, Classical	Voice, harp, piano, guitar
Cem Köksal	Instrumentalist, songwriter	solo project	Rock, Hard'n Heavy, Metal, Classical	Guitar
Çağatay Ateş	Instrumentalist, tattoo artist	Gitarizma, Whisky, supergroups	Rock, Hard'n Heavy, Metal	Bass
Mark Jansen	Instrumentalist, songwriter, psychologist	Epica, MaYan	Metal	Guitar
Coen Janssen	Instrumentalist	Epica	Metal	Piano, Keyboards
Jordan Ruddess	Instrumentalist, composer	Dream Theater, solo project	Progressive Metal, Classical	Piano, Keyboards
James LaBrie	Singer, songwriter	Dream Theater, Ayreon, solo project	Progressive Metal	Voice
Serdar Öztıp	Instrumentalist, sound engineer, producer	Gitarizma, solo project, supergroups	Instrumental Rock	Guitar
Zaher Zogatti	Singer, songwriter	Myrath	Oriental Progressive Metal	Voice
Elyes Bouchoucha	Instrumentalist, composer	Myrath	Oriental Progressive Metal	Keyboards
Malek ben Arbia	Instrumentalist	Myrath	Oriental Progressive Metal	Guitar
Anis Jouini	Instrumentalist	Myrath	Oriental Progressive Metal	Bass
Joey Belladonna	Singer	Anthrax	Thrash Metal	Voice
Brian Fair	Singer, songwriter	Shadows Fall	Metal	Voice
Kenny "Rhino" Earl	Instrumentalist	Manowar, Angels of Babylon	Metal	Drums
Zakk Wylde	Instrumentalist, songwriter	Ozzy Osbourne, Black Label Society	Rock, Metal	Guitar
Kobra Paige	Singer, songwriter	Kobra and the Lotus	Heavy Metal, Hard Rock, Folk	Voice
Bahadır Uludağlar	Singer, songwriter, instrumentalist	Morbund Oblivion, Groza	Black Metal, Doom Metal	Voice, Guitar
Marcela Bovio	Singer, songwriter, instructor	Stream of Passion, solo project, Ayreon, Mayan	Symphonic Metal, Progressive Metal	Voice
Aytek Akçakaya	Instrumentalist, songwriter, blogger	Gitar Koçu, Oğün Sanlısoy, Fallen	Blues, Hard Rock, Metal	Guitar
Nurkan Renda	Instrumentalist, producer, instructor	Demir Demirkan, Nil Karabrahingil	Blues, Hard Rock, Metal	Guitar
Selim Işık	Instrumentalist, instructor	Solo project, 80 Kalibre	Rock, Thrash Metal, Heavy Metal, Hard Rock	Guitar
Vecdi Yücalan	Singer, instrumentalist, songwriter, producer	Objektif	Rock	Voice, Guitar
Tunç Arkan	Singer, songwriter	Dinleme Kabini, Absence	Progressive Rock	Voice, Guitar
Ali Meraj Ansari	Singer, songwriter, organizer	Master of Persia	Oriental Metal	Voice
Erdem Karaman	Instrumentalist, instructor	Murat Ilkan	Progressive Metal, Thrash Metal	Guitar
Musa Göçmen	Composer, conductor	Symphorock	Rock, Classical	Conductor
Alpay Şalt	Instrumentalist, visual artist	Whisky, Yüksek Sadakat, Gitarizma	Rock	Drums
Mert Tunçmakas	Singer, instrumentalist, songwriter, producer	Kalben, solo project	Rock, indie	Guitar, Voice
Erdem Ulubaş	Instrumentalist	Murat Ilkan	Progressive Metal, Classical	Bass
Hidayet Can Özcan	Instrumentalist, Singer	80 Kalibre, Selim Işık Band, solo project	Heavy Metal	Guitar, Voice
Caner Öner	Instrumentalist, Singer	Mekanik	Thrash Metal	Voice, Bass

Table 4. 5: Interviews overview.

Music Industry Professionals					
interviewee	Date Conducted	Medium	Duration	Form	Recording and Transcription Status
Murat Ilkan	10.2014 - 05.2015	Verbal	N/A	Conversation	unrecorded-N/A
İdil Çağatay	04.2016 - 05.2017	Verbal	N/A	Conversation	unrecorded-N/A
Cem Köksal	7.07.2014	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes
Çağatay Ateş	21.06.2016	Verbal	ca. 45 minutes	Conversation	Partially recorded (sound), No
Mark Jansen	6.05.2014	Verbal	42 minutes (collective)	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Coen Janssen	6.05.2014	Verbal	43 minutes (collective)	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Jordan Ruddess	17.04.2015	Verbal	ca. 6-7 minutes	Semi-structured interview, partial	unrecorded-No (fieldnotes)
James LaBrie	31.07.2014	Verbal	ca. 10 minutes	Semi-structured interview, partial	unrecorded-No (fieldnotes)
Serdar Öztop	16.12.2014	Verbal	ca. 60 minutes	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Zaher Zogatti	5.05.2014	Verbal	ca. 50 minutes(collective)	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Elyes Bouchoucha	6.05.2014	Verbal	ca. 50 minutes(collective)	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Malek ben Arbia	5.05.2014	Verbal	ca. 50 minutes(collective)	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Anis Jouini	08.09.2015 - 20.09.2015	Facebook	N/A	Semi-structured interview, conversation	Yes
Joey Belladonna	29.03.2014	Verbal	ca. 8 minutes	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), Yes
Brian Fair	29.03.2014	Verbal	ca. 12 minutes	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), Yes
Kenny "Rhino" Earl	29.03.2014	Verbal	ca. 4 minutes	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), Yes
Zakk Wyld	29.03.2014	Verbal	ca. 8 minutes	Semi-structured interview	Fully recorded (sound), No
Kobra Paige	29.03.2014	Verbal	ca. 6 minutes	Semi-structured interview	unrecorded-No (fieldnotes)
Bahadır Uludağlar	April 2013, 17.02.2017	Verbal, Facebook	N/A	Conversation, Semi-structured interview	unrecorded (fieldnotes), Fully recorded, No
Marcela Bovio	13.08.2016 - 17.08.2016	Facebook	N/A	Structured interview	Yes
Aytek Akçakaya	18.01.2017	Facebook	N/A	Structured interview	Yes
Nurkan Renda	11.03.2015 - 12.03.2015	Facebook	N/A	Semi-structured interview	Yes
Selin Işık	2013-2015, 12.04.2016	Verbal, Facebook	N/A	Structured interview	Yes
Vecdi Yücalan	2013-2014, 20.09.2016	Verbal, Facebook	N/A	Conversation, Semi-structured interview	unrecorded, Yes
Tunç Arkan	20.09.2016	Verbal	ca.90 minutes	Conversation, Semi-structured interview	unrecorded-No (fieldnotes)
Ali Meraj Ansari	29.03.2015	Verbal, Facebook	N/A	Conversation, Semi-structured interview	unrecorded-No (fieldnotes)
Erdem Karaman	2014-2016	Verbal	N/A	Conversation	unrecorded-N/A
Musa Göçmen	10.02.2017	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes
Alpay Şalt	12.02.2017	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes
Mert Tunçmakas	12.09.2016	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes
Erdem Ulubaş	8.08.2016	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes
Hidayet Can Özcan	2010-2017	Verbal, Facebook	N/A	Conversation	unrecorded-N/A
Caner Öner	13.06.2014	Facebook	N/A	Written	Yes

The Metal All Stars is a collaboration project featuring well-established and new metal artists, especially independent performers, either loosely part of, or an ex-member of, a renowned project. They were brought together by Los Angeles based Gabe Reed Productions three years ago and count some world-stars among the participants. They made an extensive European tour in 2014 and a world tour in 2015, but it seems the project is not active these days. Their official web page is down and they have not posted in social media since March 2016. Nevertheless, especially during their world tour, they made sold-out appearances in large venues and fans gave very positive reviews worldwide.

Metal All Stars' Istanbul concert in 2014 would have been a bigger event than it eventually was, but like many a metal concert and/or festival in the country, the organizers had to retreat due to fear of loss at the last moment and the concert, which was to take place in the habitual open-air metal concert venue Küçükçiftlik Park, was announced cancelled. Biletix, the online vendor for tickets, promised reimbursements. At the last instance, DoRock Istanbul, the well-established heavy metal club of Istanbul mentioned elsewhere, undertook the organization. The troupe, at least its members who would come under the conditions offered, were invited to Istanbul from Sofia, the last leg of their tour. Although some of the stars such as Phil Anselmo did not opt for coming, there definitely were enough major names such as Zakk Wylde and Joey Belladonna for the around 600 fans filling up Istanbul Live, an enclosed concert venue, to the brim. I was fortunate enough that one of my close friends was working as the PR manager of DoRock, so I was able to get to the backstage during the show and do some interviewing.

I did not get to ask every informant everything due to high decibel music from the stage, their available time and/or status: some seemed quite high on alcohol, others were manifesting the so-called "rock star ego" and would disregard a scholar trying to do research. According to their responses, I customized wording, skipped some questions or asked new ones of the previous list. Eventually, I was able to get some precious sound recordings done.

My first informant was Brian Fair, who is the lead singer of the American-based heavy metal band "Shadowsfall". The band released seven studio albums, two compilation albums and two DVD's, winning Boston Music Awards and ascending as far as Grammy nominations. Brian has been an active band member since 1999 and he has

been on numerous tours with his band and other projects. My first question was how he discovered he had vocal talent. He talked about learning to play the electric guitar and bass as a 10-11 year old and being a big fan of Kiss and AC/DC. He started singing coincidentally in 1991, as a member of a high-school amateur band, he calls this incident a “happy accident”. That garage band spawned Killswitch Engage, quite a famous metal band, and he went on to join Shadows Fall. He never had any classical training, but later on he did have some voice lessons mainly to protect his voice and do some warm-ups. He also aimed at extending his vocal range somewhat but he declares that Shadows Fall's music is more on emotion, aggression and passion, so character is more important than the range. He studied philosophy and different geographies to share in the lyrics of Shadows Fall songs, but the band does not have “only one message”. There is some spirituality involved in their discourse but they definitely are not a Christian metal band. I then asked if he learned his instrument (the voice) by himself. He affirmed and described the experience as constantly trying to surpass himself. He eventually took lessons when he became a professional to essentially “protect” what he has. He needed to put up a good performance every day under difficult conditions such as touring by plane for months, not sleeping or eating well. “Once the voice gets rough, the only way to get it back is by rest and that is the only thing you cannot have. If someone breaks a string or the tubes in the amplifier go out, they can be replaced, but if your voice is ‘shot’ there is nothing you can do” he added. I had to skip over a few questions since Brian had never been to a music school, so I asked him to elaborate on the “happy accident”. He really stressed what he says to those budding singers over and over, through time, they just have to find their own style: “You can only go so far by emulating someone. What makes great singers great is that they do not sound like someone else. You listen to someone like King Diamond or Brian Johnson from AC/DC, and they both have one-of-a-kind, unique voices. The key is finding your own, not only are you doing something new, but you also put %1000 of yourself in it. There is no agenda such as ‘I want to sound like that singer’ but ‘this is me, take it or leave it.” My next question was about Brian’s practice routine and he claims to ‘work out’ daily. He only took lessons for a little while and his main reason for that was finding warm-up techniques and doing things physically correctly such as using the diaphragm rather than just blowing out with the throat. He worked with the famous vocal coach Melissa Cross, who is one of the few vocal coaches willing to work with screaming, death metal- or hardcore type of singers as opposed

to classically trained singers. He found this experience ‘cool’ because a regular vocal coach would not understand the style he was doing. Melissa was really helpful to suggest that Brian should do the same warm-up every day, to create a muscle memory to know that he is using his throat the right way. This routine helps Brian to get ready for the show where, from the first song onward, he has to display top performance. When I asked Brian if he had any regrets for not having followed the classical training, he replied, that maybe it is a useful additional repertoire; but for him, once they started exploring with the band, he found out more about emotion and expression and getting it perfect with each recording. He creates his new songs himself; he describes his usual songwriting process as an idea or sometimes a phrase sticking to his mind initially when he hears the music (his band mates create) for the first time. If it is a really aggressive song, the lyrics head that way and the style of the singing follows. If his main idea is a melodic, epic one, he finds it silly to scream over it, but if it is “brutal” it does not work to sing sweetly on it. The music defines where he goes with it. Usually that single idea that gets stuck onto his head builds the whole song. Brian’s only experience working with a classically-trained person is the episode he had with his vocal trainer. As far as he is concerned, Melissa was very open to anything as far as she approached each person differently. She never set standards for lessons. She catered to what her pupil did, so Brian never experienced any kind of communication problem with her. She listened to his albums and had him sing for her, and figured out what to do. The warm-up she gave for Brian is therefore custom-designed for him, not for every singer she comes across. That made the training personal to each singer, nothing like “this is the right way, this is the wrong way”, but “this is your way”. I followed up with “If you had the chance, would you study in an institution such as Berklee College of Music?” Brian responded by relating that Shadows Fall’s drummer went to Berklee for a year where he learned a lot and met musicians to form bands with. He observed that a lot of musicians that went to Berklee did not necessarily graduate. He believes that a professional musician needs the network, those who persevere to graduate move onto the more instructional side of music making. He personally would like to go, but talentwise he does not find himself to be that kind of singer to be accepted to such an institution. He is not trained classically, so, for instance, he would not be able to sight read. Since he plays the drums, the guitar and the bass, he can somewhat make sense of notation, he had learned the rudiments from the musician he toured with, but he plays mainly by ear. He does

not prefer to use software such as Guitar Pro or tablatures to aid him. He stressed that, if someone would like to develop themselves as a guitar player, they should learn every type of music to add to their arsenal. He himself listens to a wide variety of music, not only the same thrash metal bands he grew up on, since that would only lead him to the same places for influences. He would begin to repeat ideas and get stuck in a box in that case, so he listens to jazz, reggae, classical music along with metal hardcore. Especially when he is constantly surrounded by metal on a tour, or recording session, while "doing metal for a living", he wishes to listen to something else when he gets home. His preferences lay in the direction of classical rock (Thin Lizzy, Mountain, etc) around the time we made our interview.

My next interviewee in the same occasion was Kenny Earl, although he gave me his stage nickname "Rhino". He quit Manowar some years ago and is now playing for Angels of Babylon and A.K.A. He started playing drums as a little boy, his father is also a musician, playing guitar and singing. He confirmed my assertion of being born into a musical family and related how he would go into a hypnotic trance playing drums on boxes as a kid. It felt very natural to him to hit something with his hands, so eventually his dad got him a drum set when he was eight. He describes his ease at learning as a "God gift" and as time went on, it felt always right for him to follow the footsteps of his father and be a musician. As a teenager, he got into local bands to play mainly covers, eventually he was spotted and recruited by Manowar in 1989. Rhino did not initially think Manowar was such a big name and he was appalled to see a sea of fans in front of him on stage. He says he could not have anticipated the feeling, but it turned out to be all he wanted to do with his life: people loved him and loved what he did. "It was amazing, so incredible...I really felt like I became a rock star... Especially the girls, it was always the girls, more than anything" he reminisces. After a long career, he still "loves the girls and the attention he gets from the opposite sex, but now he really wants that the people appreciate the work that he puts in to be a musician, appreciating what he loves doing. He never took music education, but his "special talent, a gift from God" was enough, he asserts.

On the Metal All Stars concert, the most elusive figure was the one I most longed for: the beautiful, attractive Canadian female singer Kobra Paige, who was not born with the name or into the world of Metal. Changing her name Brittany Paige into Kobra in 2011 was only part of her transformation: she is actually a classically trained pianist

and singer at the Royal Conservatory in Toronto, Canada, among whose illustrious graduates are the very famous pianists Glenn Gould and Angela Hewitt, multiple Grammy- winning jazz singer Diana Krall and equally famous conductor Sir Roger Norrington. Of course, Kobra's name is not among the list of famous alumni of this school on their web page, although she completed grade 8 in piano and 6 in singing.

As she is very attractive and metal being metal, she was barricated to the point of harrasment by the audience (which is predominantly male, as to be expected), Kobra could not make it to the backstage area after her performance and had to be ushered to another private room untill the hall is evacuated. Therefore, although I met her and told her that I needed her insights before her turn for the stage, I could not physically interview Kobra on that night, but she was very interested in my project and was kind enough to give me (through the organizer, who also is female) her personal e-mail address. I sent her the eight questions I generally asked to the present musicians that night and she answered after the tour in written form, which I do not directly copy-paste because she warned that she was lazy and copied some of the answers from her already published interviews for the email. Thus, her insights are also given in the form of paragraphs of which I emphasize the valid points.

Kobra was interested in music as far back as she can remember. At the age of 7, she started her piano an singing lessons but and after attending a Judas Priest concert at age 15, she decided that she had to be a part of metal world. She became the singer of Kobra and the Lotus by pursuing this newfound passion: answering an advertisement for a drummer in a newly forming Calgary band. "I told them I was not a drummer but a singer, and after jamming through some metal standards, I had the job," she recalls, adding "I wanted to find some musicians to jam some Iron Maiden with, but by the first practice we started writing our own tunes instead". According to Kobra, there is something in heavy music with a strong connection to what she loved the most in classical music, allowing her to explore her true voice. "I felt it was an extremely natural progression because metal allows for that chest voice to be used", she explained. In addition, she mentioned she was going to a music university without a real intention of doing classical music seriously, although she truly wanted to start her own metal band. She felt so passionate and alive making metal music, so the music career was indeed to come, but it meant the end of university for her. She considers herself a fan of all types of music, from old school metal and Iced Earth, to folk metal

such as Eluveitie and Amon Amarth; she still reveres Ludwig van Beethoven as well. She believes that successful musicians do not stick to only one music genre, and she needs to evolve as a singer and songwriter by expanding her horizons and ushering of creativity and passion, which can only be done by listening to “good” music.

Kobra finds that the classical training was essential to learn the art of singing and how to properly take good care of her voice. She is afraid of damaging her voice since she knows her voice is not replaceable: “I can’t just buy a new guitar. I only have this one instrument and I don’t want to blow it, so absolutely the breath exercises and the tools that I learned during my training have very much helped, made me more knowledgeable”. However, she claims not as all to resort to notation and/or any classical compositional tools during her songwriting: “I mainly focus on the message and I need to be passionate about what I do –and to be passionate about it, I need to be real with myself. Classical music and everything that goes with it, even playing the piano, does not feel that way” she asserts.

Jordan Rudess was my last interviewee and although I had made e-mail acquaintance with him due to the efforts of a friend who knows Jordan personally and have come face-to-face with him during the Meet and Greet event of Dream Theater’s Istanbul concert in 31.07.2014, interviewing was only possible in 2015, during a visit to Frankfurt to do some investigation in the MusikMesse Fair on music software. When I re-introduced myself to him between his demonstrations in CME and Roli booths, he said he remembered me from Istanbul and accompanied me to a quieter booth for a few minutes. However, I was unable to obtain a recording since it was nonetheless a noisy environment and Jordan’s popularity meant that the interview was constantly interrupted. Nonetheless, I was able to ask him a few crucial questions.

Jordan has a curious story about his beginnings with playing the piano: He comes from an unmusical family with Jewish origins and grew up close to New York and it was his primary school teacher of the 2nd grade that discovered his aptitude and interest. When his parents bought him a piano and found a teacher to nurture this interest, Jordan’s trajectory that would lead him to the entry auditions of Juilliard School of Music begun. Seeing him creative and open-minded, instead of the fundamentals of sight-reading and staples of classical piano, his first teacher taught him guitar tablatures, chords and inversions. His more serious Hungarian teacher versed him in rules of musical notation and supported him to win the audition to Juilliard. His entire

teenage period is devoted to learning classical piano and composition, and it was against the wishes of both his family and teachers at school when he decided to drop out and pursue his interest in synthesizers and progressive rock music at 19. He was very much influenced by rock keyboardists Keith Emerson, Rick Wakeman, and Patrick Moraz. The bands Gentle Giant, YES, Genesis, Pink Floyd, ELP, King Crimson, Jimi Hendrix, Autechre, and Aphex Twin similarly exerted great influence on his musical identity.

Jordan easily acknowledges that his background is in classical piano and composition so in truth everything he does stems from this foundation. He believes a musician in the making should become acquainted with as many kinds of different music form as possible. Mastery on any instrument requires, in his opinion, daily focus and discipline. One of his favorite things to do as a pianist is to open up a really challenging classical piece of music and go directly to the hardest part and work on it. He still does his best to reach his top form especially before a tour, employing methods derived from classical pianism: the time of our interview, he said he was busy with the Chopin Etudes. He practices scales, arpeggios, does work with metronome and feels comfortable with around two hours of practice per day. For touring, he has developed some tabletop finger exercises to keep my fingers in shape, which he can do in all circumstances.

Jordan acknowledges that it has been hard with his fellows at Dream Theater at first: since his understanding of music at that time was much more “written” than his fellow creators of music in the band. When creating new music for the band, they usually work by partially writing some “blueprints” of new material and merging and finalising them in the studio. Having recorded eight studio albums and constant touring together meant that they do not have any communication difficulties with the rest of Dream Theater members anymore. He acknowledges that there is some sort of nonverbal communication between musicians and this communication is stronger with some individuals. One incident he relates is with Dregs, his band prior to Dream Theater. During a gig, a power outage took out the instruments of the rest of the band, and Jordan and the band’s drummer Rod Morgenstein, who was the only one playing on an acoustic instrument, had to save the day. Reading each other very well, they performed a long improvisation together, from which a later project, resulting in a studio album in 2014, sprung forth.

Hidayet Can Özcan has been one of my earliest acquaintances in the metal scene of Istanbul. We were introduced by one of my band mates in August 2010 and we recorded our earliest demo with Listana in his studio, which was set up in a ramshackle Kadıköy basement. He himself was quite a well-known figure of Istanbul Underground scene already back then, and we had many opportunities to talk and collaborate in the years to come. Since withdrawing from the scene to write this text, I do not see him as often anymore, but we have been close enough to be invited to his wedding.

As mentioned earlier, at the height of its fame and success, Hidayet's band 80 Kalibre was an inspiration for many young Turkish metalheads and the band went by the slogan: "Turkish Metal Music is Rising", not implying nationalism (Türk) but the language (Türkçe), and abbreviated TMM. The band has even acquired the trademark for the TMM acronym and had a fan base to stay out of events such as appearing as opening and/or support bands to more established acts, university festivals or seek to acquire a label contract with one of the established production companies of Turkey. Their idea was that such a contract would have limited their musical vision and discourse for the sake of marketability, and they would not seem subordinate in any way since they represented uniqueness and rebellion for their fan base.

Hidayet had a very nonmusical childhood, but he picked up the guitar at 15 and quickly advanced to the level of becoming part of local bands and concerts, prior to establishing 80 Kalibre as a 23-year-old. Although he was not a singer at first, his bandmates encouraged him to take up the microphone as well. He took some private vocal lessons from Idil Çağatay but mainly claims that he has developed his vocal technique through self exploration and observing his favourite metal vocalists.

Although Hidayet still continues to make music, his choice of not doing his engineering profession and subsiding only through music meant that he cannot spare much time to devote to his instrument. He runs his own recording studio and can only practice when there are no rehearsals and/or recordings in there. Hidayet rates his knowledge and training about formal music theory insufficient, although he picked up some jargon and compositional concepts such as using the word "form" instead of the word "traffic" for the layout of a metal song. To learn and create new music, he prefers to use the program Guitar Pro, a MIDI sequencer software that is largely associated with non-schooled guitarists around the world. He reflects that he would gladly have learned formal music essentials and would still like to attend music studies if he would

have the opportunity. He reckons that the main problem in working with schooled musicians, at least in Turkey, is not communication difficulty, but their big ego; nonetheless he would long for the more advanced music writing skills he believes to come with professional training and would cherish such an endeavor also for the quality time he would have to spend with his instrument to complete it.

On the same day I have met Hidayet, I also met Caner Öner, who was the bass player of 80 Kalibre at the time, but split up with them a short while later and established his bold and highly successful band Mekanik. Mekanik released two labelled studio albums and were the foremost trash metal band with politically charged lyrics in 2012 and 2014, but lost members and could never fully recover after 2016. They have opened up for pretty much every visiting act including Testament, Gojira and Megadeth, played regularly covers for close to two years in DoRock and performed in many large-scale, open air concert during those two years. Caner still is a professional musician, giving lessons and working as a recording bassist for other rock and metal artists, and Mekanik last played with Pentagram in 2018.

Caner is fully autodidact: he never had any lessons in musicianship, neither is he an academic-minded person: he did not pursue any university studies, so unlike Hidayet Can, he does not have a profession beyond musicianship. Mekanik, although was a very serious and professional project, thus supporting itself in royalties and gigging, copiously avoided including a conservatory-trained musician. Caner, during our Facebook interview on 3 August 2017, explained this choice by stating there is some communication breakdown he cannot really express with words and the ego issue Hidayet also mentioned with schooled musicians, so he would rather work with musicians hailing from the same type of background with him. He still is very fond of his instrument and states that the bass has been his constant companion in the tightest corners of his life, and he perceives practicing as meditation. He admits to not being very organized about it and does not divide his practice time among technical or compositional endeavor, rather plays to his whim all kinds of music he considers metal. Writing music down with a computer program comes at the very last instant for him during songwriting, he would first arrange his songs by playing the riffs he designs through and then finally commits them to the computer to share with his fellow bandmembers. He remarks he does not really perceive the standard notation Guitar Pro

provides, “all those lines and blobs are indecipherable for me, I only read the numbers” he asserts.

Mekanik worked with Erdem Karaman for a short while who is essentially a self-taught guitarist that, in his own words, grew out of it. Erdem has a degree in economics from Uludağ University and has worked in the private sector for eight years before deciding to pursue his hobby of fifteen years: playing the guitar. He enrolled to Istanbul Modern Music Academy and graduated with honours, practicing daily 8-9 hours and gaining skills concerning recording technologies, MIDI composing and band musicianship. He does not much like tablatures, which do not convey rhythm: he would rather learn fully by ear and trial and error, he says, or standard notation. The only instance he finds tablatures useful is when he cannot figure out the gesture solely by listening. For him, musical knowledge and jargon are the key to success in collaborating withing the context of band musicianship; which he put to test during the compositional period of Murat Ilkan’s 2014 studio album “Fanus”, for which he composed and arranged every track in full score. He quotes, “if a musician is to make advanced music that is beyond the heterophonic mess which most amateur extreme metal bands are doing in Turkey, musical knowledge is a must”. Erdem still pursues to improve his musical background by attending workshops, seeking to certify his knowledge through internationally established systems such as the degree exams of Britain-centered global organization Associated Board of Royal Schools of Music.

Selim Işık, who also contributed to Chapter 5.2 of this work, defines himself as a truly “alaylı” musician and tells that his trek in the Turkish metal domain begun as a 15-year-old, by listening to metal together with a friend from his neighbourhood. Since listening to metal, especially in a working-class neighbourhood such as the one Selim grew up at, was a rare thing to do. As soon as these two met, they immediately sought to establish a band and they started jamming together in his friend’s parents’ garage Selim regards this time as his incubation period, where he really had to figure many things out by himself, leaving a mark on him: “I encountered so many problems that I wished to do something for young people in the future, who do not have means to reach music education, like me. I’ve been curious about the mathematics of this business ever since. I tried to understand the governing rules of music by examining and examining photocopied methods, if I was able to find any. I would visit the photocopy shop in Kadıköy frequented by the students of the conservatory, in pursuit

of methods students would bring there for photocopying, and asked to acquire a copy myself” he recalls. He believes his approach and technique is one of a kind because he had to reconstruct all by figuring out the maths using his intellect, but admits that there are rare contributors to his guitar technique: when he rarely caught some adept people, he was not shy to ask about issues. These days, Selim is proud to have tens of thousands of students who share his knowledge, which he gathered into his two-volume guitar method. His friend, with whom Selim’s pursuit began with, refused to learn and the styles that he played have disappeared with time.

For Selim, groove is the defining factor in metal and all other musics: he defines groove as the “spirit of rhythm”. One needs to understand it and add to it, to get the right feel, he reckons: “metal needs to be a lifestyle, but one cannot disregard their genes and inherent culture either”. Since he usually plays rock and/or metal, he had few chances to work with people coming from the academic side: he himself did not encounter a major problem to learn about harmony and rhythm, but he has witnessed many people from the rock and metal domain experience problems. His solution is to find some middle ground: “both sides have more common ground than they think and should just allow some time to each other”, he suggests.

4.3 Evaluation through Case Study and Grounded Theory Procedures

While I was doing my background research, I found out that there is only a small body of scholarly writing available to understand the inner mechanisms of a rock/metal band. Many a treatise seems to be aimed at conveying the success of a given band or other musical project rather than shortcomings and communication problems. Some detail of intra-band problems are time and again present in non-scholarly treatises that deal with band narratives, but, understandably, none of these seek to demystify or decode the events and/or issues that could be interpreted as communication problems.

There is no “correct”, “all-in-one”, “plug and play” theory that I could directly apply to explain how a metal band operates within. My main approach, namely practice-led research, albeit a very exciting method, has a precarious tendency to lead to very subjective and pseudo-scientific conclusions that could at best be termed as colloquial generalizations. Even critical ethnography and textual analysis can yield unreliable results, if one does not seek to remain neutral and at a distance. With metal music, this distance is hard to keep, hence the scholarly output is curiously polarized: one the one

hand there are “metallecual” scholars who passionately love metal music and consider themselves a member of the metal community such as Jeremy Wallach or Keith-Kahn Harris. On the other hand, there are scholars like Arnett who handle metal as a curious but unlikely phenomenon and all in all are convinced in advance of their research that the music must be connected to behavioural problems.

The search for a suitable method to carry my findings on the autodidact performer and his/her interaction with the schooled performer to the level of theoretical abstraction thus led me to look outside the immediate methodological arsenal of the (ethno)musicologist. Although in essence, this work should remain a qualitative, interpretative factor-centric, single-case study, I planned to learn in greater detail two different but related methods used mainly for political science to present my findings in an epistemologically justified manner: Case Study Method and Grounded Theory Approach. As is explained in Chapter 1.4, it proved beyond the scope of this work to wholly apply these procedures, but the guidelines they have provided have been invaluable in providing conclusions that ring true.

In order to find my bearings to use these methods affectively, I took two summer courses at Middle East Technical University. The experience, all in all, was invaluable since it provided me with a perspective musicologists seldom can acquire: to compare the handling of information in one discipline (in my case, musicology) across the other branches of the social sciences. Although these two methods are often associated with political science, among my classmates were international affairs, sociology, law, psychology, civil engineering, management and finance majors besides political scientists. They were aiming to excel in using the procedures of both methods because of the flexibility and large spectrum to use them. This versatility stems from incorporating “a core set of shared procedures that can be put to work by any researcher or team from their chosen ontological and epistemological perspective” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.1). Thus the experience of being a short term METU student further reinforced my conviction that I could adopt Case Study and Grounded Theory principles to “pursuing theory through engagement with data” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.1).

Case Study Research is a definition we usually employ for many an ethnographic work. Authentically, across social sciences such as anthropology, statistics, political science or history, ethnographical work is sometimes labeled “single case study” and

is categorized more descriptive than interpretative. Nonetheless, to objectify and elevate the studied phenomenon to a higher, abstract level, a comparative, in-depth analysis must also be made. For Case Study, the object of study could be any diachronic or synchronic event, context or entity and key concepts such as “types of cases” (typical, deviant, extreme, influential etc) and “process tracing” could be used to process the outcome. Some guidelines I thought I could use as writing protocols were helpful in determining the nature of the research (exploratory or explanatory), aim (theory testing) and basic empirical strategy (qualitative or quantitative).

Since my ambition was theory building, as well as theory testing which is plausible with Case Study Approach, I turned to more complicated and comprehensive Grounded Theory. GT can very roughly defined as an approach which generates theory from data, but is not suitable for verifying any given data. Most practitioners of this method find that, using its procedures, the researcher cannot form a very certain idea of the result of a research. Nonetheless, the approach empowers the data with an empirical twist to raise the results onto the level of abstraction of a theory. This is a method frequently employed in social sciences: consisting of established guidelines and workflow to develop a theory from scratch: thus arriving to an abstract, universally applicable theory from description. The process has some common ground with Case Study Research, but the volume of work required is much larger. The difference in approach could be generalized and summarized as qualitative-inductive research of Case Study versus the quantitative-deductive research of Grounded Theory Building. Thus, Grounded Theory is indeed, from many perspectives, a more reliable method, since, as stated above, Case Study does not always follow identical procedures across different nature and size studies.

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss are the founding fathers of Grounded Theory approach. They were after an approach to generate a working theory that is able to explain matters in hand and also useful for predicting future phenomena. This ambitious outlook is definitely influenced by modernist objectivism and close to positivist approaches. From a certain vantage point, seeking to crystallize a formula of generating theory for social sciences might even be perceived in keeping with the now-refuted appraisal of the social sciences as inferior to material sciences. The two scholars however were very confident of their method described in their 1967 publication: “A theory that is based on data is very difficult to refute or replace with

another theory because it is so intimately linked with the data and is destined to last” (p. 4). The Grounded Theory Approach is thus empiricist; that is, its objective is to take the fieldwork data as the source of its theories and generate empirical data, akin to musicology in a way. Coming from a historical musicology background, which does have a similar positivistic ontological outlook, it is no wonder that this method seemed appealing to me. It is indeed a comforting claim that, given enough work, any presupposition could be grounded as a theory.

Another reason for venturing into adapting Grounded Theory Approach to my work is its redeeming nature of the ephemeral. Within, it seems, I was not initially able to justify the existence of the neutral, impartial observer concerning the practice-led research component of this work. Even while I was performing the more justifiable fieldwork phases, it was necessary to speak to many informants in quick succession without the luxury of capturing the interview into fieldnotes. This kind of data aggregation is for any kind of ethnography almost an anathema since ethnography seems to treasure artifacts and recording, classifying and transcribing information, heeding them more than the ethnographer’s impressions. As is stated in the previous parts of this chapter, a significant portion of my fieldnotes remained electronically unrecorded and/or physically untranscribed due to the reasons such as the occasional noisy environment, backstage situations while high-decibel metal is being performed, or my preference not to assume the scholarly stance which would alienate my interviewee and compromise the spontaneity. While I came up with the idea of learning and using Grounded Theory procedures, I was idealistically aiming at a more comprehensive filing and processing of data. In the absence of this procedure and the philosophical conflicts I realized later, it seems apt to point out that Grounded Theory, unlike Ethnography, foregrounds the role of the researcher as the source of the data as well as the universe of study. Timonen et al point out that GT is both praised and criticised by its Pragmatism (2018, p.3), thus, pragmatically, I still abide by stating that this work at least have some GT procedures at its core.

Grounded Theory makes use of inductive and deductive reasoning to generate a theory; in other words, Grounded Theory does not search for truth in empirical data using deductive reasoning but attempts to conceptualize what is happening. Deductive reasoning is used in the beginnings of research to collect empirical data that help conceptualize the subject of the research and create questions. Inductive reasoning is

applied to the data that is collected to generate theory. (Prindle, 2014) Unlike ethnography which is used as a descriptive method, Grounded Theory is based on the creation of concepts and ideas in search of an explanation that may help us understand how people deal with the problems in their social lives. I have aimed at using its procedures especially for inferring generally acceptable standard practices for musicians, thus to conceptually outline the journey of becoming a metal musician across the globe. Thus, data from interviewing, participant observation and surveying are linked, ultimately leading to answers to my central research question. This strand of Grounded Theory is currently labelled as Constructivist after the 2014 work of Charmaz wherein he argues that the role of the researcher is strengthened when the process of construction is acknowledged. In turn, the knowledge generated is posited as constitutive of an interpretive portrayal: “the pragmatist foundations encourage us to construct an interpretive rendering of the worlds we study rather than an external reporting of events and statements” (Charmaz 2014, p. 339).

Grounded Theory users are required to approach any kind of data, be it ethnographic fieldwork (interviews and field notes) reviewing existing sources of literature or statistical output acquired through surveying, by “coding”, “memo-writing”, sorting and regrouping. Therefore, I planned to do coding with the accumulated material, sort according to classifications and do follow-up interviewing at times with my 32-participant omni-existing group. With the scope of the work much bigger than I expected and time running low, it was not possible to process the entire data to justify a concrete and comprehensive use of the method. It was relieving to discover that scholars much more proficient in the principles of Grounded Theory have observed similar qualms: “Students and even experienced researchers frequently wonder whether they are applying the Grounded Theory method correctly or whether they are able to deploy the method in full” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.1). Therefore, I did not ditch the partially used aspects and left the GT connotations out altogether.

Timonen et al. point out that, even a partial use of data analysis methodologies such as Grounded Theory Approach might be considered an asset: “In our interpretation, GT can be put to work, in a pragmatic way, from any perspective, whether staunchly positivist, radically constructivist, hyper critical, or anything in between” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.2). My experience about this is the conviction that embracing Grounded Theory and Case Study procedures lent a sense of purpose, shape

and direction to my thesiswriting endeavour. Indeed, according to Strauss and Corbin (1994) who have authored an important text which is still very frequently used in teaching Grounded Theory methods, GT could be described as a set of relationships that offer a plausible explanation of the phenomenon under study. Givens are that there should be data gathering and analysis, and the theory should develop during the research process itself and is a product of continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. Thus, there are many (recent) variations of the method with their divergent applications which emphasize the procedure rather than the outcome: “Not all GT studies must generate fully fledged theory, but as a method that is fundamentally aimed at explaining and rendering convincing portrayals of social processes, GT inquiry is highly ambitious” (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.6). My decision to keep the label or at least the portion I could claim that I used was an emblem of my research agenda emphasizing process rather than crystallized results.

One of the procedures of GT that lent itself very well to the adaptation into my methodology is Process Tracing, which I claim to be my operational gaze employed in Chapters 2 to 5. Described in context, Process Tracing is the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses. In order to form causal chains that lie in the foundations of my “meta-narratives”, to select what events and/or states have been hierarchically more important than others, the critical gaze bestowed by Process Tracing was instrumental. Collier suggests that “Process tracing can contribute decisively both to describing political and social phenomena and to evaluating causal claims. Process tracing inherently analyzes trajectories of change and causation, but the analysis fails if the phenomena observed at each step in this trajectory are not adequately described” (2011, p. 824). Thus, Process Tracing is a particularly useful causal and temporal tool that I resorted to in order to observe and infer the meaning of events and/or situations over time. The depth and resolution needed to describe each event and situation is therefore a necessary: one must have vivid snapshots to compare to make sense of a pattern and to determine if there is a change in the sequence.

Another essential procedure of Grounded Theory I used is memoing. According to Strauss and Corbin the endeavor is described thus, albeit in a less organized manner, memoing has been used for Chapter 3 and 5.1:

Memos, which can be supported by integrative diagrams, are essentially written records of analysis which document the analytical and methodological steps taken by the researcher, including the theoretical comparisons made within the data. Together with coding, memos are the primary record of how the researcher has engaged with the data in pursuit of concepts and theory. Memos need to account for how categories and concepts have developed, and in cases where theory has emerged, explain how it has emerged. (Timonen, Foley and Conlon 2018, p.7)

As a final remark, the more I understood about GT and death with its toolkit, the less suitable I found it for my purposes. The nature of qualitative research is to have a central question, followed by careful and informed hypotheses. These hypotheses could then be refuted or proved, according to evidence gathered, in the case of this work, through practice-led research, interacting with other metal musicians, surveying literature on metal music and musicians and following the glocal metal scene. Only through all of these sources of information was the interpretation I arrived at in Chapter 6 possible, and at times interpreting pieces of evidence, and weighing them against one another proved difficult. The first theoretical conflict comes from the fact that, even when doing free-form interviews for Chapter 4.1, none of my questions could be considered as true open-ended questions. Grounded Theory is not a method to test hypotheses, and my general tendency has been to direct my informants into themed questions, coded according to hypotheses formed through my literature review and knowledge of the field. This study therefore merely touches upon Grounded Theory; the main methodological tool remains practice-led research and its ethnographic components.

5. THE “ALAYLI” METAL BAND PERFORMER AND INTRA-MUSICAL COMMUNICATION

This part of my study describes young metal music performers in Turkey, focusing on their musical training in terms of goals, tools and experiences. As already stated in Chapter 2, these young people’s preferred genre, metal music, is seldom acknowledged as a “legitimate” type of music in Turkey, owing to its Anglo-American roots, its distinctive subculture and its performance practice which entails high volume, distorted sound and extended vocal techniques. Besides, as I and other authors have already stressed over and over, the discourse and iconography connected to metal music feature themes such as a disregard for social rules and norms, rebelliousness and to a certain extent, violence. When these factors are combined together, it is fathomable that metal-loving and performing Turkish youth find relatively little support or understanding, from either their music teachers at school, families and/or peers, during their acculturation process. By accessing their identity, worldviews, perception of music, musical toolbox and communication, Chapter 5 is my attempt at representing and profiling, through especially young performers, the stereotypical metalhead.

Libby Larsen, a renowned social theorist suggests that, although not apparent from our vantage point in time, we might be “living in a period of cultural and musical change as profound as that of the mid-eighteenth century.” Larsen’s comment is about the profound transformation of music and industry and social life about music in the 18th century, comparing it to the 20th and early 21st century developments. In the first half of the 18th century, the harpsichord, a hand-crafted, expensive instrument, was superseded by the pianoforte, essentially a mass-produced, factory-made machine. In less than fifty years, the piano was sold by the thousands and became our equivalent of TV sets in the newly-rising bourgeoisie’s homes, if not the aristocracy’s palaces. The preference for homophony and form instead of complex counterpoint and ornamentation is a reflection of the changing audience’s tastes. Indeed the homophonic sonata sounds more appealing on the dynamics and colors-producing pianoforte

whereas the harpsichord with its homogeneous, transparent timbre is better suited for complex, polyphonic forms. Larsen remarks that a similar transformation and change in the tastes is happening in Western musical culture over the past forty years. She pointed out that radio, television, home stereo systems, finally portable playback devices, and music videos have drawn audiences away from live performances and now the piano is getting the retribution for annihilating the harpsichord from music life by being superseded by guitars and electronic musical instruments. Instead of the hour-long fin-de-siecle symphony and the abstract, emotion-laden lied or aria, three-minute-long popular music thrives, dominating not only the Western world but the global music industry as well. Larsen asserts that, “if we [indicating ‘serious’/art music] hope to maintain an audience, the "serious" music world must carefully consider evident cultural changes”. Her solution, agreed upon by many teachers, scholars and music makers since then, is to explore and embrace what this transition has brought music and, in order to develop a real appreciation of quality music in young people, “educators must meet young people on their own ground of contemporary music and popular culture” (2011). Larsen’s approach is very much in keeping with my own and, as detailed in Chapter 3, I have discovered much merit and experienced personal development meeting metalheads on their own ground.

The contents of this chapter are organized around five themes. Through the already-mentioned Likert-scale survey aiming at mapping out the identity of a Turkish metalhead, the first section aims to find commonalities and some insight about the social profile of a stereotypical young representative of the metal community in Turkey. The second section is built on structured interviews and is attempting to shed light on how metal performers learn their trade by seventeen Turkish case studies. These two sections form the basis for the discussion on how metal is contextualized by unschooled musicians. The last two sections are about how metal musicians connect for and through their music with other people, be it musicians and/or listeners.

5.1 Identity and Social Aspects

Many scholars, be them (ethno)musicologists, anthropologists, sociologists or psychologists nowadays maintain that, patterns of music preference provide a better map of social life than viewing or reading habits. Prior research has shown that individuals’ music preferences may indicate their personalities (Rentfrow and Gosling 2006, North 2008) or educational background (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007). Music

can also suggest an individual's membership in a particular social group (Weinstein 2000), (Rentfrow and Gosling, 2007). I present hereby a classical chicken-egg dichotomy: Is the identity of a metalhead formed by the "code" of his/her musical preference, or do these young people listen to metal since they find the discourse tied to being a metalhead similar to their identity? This dilemma will be framed and discussed through Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory, but as usual, I do not aim at making deterministic presuppositions.

Here, information regarding a sample group of metalheads' social and material status, dress code, religious/political stance, domestic behavioral patterns, gender roles, education and professional life is presented. Interestingly, among this study group, some common denominators such as being computer gamers, cosplay/fantasy & fiction aficionados, motorcycle fans, having leftist political views and similar apathy to the consumer society (rejection of social conventions such as advertisements, soap operas and fashion) have emerged. The central question is whether these properties are coincidences, or are based on the musico-social identity ("I would rather eat/wear/live like/listen to/study/play this, because I'm a metalhead" type of argument). This dilemma will be framed and discussed through Bourdieu's Cultural Capital Theory, but the chapter does not aim at conclusions. Rather, the aim is to understand the psychological/social behavior patterns that metalheads express their identity in order to form working models on self-realization and communication. Therefore, these findings will be compared with some of the studies mentioned below: seeking for correlations and similarities.

According to Spracken, Lucas and Deeks, "Popular music and culture are sites of identity construction, where identity defines belonging to and exclusion from an imagined community delineated by symbolic boundaries" (2014). "Self-construction is a primary motivation of self-presentation, with identity being a crucial part of the self-concept" (Yang and Li 2013). In order to understand how music functions in the process of self-expression and construction identity, and associate with character types, Rentfrow and Gosling proposed to divide music typology into 14 music genres and label them "soft" or "hard" (2003). For example, Eurogenetic art music is grouped with jazz, blues, and folk music, all of which are reflective and complex and considered as "soft." In contrast, metal music, similar to rock, is categorized as intense and rebellious, in short "hard". Rentfrow and Gosling have observed striking

parallelisms in character traits and consequently, identity, within the listeners of these genres. Despite being associated with being reckless or even defined as deviant, degenerate and violent, metalheads are found to be high-profile people whose tendency for violence is only in discourse, quite similar to listeners of the “soft” genres (2006). "The general public has held a stereotype of heavy metal fans being suicidally depressed and a danger to themselves and society in general," explains Professor Adrian North, who has voluminous research on musical genre preferences and listening habits, about his 2008 comparative study based on 36.000 web-based interviews at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh. He admits that he was surprised by the findings when he found out that apart from the age difference, metalheads and classical music listeners seemed ‘virtually identical’. ”Both were more creative than other people, both were not terribly outgoing and they were also quite at ease. Like classical lovers, metal fans verge on the obsessive about their music” (Daily Mail, 2008).

As is outlined by Hecker’s research and scrutinized in detail in Chapter 2, it is not as easy as it is in the Western world for Turkish metalheads to display their metal insignia: long hair, black t-shirts with group logos, leather jackets, tattoos and piercings and other accessories and overall demeanor. In Islamic countries where metal’s alleged past with Satanism has often created a social stigma, a metalhead’s adherence to his/her distinctive attire, as a display of his/her identity, is a bigger commitment than in the West. While I was editing this chapter, an Iranian couple was detained since they sought to illegally enter Turkey and claimed that they would be flogged, imprisoned, even sentenced to capital punishment because of liking metal music and having their hair dyed and bodies adorned by tattoos and piercings, which is forbidden by Islamic law Sharia, in at least some of its sectarian interpretations.

“The rapid development of Internet technologies in the past few years has fundamentally changed the way that people interact with each other. A significant proportion of interpersonal relationship management has shifted from traditional face-to-face (FtF) offline settings to computer-mediated communication (CMC) environments today” (Yang and Li 2013). I have designed a number of questions to represent some common themes in the literature represented above: identity, for the most part, is confined in an individual’s ‘Habitus’, a term usually attributed to Bourdieu in contemporary thinking. Habitus is the set of socially learned dispositions,

skills and ways of acting that are often taken for granted, and which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. It is a complex concept, but in its simplest usage could be understood as a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata, sensibilities, dispositions and taste. Bourdieu suggested that consumers' actions are the result of the dialectical relationship between the way they construct reality and the social conditions that "constrain" them. To understand "why youth dare to rebel against the prevalent social and moral restrictions in Turkish society" (Hecker 2012), and be identified by the choice of musical genre is a multilayered enterprise. Turkey's being a transitional geography with many inherent rifts in society raises the complexity even more. The main hypothesis of North's already mentioned research was "that participants' liking for (these) musical styles should be related to their personality... Other individual difference variables [are] self-esteem, age, sex, and income" (2010). Thus there are questions around these subjects, as well as family, upbringing, political/religious views and involvement with metal.

Most researchers who wrote upon metal subculture remarked how "male" the genre is. As I already stress, this work leaves the gender issue out of the discussion as much as possible. This is a conscious choice, albeit a difficult one. With the study group being predominantly male, it is an appealing prospect to make generalizations based on gender roles of Turkish society. My own opinion is, any "Western" attribute to a man's identity is seen as "weak" and "effeminate", thus weakening his "manliness" in most Turkish circles, especially when lower strata of the society are considered. This chapter does not provide any confirmation or refutation of this idea, since I copiously avoided asking gender-based questions, seeking instead to gather gender neutral results only with the exception of Chapter 3. Despite, it is still valid at this point to consider this statement by Spracken, Lucas and Deeks:

...heavy metal, like sport, is one site of the social construction of hegemonic masculinity. Simon Frith examined the relationship between gender and music preference with British youths, and found that British teenage girls and young women tend to develop an orientation toward softer and more romantic aspects of music because their real "work" is to find a husband. However, since men are expected to be the breadwinners of their families and be strong and tough, their music tastes tend to be much "harder", referred to as "cock rock" (1981). By masculinity it is taken to mean the processes and ideas that go towards the

construction of male identity. However, the concept of masculinity is sometimes overused without any clear definition of what it is. (2014, p.33)

The study group whose data is to be found below is an expansion of the survey group I have made acquaintance with to gather the data necessary for Chapter 4. The results were obtained by a much more comprehensive interaction and organized into fact sheets in retrospect be me. Essentially, I got to know these participants personally and learned about the details about their (musical) identity, then filled in the feedback form below and asked once more for their contribution in checking the validity of details and allowing me to use their names and other personal details in my work. The order of appearance is the chronological order of interviews. As is habitual for similar studies with small-n groups (see Şendurur 2015), I have refrained from using full names. This study is too small number to compile into a large matrix and treat in a statistical way, so my treatment of this data is qualitative and interpretative in essence. Essentially, some of the original survey questions which are very general are supplanted with more specific questions, and Likert-scale answers are complemented with statements the informants made after the surveying phase is completed. It should be recalled to mind that these participants also filled in the Likert Scale survey given in the previous chapter.

MUSICAL BACKGROUND AND IDENTITY

- 1) What genres of music do you listen to? Can you give reasons for your choice?
- 2) Were you always listening to this kind of music or is it a recent interest?
- 3) How were you interested in music at first?
- 4) Are there any other music interested people in your family/close circle that you can share your interest with?
- 5) Are there any other musicians among your family and/or close circle? If so, do they play the same kind of music?
- 6) What instrument do you play?
- 7) Why did you choose that instrument at the first place?
- 8) Can you play more than one instrument?
- 9) At what age did you pick up your instrument?
- 10) How long have you been playing your instrument?
- 11) At what level do you judge yourself in terms of proficiency with your instrument?
(a) Beginner? (b)Advanced? (c)Expert? (d)Virtuoso?

- 12) Do you aspire at becoming a professional performer one day?
- 13) Do you often compare skills and abilities with other musicians?
- 14) Do you have musical idols? Are there any musicians you would rather be?
- 15) Do you believe playing your instrument makes you special? If so, how?
- 16) Did you ever have to face opposition preventing you to devote time to music and your instrument (i.e family pressure, schoolwork, working routine)?
- 17) How do you see musical future?

LEARNING AND PRACTICE

- 18) How much time do you devote to practicing your instrument?
- 19) Can you describe your instrumental practice routine? Do you do warmup exercises and devote time to develop your technique or do you solely play songs?
- 20) What kind of resources do you use for learning new music?
 - (a) Notation (b)MIDI (c) Tablatures
 - (d) Learning from someone by watching (e) listening and learning by ear yourself
- 21) When you listen to a piece, do you have any notions about its structure?
- 22) Have you ever attempted / Do you try learning a piece only through listening?
- 23) Is learning music an easygoing process for you?
- 24) Are you satisfied with your development, or do you think you can/should learn more?
- 25) What kind of problems do you encounter while you are learning a piece?
- 26) Do you / did you ever go to music lessons? If so, by whom?
- 27) Do you think the music lessons at a regular school are relevant to what you intend to achieve in music?
- 28) How necessary, do you think, is an academic musical education to perform your genre of choice?
- 29) How necessary, do you think, is virtuosity to perform your genre of choice?
- 30) Can you read musical notation?
- 31) Are you interested in music theory?
- 32) Are you interested in music technologies?

COMPOSITION

- 33) Do you also write music?
- 34) Do you arrange your songs for different instruments?
- 35) How do you “write” your numbers? Do you record them, or use a MIDI sequencer, or memorise them through improvization, or notate them?
- 36) Do you have recording gear at home such as a sound card or a microphone?

- 37) Have you ever been part of a professional recording enterprise?
- 38) How much do you know about the music producing process? Can you rate your knowledge?
- 39) Do you think, given the resources and luck, one of your numbers would have become a world hit?
- 40) What do you do to promote your music?
- 41) Have you observed enthusiasm or dissuasion about your shared musical material?
- 42) How well do you rate your resistance to criticism is? Does criticism fuel you or the contrary?

MUSICAL COMMUNICATION

- 43) Do you play in a band?
- (a) No (b) Yes (c) More than one of the same subgenre(d) More than one/different subgenres
- 44) How many bands have you participated up to now?
- 45) Were you always playing the same subgenre(s), or did you try different kinds of metal?
- 46) Have you done gigs and/or tours?
- 47) If so, how do you interact with your fellow players?

SOCIAL ASPECTS

- 48) Why are you making music?
- (a) to socialize (b) to feel special (c) to earn money in the future (d) because of liking/loving (e) other reason
- 49) What is your greatest satisfaction(s) and frustration(s) arising from music?
- 50) What is your biggest ambition in music?

In his seminal work *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu distinguishes between three types of capital: Economic capital, Social capital and Cultural capital. Later, he added Symbolic capital to this list. My argument in the Cultural Capital and Habitus concepts into this debate is to suggest that, especially younger (adolescent) metalheads assimilate the music and the behavior mainly for peer recognition. As a matter of fact, Metal's discourse full of antisocial and/or violent themes. However, being a metalhead sets them apart, makes them more "dangerous" and "masculine", and thus more appealing to the opposite sex; thus the music and subculture becomes a social capital to construct their identity. A most remarkable testimony to metal music and subculture's appeal is that, in the 2010's where global pop is ever stronger than metal music for the majority of the young people on the planet, youth icons such as Justin Bieber or Kanye West wear stage costumes bearing metal bands' insignia. This

argument is not denying the music's generally fast tempo, the high-decibel sound, the more serious" nature and the emotional appeal are attractive, but the bigger factor according to many studies is the choice of fates, friends, lifestyle, the quest for independence from family, the yearning for being an "extraordinary", "remarkable" person. "This may be an attempt to formulate self-identity, but at the same time, may create peer dependency" (Lozon and Bensimon 2014).

Albeit I intended to use Grounded Theory procedures for this section of the study, as stated elsewhere, the nature of my questions and the necessity to direct my participants into a similar path of interacting with me, sometimes copy-pasting questions especially when I was tackling with more than one participant at a time (entirely possible when doing Netnography), could not be considered as truly "open", "unstructured" procedures. Although it is much more flexible and detailed than SurveyMonkey survey, the presented is still admittedly tailor-made, a-priori sorted data that is not suitable thereof. Nonetheless, the procedure of "memoing", namely the choosing, the ordering and putting in comparison and seeking to correlate the ten tables found below means that my initial agenda involving GT needs to be cited here.

At first glance, the headings of each table, bearing stepped, Likert-scale extension responses from each participant, might seem unrelated or insignificant. Inferring from the way of presenting them, a few of the input factors, such as faith, political stance and the country's trajectory do not seem scholarly, objective or indeed, relevant. However, the main task at hand being the need to ascertain social status to associate with Bourdieu's Capital Theory, which is largely economical, these parameters become part of a larger mosaic to profile a select group of metalheads and understand how they locate themselves identitywise within the fabric of the Turkish society. One should also bear in mind that, with these participants, there were several sessions, live and/or online, to discuss such economic, political and religious issues in a more comprehensive and open-question manner.

Collecting the 32 participants' personal data regarding schools and education could look peculiar to an outsider to Turkish culture. For Turkey though, which cannot fully be presented as a country where meritocracy and/or equal opportunities could be boasted, academic trajectory is an important aspect often associated with family income, social status, cultural level and of course eventual professional success. For any young person, schooling is an important component of one's formation identity

and one's establishment of "Self", thus is inescapable for the purposes of Chapters 5.1 and 5.2. I have classified universities as "State" (S) and "Private" (P) and have high school type similarly codified.

The family income data is not collected with currency figures since Turkey does not have a stable economy, and inflation rate is much higher than most developed countries of the world. Thus, I could not have put numerical figures that could accommodate my oldest to youngest participants effectively. What is presented is the assessment of each participant, of their family's material status. For family education status, each cross represents one parent and it might be argued that, since this strand relies on obtained diplomas, it is more objective and solid than the questionnaire about income.

Table 5. 1: Informants (Overview).

Enes	M	17	HS	Technical/Industrial Vocational		x			
Ozan	M	21	UG	Anatolian	Istanbul U. (S)	x			
Gülce	F	16	HS	Anatolian		x			
Ali	M	32	PG	Private (K12)	BOUN (S)			x	
Umut	M	31	G	Anatolian	IEU (P)		x		
Bilal	M	19	HS	Tourism Vocational		x			
Alperan	M	19	HS	Anatolian		x			
Sergen	M	22	HS	General State		x			
Burak	M	29	G	General State	Bilgi U. (P)			x	
Erdem	M	32	G	Anatolian	Uludağ U. (P)		x		
Aykut	M	32	G	Private (K12- Science)	ITU (S)			x	
Kaan	M	23	UG	General State	Istanbul U. (S)		x		
Mehmet	M	17	HS	Technical/Industrial Vocational		x			
Can	M	32	G	Private (K12)	Yeditepe U (P)				x
Inci	F	28	G	Private (K12)	Uludağ U. (S)				x
Tolga	M	27	G	Private (K12)	Galatasaray U. (S)			x	
Ferhat	M	23	HG	General State		x			
Elif	F	25	PG	General State	ITU (S)			x	
Ilgaz	M	16	HS	Private (K12)				x	
Barış	M	27	G	General State	Anadolu U. (S)	x			
Tuğçe	F	27	G	Private (K12)	Kadir Has U. (P)				x
Selim	M	35	G	General State	Anadolu U. (S)			x	
Ufuk	M	25	G	Technical/Industrial Vo	Anadolu U. (S)		x		
Arda	M	30	HG	Technical/Industrial Vocational				x	
Utku Ulaş	M	18	HS	Science State		x			
Irem	F	27	G	Anatolian	Marmara U (S)			x	
Gülsün	M	21	HG	Anatolian Vocational	Trakya U (S)			x	
Damla	F	28	G	State	Istanbul U. (S)			x	
Melih	M	28	PG	Anatolian	Ege U (S)			x	
Can	M	20	UG	Commerce Vocational	Kocaeli U (S)		x		
Furkan	M	26	G	Private (K12)	Beykent U (S)				x
		25	HS: High School Student		(S): State				
			HG: High School Graduate		(P): Private				
			UG: Undergraduate Student						
			G: University Graduate						
			PG: Postgraduate						

Table 5. 2: Informants (Education).

Deniz				x	x
Enes		x	x		
Ozan			x	x	
Gülce			x	x	
Ali				xx	
Umut			x	x	
Bilal	x		x		
Alperan	xx				
Sergen		x	x		
Burak			x	x	
Erdem				xx	
Aykut			x	x	
Kaan			x	x	
Mehmet		x	x		
Can			xx		
Inci				xx	
Tolga				xx	
Ferhat	x		x		
Elif				x	x
İlgaz				x	x
Barış			x	x	
Tuğçe				xx	
Selim		x		x	
Ufuk			xx		
Arda		x		x	
Utku Ulaş	x	x			
Irem				x	x
Gülsün				xx	
Damla		x		x	
Melih		x		x	
Can			xx		
Furkan			x	x	
	PS: Primary School				
	SS: Secondary School				
	HS: High School				
	UG: University Graduate				
	PG: Postgraduate Studies				

Table 5. 3: Informants: Family perception.

NAME	FAMILY RELATIONS/CLOSENESS				
	NONE	LIMITED	NORMAL	CLOSE	INSEPARABLE
Deniz				X	
Enes		X			
Ozan			X		
Gülce		X			
Ali					X
Umut			X		
Bilal	X				
Alperan		X			
Sergen		X			
Burak				X	
Erdem				X	
Aykut			X		
Kaan					X
Mehmet			X		
Can			X		
Inci		X			
Tolga			X		
Ferhat	X				
Elif				X	
İlgaz				X	
Barış		X			
Tuğçe	X				
Selim			X		
Ufuk			X		
Arda	X				
Utku Ulaş				X	
Irem					X
Gülsün			X		
Damla			X		
Melih					X
Can		X			
Furkan				X	

Due to incompleteness, some input factors such as being a gamer or not and select questions regarding the subculture are not given as tables. While compiling the results together, the necessity of being selective brought me to the decision not to include questions not asked to every informant. The input factor about violence is clumsily handled in my own appraisal. This is due to the fact that, some of the inherent meaning is altered during the translation process, the original language of the data being Turkish.

Table 5. 4: Informants: Attitude to metal music and subculture 1.

NAME	DO YOU CONSIDER ROCK/METAL A WAY OF LIFE FOR YOU?				
	NEVER	SELDOM	SOMETIMES	FREQUENTLY	CONSTANTLY
Deniz				X	
Enes					X
Ozan				X	
Gülce					X
Ali			X		
Umut			X		
Bilal				X	
Alperan				X	
Sergen					X
Burak			X		
Erdem				X	
Aykut					X
Kaan				X	
Mehmet					X
Can					X
Inci				X	
Tolga				X	
Ferhat					X
Elif				X	
Ilgaz					X
Barış			X		
Tuğçe					X
Selim		X			
Ufuk			X		
Arda				X	
Utku Ulaş					X
Irem			X		
Gülsün			X		
Damla				X	
Melih				X	
Can					X
Furkan					X

The memoing, in essence, dovetails with the “codes” already emerging during the surveying phase: the questions centering around distinct themes, leading to presuppositions. As one gets a feel for data in GT, an iterative, sequential workflow highlights the methodological steps. By, for instance, comparing religious stance to income, or relating learning processes described with education, eventually I begun to see some correlations and patterns. Some of these patterns concerning identity seemed to correlate with the literature reviewed, but for some, such as the political or religious stance, there are few primary sources among the references of this study concerning Turkey (see Kutluk and Turkmen 2015). Nevertheless, the already presented research

on the international youth culture tied to metal provided significant basis for scrutiny and comparison. According to Timonen et al, a researcher undertaking GT approach should become increasingly oriented to understanding “what is going on here” and “what are the major patterns” and “what explains them” (2018, p.6). Thus I probed behaviour patterns, impacts of certain events and phenomena, general context and self-perception of my study group.

Table 5. 5: Informants: Attitude to metal music and subculture 2.

NAME	DO YOU ABIDE BY THE DRESSCODE OF ROCK/METAL?				
	NEVER	SELDOM	SOMETIMES	FREQUENTLY	CONSTANTLY
Deniz		x			
Enes					x
Ozan				x	
Gülce					x
Ali			x		
Umut		x			
Bilal				x	
Alperan	x				
Sergen					x
Burak		x			
Erdem				x	
Aykut					x
Kaan				x	
Mehmet					x
Can				x	
Inci					x
Tolga			x		
Ferhat				x	
Elif		x			
Ilgaz				x	
Barış	x				
Tuğçe					x
Selim		x			
Ufuk				x	
Arda			x		
Utku Ulaş					x
Irem		x			
Gülsün			x		
Damla				x	
Melih			x		
Can					x
Furkan					x

The tables are not presented in any order to superimpose a data pattern. In fact, these extended questions, being derived from the earlier survey, are on a similar order:

beginning with family, education and economics, leading into politics and personal opinions of phenomena such as violence and/or computer gaming.

Table 5. 6: Informants: Attitude towards violence.

NAME	WHAT IS YOUR CONSIDERATION ABOUT VIOLENCE?				
	HATE IT	LOW AS POSSIBLE	DON'T CARE	NECESSARY	LOVE IT
Deniz	x				
Enes		x			
Ozan			x		
Gülce			x		
Ali		x			
Umut	x				
Bilal				x	
Alperan				x	
Sergen					x
Burak		x			
Erdem			x		
Aykut			x		
Kaan		x			
Mehmet				x	
Can		x			
Inci	x				
Tolga			x		
Ferhat				x	
Elif		x			
Ilgaz				x	
Barış	x				
Tuğçe		x			
Selim			x		
Ufuk			x		
Arda			x		
Utku Ulaş					x
Irem			x		
Gülsün				x	
Damla				x	
Melih		x			
Can		x			
Furkan					x

The findings of this study seems in accordance with Rentflow and Gosling’s statement: ‘sensation seeking appears to be positively related to preferences for rock and heavy metal’. (2003: 1237) Thus, the commonalities such as motorcycle adulation and computer gaming could be explained. Curiously, during follow-up with some participants they have stated that they cannot indeed tolerate violence, but find gore in computer games oddly cathartic. One even stated that, he imagines he is killing fundamental Islamists as he kills the zombies during his computer gaming. The only time he felt a similar thrill was during the Gezi protests: the only potentially violent ebent in his life. Rentflow and Gosling’s work classifies metal music as ‘intense and

rebellious’ and remark that metal music emphasizes negative emotions (2003: 1244), this could be interpreted in support of some data columns above, such as the general negative outlook on the current course of the world in general and Turkey in particular: metal indeed could be providing a catharsis.

Table 5. 7: Informants: Social profile.

NAME	DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF A SOCIAL PERSON?				
	NO	NOT MUCH	AVERAGE	YES	VERY MUCH
Deniz		x			
Enes			x		
Ozan				x	
Gülce				x	
Ali		x			
Umut				x	
Bilal			x		
Alperan	x				
Sergen					x
Burak		x			
Erdem			x		
Aykut					x
Kaan			x		
Mehmet		x			
Can				x	
Inci			x		
Tolga				x	
Ferhat	x				
Elif					x
İlgaz					x
Barış		x			
Tuğçe	x				
Selim			x		
Ufuk		x			
Arda				x	
Utku Ulaş				x	
Irem			x		
Gülsün		x			
Damla			x		
Melih				x	
Can	x				
Furkan					x

North and Hargreaves find that “numerous studies have supported the more narrowly defined contention that fans of certain ‘problem’ musical styles such as dance music, rap, and heavy metal are more involved than other fans in lifestyles containing acts of delinquency and anti-authoritarian behavior” (2007: 4), very much in keeping with the majority of my informants having anti-religious and anti-authority (leftist) political

views. North finds that metal fans are “creative and at ease but not outgoing” (2008), explaining some behavioral patterns that the presented data displays: family relations, social self-evaluation of these individuals and the lifestyle question. With younger people, the results are lined up better, since, all studies mentioned confirm that adolescents and young adults are drawn to particular types of music not solely for aural pleasure and preference, but also for constructing identity (see also Pillsbury 2006). Especially in a country like Turkey where keeping up with the metalhead identity is already difficult enough, defending that identity against threats and enjoying the drama while doing that could be explained by these stereotypical character traits.

Table 5. 8: Informants: Religious profile.

NAME	WHAT IS YOUR RELATION TO (ISLAMIC) FAITH?				
	ATHEIST	DEIST	APATHETIC	FAITHFUL	PIOUS
Deniz		x			
Enes				x	
Ozan			x		
Gülce	x				
Ali		x			
Umut				x	
Bilal				x	
Alperan					x
Sergen	x				
Burak		x			
Erdem		x			
Aykut		x			
Kaan			x		
Mehmet				x	
Can					x
Inci				x	
Tolga			x		
Ferhat	x				
Elif		x			
İlgaz		x			
Barış				x	
Tuğçe	x				
Selim				x	
Ufuk			x		
Arda		x			
Utku Ulaş				x	
Irem		x			
Gülsün			x		
Damla		x			
Melih			x		
Can				x	
Furkan	x				

Table 5. 9: Informants: Political profile 1.

NAME	HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR POLITICAL STANCE?				
	CONSERVATIVE	NATIONALIST	APATHETIC	LEFTIST/LIBERAL	SOCIALIST
Deniz					x
Enes		x			
Ozan			x		
Gülce					x
Ali			x		
Umut				x	
Bilal			x		
Alperan	x				
Sergen				x	
Burak			x		
Erdem				x	
Aykut				x	
Kaan			x		
Mehmet		x			
Can			x		
Inci				x	
Tolga				x	
Ferhat					x
Elif				x	
İlgaz			x		
Barış				x	
Tuğçe			x		
Selim		x			
Ufuk			x		
Arda				x	
Utku Ulaş					x
İrem				x	
Gülsün		x			
Damla					x
Melih		x			
Can				x	
Furkan			x		

It seems from the compiled data that, for the older interviewees, being a metalhead rather seemed like a form of Cultural Capital since they no longer need the “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1986). For these listeners, the sonic aspect seems more like the deciding factor rather than the discourse and subcultural implications. When they were presented with the question “Is metal a way of life for you?” older participants (over 25) responded with “I only like the music, I don’t associate the music with my identity” or “I like being a metalhead, but it is not my only identity” unlike

the younger participant's answers "yes, being a metalhead is my only absolute identity" or "metal defines almost all my life, it is a major part of my identity".

Table 5. 10: Informants: Political profile 2.

NAME	HOW WOULD YOU RATE TURKEY'S RECENT TRAJECTORY?				
	ABYSSMAL	BAD	MEDIOCRE	FINE	OUTSTANDING
Deniz	x				
Enes	x				
Ozan			x		
Gülce	x				
Ali			x		
Umut		x			
Bilal	x				
Alperan				x	
Sergen	x				
Burak		x			
Erdem	x				
Aykut		x			
Kaan		x			
Mehmet	x				
Can			x		
Inci	x				
Tolga		x			
Ferhat	x				
Elif	x				
İlgaz			x		
Barış		x			
Tuğçe		x			
Selim			x		
Ufuk				x	
Arda		x			
Utku Ulaş				x	
Irem	x				
Gülsün		x			
Damla		x			
Melih				x	
Can	x				
Furkan		x			

Even when globally metal music as a genre seems to be waning (Olivier 2017) it still inspires many young people in Turkey. The recent Vodafone Freezone competition for high school students, held annually for the 21st time, features performances of high school bands and does not have any limitations such as to which genres of music could be performed (Url 19). It might be expected that students would be inclined to perform more visible genres such as pop, (Turkish) rock, Turkish folk/art/popular, R&B, or indie or alternative music, but even a brief glance at the list of contestants show that about one quarter of the Istanbul participants choose to perform various genres of hard rock and metal. According to two participants of this competition Bilgesu and Bengisu whom I interviewed, when their high school alternative metal band won in 2016 there

was much self-censorship for bands who leaned towards more extreme styles such as black metal varieties. It was found very surprising by their peers that the girls' band with their metal sound made it to the finals. Despite the social pressure that leads to this mentioned self-censorship, metal's rebelliousness combined with its requirement of considerable skill and speed makes the genre appealing to these young musicians and will continue to do so, besides the Social and Cultural Capital proclamation.

5.2 Learning Music: The Pedagogy of Being *Alaylt*

There are currently few musical occupations in existence in the domain of Western Music where institutional training for its practitioners is not required, and being a metal musician is still largely one of these. In metal, the nature of the instruments of the "power trio" (drums, guitar, bass guitar) thus enable a side path that involves only reading tablature and learning music through its somatic/tactile component as well as visual and aural (learning from performance videos, guitar education CD's, techniques that emphasize feats of dexterity rather than feats of musical knowledge and aesthetics. Metal enthusiasts would usually acquire their rudimentary training directly through hands-on experience, by directly picking up an instrument, becoming part of a band and learning from peers. There is very little connection with the elementary musical knowledge provided at schools and the hands-on metal fandom/metal band experience. In fact, Jaffurs in her 2004 study remarks that practitioners seldom bring their musical identity into focus at school. However, many scholars and consumers/practitioners of this music agree that, at least while considering speed, skill and musical intuition, a self-taught musician who is music illiterate can rival a "converted" classical performer.

Western and Western-influenced popular music, still does not regard formal music education as a prerequisite. While some occupations in this domain, such as producing or sound engineering, require a degree besides hands-on experience, the established norm for performers is to pick up the training required to become a "professional" through a vocational education. Although it is tempting to use the expression "education", this learning process has little in common with Eurogenetic art music's rigorous training requirements: popular musicians often cite patchy, non-academic lessons, leisure-oriented practical experience and/or self-training as their musical background. These individuals acquire their skill through many different processes: some common to many, some unique to that particular musician. These informal learning procedures have been the subject of numerous studies in the past two decades

(See Stephanie Pitts, 2005; Lucy Green, 2008 and Susan Hallam, 2015 among others), but in comparison to the research output on academic music education, this is a relatively small bulk.

In order to write out this section, I conducted a set of new interviews, expanding my original survey pool with members of amateur rock and metal bands. The primary aim of this section is to profile the amateur musicians that are the current and future protagonists of Turkish underground heavy metal scene, focusing on their learning process. Heavy metal music can be defined as a genre of popular music characterized by “loud, distorted guitars; prominent and aggressive drums; emotionally extreme singing techniques; and musical complexity and esotericism” (Wallach et al 2011, p.4) Even if metal is not as popular as it was in its heyday in the 1980’s, it is still regarded as a robust and distinctive genre that has a very dedicated following worldwide. According to Deena Weinstein, “Today, in terms of its sound, lyrics, audiences, and so much more, heavy metal is so diverse that it is best characterized as a meta-genre. Yet what now connects this wide variety of styles is that all are called heavy metal.” (2014, p.36) Thus, the word ‘metal’ is nowadays being used as an umbrella term, without its ‘heavy’ adjective for more extreme and/or underground subgenres.(Weinstein 2014, p. 49) There are many studies by musicologists, sociologists and anthropologists that analyze metal music and meaning in diverse contexts globally (Wallach et al 2011) and glocally (Çerezcioglu 2011 and Hecker 2012). Recently, the metal musicians themselves are finally becoming an object of academic interest (Poutiainen and Lilja, 2012), but compared to classical musicians, they are still underrepresented in the academic domain.

It is affirmed by many studies, both domestic and international, that music education is immensely beneficial to young people, during and beyond their formative studies. Susan Hallam summarizes the desirable outcomes of effective musical studies thus: “They need to be highly interactive and enjoyable with opportunities for: developing new skills and performing; acquiring cultural capital; developing interpersonal bonds and solidarity in pursuing shared goals; on-going intensity and frequency of contact; developing mutual respect; and recognition and rewards for excellence.”(2015, back cover) Stephanie Pitts finds that “Personal development and social interaction are closely connected in musical experience: participants do not make choices between these two aspects, but rather seek a balance which allows them to satisfy their personal

motivations and musical needs” (2005, p.33). Lucy Green, in her 2008 study, proposes that most students who pick up an instrument, learn outside school and in “informal” contexts. Stephanie Jaffurs’ 2004 study, finds that rock fans among the study group have little opportunity to associate their choice of music to the school curriculum (2004, p.191). Such young people are self-motivated and find that the school music education, unlike its ideal definition by Hallam, does not meet their expectations.

Many studies on music and music education in Turkey make a distinction between the general music education compulsory in all schools, whose curriculum is established by the Ministry of Education; amateur (özengen) music education which is more grounded by the general one, is offered by private institutions and involving the teaching of an instrument; and vocational music education which aims at training professional musicians and entails acquiring proficiency of at least one instrument (Uçar 2005, Karakoç and Şendurur 2015, Dilsiz 2017). The general, non-specialist music education in Turkey is a source of constant debate and controversy, which does not seem very effective in teaching the essentials of music. Consequently, for the vast majority of young adults in Turkey who have received secondary and tertiary education, music remains an enigma. The institutional, vocational study of music in Turkey is an infrequently-threaded path for the Turkish youth, but there is a dedicated minority who pursues the Eurogenetic conservatoire tradition as it is applied in Turkey and eventually reach the “world class” in terms of instrumental mastery and disciplinary knowledge. Fortunately, there is abundant study material available for learning music within the formal curriculum of this secondary and tertiary music education. This material, consisting of translations of traditional pedagogical methods such as Lavignac’s *Solfège des Solfèges* or Beyer’s *Elementary Piano School op. 101*, and invaluable original works by educators such as Oransay and Sun, is designed for the music-literate, specialist student in training for music as a profession. However, when the goal of the student is to eventually perform popular music, there are no paths to follow in Turkish schooling system, unless one picks up an instrument on his or her own and strives to learn. The abovementioned study material is often too technical for such students, and the general music education they receive does not hold enough appeal or is able to provide enough grounding for such an endeavor. Thus, receiving amateur (özengen) music education to lead to performing popular music in Turkey is not organized and/or validated in a solid sense to direct such young people towards

their goal, and is dependent of the instructors and institutions where it is offered. Regarding rock and metal, every musician and musician candidate seems to have forged a path of their own.

When young people pick up a metal band instrument and attempt to learn, they need to make do with stereotypical lessons and learning materials wrought for gaining skill towards performing culturally more accepted disciplines, such as Eurogenetic art music. Such approach and/or material is seldom useful or indeed understandable for metalheads. The absence of an educational framework to achieve metal music skill means that young performer candidates have to find their own path which is littered by obstacles that they need to overcome. This part is based on structured interviews with young adults who have learned to perform metal to some extent. The results, deduced from the interviewees' accounts, are handled in a qualitative, factor-centric manner. Transcriptions of interviews describe these informants' learning processes, with their motivations, frustrations, materials and milestones. Their journey to musicianship provide insights about the current status of general music education in Turkey and could be used to diagnose the shortcomings, thus complement and improve the often-neglected music education.

According to Jeremy Wallach, Harris M. Berger and Paul D. Greene, the authors of the highly influential work *Metal Rules the Globe: Heavy Metal Music Around the World*, the distinguishing factor that sets metal music aside from other genres of the global popular music industry is that "all metalheads, regardless of their preferred subgenre or subgenres, view metal as opposite to light entertainment. To them, it is a form of serious music that endorses a particular set of values."(2014, p.8). The presented interviews reveal that young musicians, who take metal music seriously, have to overcome considerable difficulties and resistance in the Turkish society, while seeking to gain the necessary knowledge and skills to perform metal. The long shadows of the moral panic that wrapped itself around metal music in 1990s Turkey are still tangible for these individuals (Hecker, 2012; Kutluk and Turkmen, 2015).

The data hereby presented is derived from structural interviews delivering eight questions in identical order and manner. To initiate the data accumulation process, I asked in a public post if there are volunteering metal performers among my Facebook contacts for an interview of about 10 minutes. These answers are complemented with two longer, more detailed, semi-structured interviews with a professional musician and

a high-school music teacher. I already made some interviews with young amateur metal performers from the years 2014 to 2016; but I felt that I had to ask specific questions to confirm my presupposition that, in the Turkish system, school music learning is totally irrelevant to picking up an instrument and learning to play rock and/or metal subgenres. Through the snowball method, I managed to reach 16 young people. 9 of these budding musicians are males, 7 are females, their average age is 20 and most are university students. They come from similar backgrounds and families of comparable economical standing: the majority are Anatolian High School graduates with some representatives of the fine arts high schools and vocational high schools. Surprisingly, among the participants of this study, there are no private high school graduates. Some further specialized types of high schools, such as Sağlık-Meslek (health vocational) the Imam-Hatip (religion vocational) are absent as well. 11 of these youngsters are in training for non-music-affiliated professions, two are training to be sound engineers and another two are pursuing studies to become music teachers. In order to study the collected data, I organized these parameters into a fact sheet as seen in Table 5.11.

Table 5. 11: Interviewees according to age, sex and education.

NAME	AGE	SEX	HIGH SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY
Abdülşamet	21	M	Anatolian Science/Teacher Vocational	Karabük U. (Electrical Engineering)
Alper	21	M	Police College Vocational School	Okan U. (Psychological Counseling)
Alperan	21	M	Anatolian High School	Cumhuriyet U. (Music Technologies)
Aras	18	M	Anatolian High School	Boğaziçi U. (Western Languages & Literature)
Bengisu	19	F	Anatolian High School	Gazi U. (Electrical Engineering)
Bilgesu	19	F	Anatolian High School	Gazi U. (Architecture)
Furkan	21	M	Anatolian High School	Namık Kemal U. (Mechanics Engineering)
Hakan	20	M	Anatolian/Teacher Vocational	Gazi U. (Computer Engineering)
Hazal	21	F	Anatolian Fine Arts High School	Cumhuriyet U. (Music Teacher Education)
Inci	21	F	Anatolian Trade/Vocational	Marmara U. (Bureau Management)
Irem	21	F	Anatolian Fine Arts High School	Marmara U. (Music Teacher Education)
Işıl	20	F	Not Specified	Middle East Technical U. (Sociology)
Melih Kaan	17	M	Anatolian High School	High School Student
Oktay	20	M	Vocational/Technical High School	High School Graduate
Umut	20	M	Not Specified	Adana Science and Technology U. (Translation)
Zeynep	19	F	Anatolian Fine Arts High School	Dokuz Eylül U. (Music Technologies)
AVERAGE	20			

Table 5.12 sketches the musical profile of these young musicians by instrument, music literacy, learning experience and proficiency level, according to their own account. I have not made any attempts at justifying the participants' statements, thus there are no metrics for "rudimentary" or "advanced" knowledge of notation besides the

participants' own self- judgements. The other mentioned interviews are done with Selim Işık: a professional musician and the author of an electric guitar method widely known and respected by many budding metalheads; and high school music teacher Serdar Dilekcan, who has taught in TED Ankara College High School for nearly 30 years, supervising many student projects, competitions and musical events. Their valuable insights hopefully provide a frame for the young musicians' accounts as individuals who supervise them, arguably enabling authoritative statements and generalizations.

Table 5. 12: Interviewees according to music and learning experience.

NAME	INSTRUMENT	LESSONS	LEARNING EXPERIENCE	NOTATION	LEVEL
Abdülşamet	E Guitar	Y	Two attempts - one month each - MS	Y	Rudimentary
Alper	Drums	Y	since 2014 with breaks - MS	Y	Rhythm
Alperan	E Guitar, Drums	N	Self taught	Y	Medium
Aras	E Guitar	Y	Guitar lessons for a year- MS	N	None
Bengisu	Bass Gutar	Y	Very brief- classical guitar lessons - MS	N	None
Bilgesu	E Guitar	Y	Two years - classical guitar lessons - PL	N	None
Furkan	Drums	Y	Irregular- MS , PL	Y	Medium
Hakan	Bass Guitar	N	Self taught - older brother	N	Tablature
Hazal	E Guitar	Y	Begun in group classical guitar lesson - MS	Y	Advanced
Inci	E Guitar	N	Self taught - peers	Y	Rudimentary
Irem	Keyboards, Cello	Y	Keyboards, piano, violin- MS	Y	Advanced
Işıl	E Guitar, Violin	Y	3 years violin, 1 year E guitar - MS	Y	Medium
Melih Kaan	E Guitar	N	No - self taught - older brother	N	None
Oktay	Brutal Vocal, E Guitar	Y	Very brief- guitar lessons - MS	Y	Rudimentary
Umut	Drums	Y	Two attempts - a few months - MS	N	None
Zeynep	Bass	Y	Had lessons all her life -MS, PL	Y	Advanced
			MS = Music School		
			PL = Private Lessons		

Netnography is, in Kozinets's words, usefully efficient about "arranging personal introductions, travelling to and from sites, transcribing interview and handwritten fieldnote data" (2013, p.56). These interviews are all done within a short period of time between 02.03.2018 to 06.03.2018. The original language is naturally Turkish, since all parties speak Turkish as their primary language. Following introductions and obtaining written clearance to use their names and information they choose to disclose, I administered the interviewees, by copy-pasting for consistency, the questions found below. Some participants chose to answer immediately and spontaneously (question by question, with minimum interjection on my behalf to encourage them), some instead took their time and responded with a prepared paragraph afterwards. All participants responded within 48 hours and expressed interest in the outcome of the research.

- 1) Can you briefly introduce yourself? How old are you, which schools did you graduate from, and what are you currently studying?
- 2) When and how did music enter your life?
- 3) Have you ever taken instrumental lessons? Did you learn by yourself? How would you describe the procedure of learning your instrument, was it easy or difficult? Do you have any interesting stories to tell?
- 4) What kind of tools or learning material do you use while practicing? (Tabs, chord charts, videos, tutorials, anything else?)
- 5) What role did school life play in learning your instrument? Did you benefit from the music lessons at school?
- 6) What is your opinion about the music education you had at school?
- 7) Do you read notation? Are you familiar with music theory, do you need it at all?
- 8) What targets and/or goals do you have about music, how much of there could you achieve so far?

In order to be able to interpret and approach the data using the methods of critical ethnography, specific points each participant made regarding all questions are written out as paragraphs. Such a layout enables textual analysis emphasizing commonalities, and filters the information by taking out givens such as participants' age and sex and school names out of the way into fact sheets. The fact sheets are sorted alphabetically, but the paragraphs are ordered according to the participants' interrelations and similarities/contrasts and by order of responding, when such distinguishing factors are not present. These questions have more in common with the questions I have been asking the professional musicians group of Chapter 4, but this time, the interviewees would have to provide their answers in written form.

5.2.1 Interviews

One of the earliest respondents, Abdülsamet, spared this study a generous amount of his time as well as disclosing some blog drafts he made about the challenge of being a young rock and metal musician in Turkey. Music began to be a part of his life when he found the compulsory recorder education at secondary school very challenging but he kept on trying to play all pieces that he knew on the instrument outside school,

unlike his friends who kept their efforts confined to school music classes. He was compelled to begin playing electric guitar at high school, influenced by his favorite band Slipknot. He particularly recalls a difficult period while he commiserated and associated himself with the “music fail” videos on YouTube. His first learning tool for music was a notebook he kept his chord positions and charts, but it was a squared notebook. He thinks school and school life has detrimental role in his music making experience since he cannot devote enough time for his instrument, and school music classes taught him nothing he found useful to learn his instrument. He had two brief spells of electric guitar lessons, but they were not much effective. He taught himself reading notation, but he is still not comfortable with using notation and/or musical jargon. He wishes that his university had better means and opportunities for music but there is only a rock music club with very limited capacities. His goals are gaining stage experience besides the sole concert at his university where he appeared, and keep music in his life till the very end.

Alperan has supported this article by recruiting friends besides answering the questions himself. His experience with music begun at the age of 7, since he is from Sivas, a smaller Anatolian city, he had to literally beg his father to buy him a guitar. He never had lessons and in his environment he had limited access to the internet. He had conflicts with the conservative minded citizens of the city: a high school concert that was disrupted by the students of the nearby vocational school who labeled their music “noise” and thugs attacking him and breaking his drumsticks on his head are the two incidents he related. He uses published methods for learning his instrument, but he makes use of tablatures and videos as well. As he had to take music courses as well in the university, he had to learn standard notation as well. He never had music lessons after primary school and does not regard the music lessons he had at the university sufficient and/or effective. He is upset that his major program does not regard the electric guitar as a legitimate instrument, and his undergraduate study only taught him some harmony and not more. He does not think conventional music theory and Western musical notation is well suited to metal music, what makes music “metal” are the aspects between the notes. His aim is to pursuing postgraduate studies abroad and continuing his one-man project as a multi-instrumentalist and producer.

Melih Kaan and Hakan are also from Sivas, ushered to do this interview by Alperan who is Melik Kaan’s elder brother. Both of these boys are self-taught, since their

school curricula did not include music and there is no one in Sivas to learn electric guitar from. Consequently, they turned to be tab and video oriented musicians who do not read notation or know music theory. Their Anatolian High School had absolutely no support during their learning process, except perhaps teaching the names of the notes, remarks Hakan. He adds that he did not have high expectations about music, before coming to Ankara for his studies, but currently he is spending almost all of his time outside school in the studio “soaking up like a sponge whatever he sees”. Melih Kaan, who is only seventeen, understandably looks up to these two “abi”s and plans to follow their footsteps to a metropolis where he can make music to his heart’s content.

Hazal and Irem used to play in an adolescent symphonic metal band with Alperan in Sivas. Music turned out to be so significant for these girls that they decided to be music teachers, thus learning conventional “schooled” practices to a higher degree than most participants of this study. Music teacher education in Turkey teaches students one main instrument and two secondary instruments to some level. Regarding musical upbringing, both girls began music in a private music school, with keyboard and guitar group lessons. Once they were admitted to Anatolian Fine Arts High School, their teachers followed the curriculum. Both Hazal and Irem think highly of their high school music education, they had diligent teachers who put high stakes before them to achieve more. However, both are in turn disillusioned by their university education. For Hazal, it was a big disappointment that the university study was identical with the high school study in many aspects, instead of improvement, she is experiencing regression. Irem feels luckier because she is in Istanbul and has the opportunity to develop herself even when school falls short. Needless to say, they both are music literate and handle metal music through a similar process with the classical repertoire they are taught. Neither aspires to play metal in the future, but both express their desire to attain more skill with their instrument and become part of ensembles such as orchestras or chamber groups.

Aras recalls that, compared to his peers, music was a stronger attraction for him even in kindergarten, but the real spark was his cousins exposing him to rock and metal songs during secondary school. During 6th and 7th grades, he was besotted with drumming, but since this interest was hard to accommodate in his environment, he turned to guitar, whose learning process he finds easier. What he finds remarkable

during his learning experience is that he has developed some sort of phobia against standard notation. He still makes do with tablatures, cover videos and playing by ear. He finds that, schools in our country are unable to nourish any interest in music; his high school experience was a confirmation of this idea as well. They make students either give up their aspirations of learning an instrument or forge a path on their own because of simple and pedantic teaching methods. He does not have any knowledge of music theory or notation, and sometimes feels the absence when he yearns to compose his own numbers. He does dream to play with his band at Wacken (the oldest and biggest open air metal festival, annually held in Germany since 1990s, as mentioned in Chapter 2), but the first target is to be a part of a band that regularly plays and share his music with an audience.

Bengisu and her twin sister Bilgesu are members of an all-female alternative metal band that won the Freezone High School Music Contest, an annual competition held for 21 years and approved by the Ministry of Education. The twins had classical guitar lessons for a short while, later on one picked up the electric guitar and the other the bass during their teenage years. They both state that they are largely self-taught using chord charts, method books and other internet sources, they are both used to playing by ear and sometimes watch live videos of their favorite bands to learn new songs and/or techniques. Their experience with music education at school was not remarkable at all till high school: the curriculum and their former teachers made them hate music. Music lessons were frequently “recycled” as revision time for exams by the school administration. Their visionary high school music teacher, on the other hand, taught them many useful things and encouraged them to record their music. Yet, both claim that they know nothing of music theory or notation. Bengisu was afraid that they would be asked to transpose some parts during their recording sessions; luckily they did not have to. Bilgesu jokingly asserts she would not be able to recognize one of her own parts if it was transcribed on paper and put in front of her to play. Having already played on large stages at some domestic festivals, the twins hope to record their second album and reach a broader audience as a short term goal.

Alper is from Istanbul with stage experience under his belt, having played at various concerts since 2010 with predominantly amateur bands. He has had private lessons since 2014, and is currently working with Can Sürmen, who plays the drums for the professional alternative rock band “Son Feci Bisiklet”. Asserting he is not a tablature

and/or notation-oriented drummer, Alper pays homage to the formal methodology of learning drums by claiming that he aims to use the metronome all the time. However, he admits to having learned a lot by watching other drummers through available videos on the internet. He is upset with the Turkish educational system and does not think that the music lessons he had at school contributed to his musicianship: a devoted teacher would have made a chance, he reckons, but instead one of his teachers said that he is interested in drumming because he lacks talent for music. He describes himself as music literate since he assists his band during composition. His driving force is to make whatever music that his heart calls for, excelling further in his instrument during the two more years of his university study and eventually releasing his own album.

Furkan believes he was lucky to grow up in Istanbul since his environment meant that he sang in choir at primary school, was given a keyboard and a classical guitar at secondary school, his interest finally settling in drumming. He had no notion about how to get proper training since there were not many sources in Turkish and his family was opposing his passion. His most remarkable memory is from 2013: while he was rehearsing in a studio, a man walked in and asked with whom Furkan was studying drumming. Learning that he was self-taught and did not have any fundamental knowledge on music theory, he kicked Furkan out of the studio, telling that he plays horribly and should not come back unless he had learned to play. Furkan now thanks that unknown man, whose face he still remembers: his detestation became a spur for Furkan to learn notation and music theory. He still uses videos to learn, but if he deems necessary to study a piece in detail, he transcribes the piece and works with sheet music. He also recalls his high school music teacher with respect who helped towards this end, dismissing the rest of the music classes he had at school: music lessons were regarded as void and most music teachers thus did not share their knowledge, to a disinterested audience. He believes notation and music theory are necessary to develop a mutual language with the people he is making music with, the second important aspect is a lot of practice, he asserts. Each day, he puts himself a target to play better and with people he admires, famous or otherwise, and hopes to learn ever more about his instrument.

Işıl has not considered “getting serious with” electric guitar during her formative years in Izmir, but coming to Ankara to study at METU has inspired her to be closely acquainted with blues, rock and metal through getting to know many amateur and

professional musicians. She studied the violin for three years at a music school and she feels this experience had been very helpful in developing her ear. Işıl feels that she could transfer the orthodox music theory and its applications she had learned through playing the violin, such as scales and arpeggios, to electric guitar by the help of her friends, tablatures and videos. However, she agrees with her peers stating that the school music education had nothing of interest and the music lessons she had at school were “like torture”.

Inci’s family is a music-loving family and she grew up listening to artists such as Eric Clapton, and The Beatles, turning to metal and picking up the electric guitar during her high school years. She does not boast a thorough musical education, developing through playing by ear, supporting friends and of course internet resources. She reckons it is much easier when someone assists in the learning process, but being an autodidact means that one does not fear being wrong. She appreciates the sense of liberation she feels as a self-taught musician, that she does not feel pressured by the rules and regulations, yet she feels that music theory and notation is indispensable if one has the aim of becoming a composer and make “quality music”. She relates that she was always good at music classes, but now that she is more acquainted with “real music”, she finds school music education futile and superficial that did nothing for her musician identity or instrument playing. Her target about music is to graduate and start working to declare financial independence, then she intends to devote all the time she could to music making.

Oktay has graduated from high school but did not make it to the university and his parents are blaming music for that. He begun by playing the guitar at 13, but on the way he discovered that his call is more for extreme vocal techniques in metal. He meanwhile tried to follow orthodox music education, available in abundance since he lived in Kadıköy, Istanbul which is a hub of “harder” music in Turkey since the times of Barış Manço and Cem Karaca. Music classes were very boring for him, yet he was diligent enough to observe vocalists in rehearsal studios, watch concert videos and do vocal exercises for eight hours a day. He gratefully reveals that he was supported by his high school music teacher who granted him permission to use the school equipment. Nevertheless, he does not hold music education in Turkey in high esteem, he feels that it is “insufficient, indeed useless” His aim about music is to depict the world we live in from his unique perspective, and he wishes to share this perspective

with an ever expanding audience: it is his aim, not merely his dream to be regarded “historically significant” by metal audience.

Umut began to play drums in a music school with a teacher who does not seem proficient from his account. He tried another music school that at least attempted to teach him notation, to no avail. Therefore, he turned to the internet and discovered a wealth of resources which he used to improve his playing as much as he could. His experience with school music education is very negative: Their teachers kept changing and music lessons were disregarded by both students and teachers: they gave him no visions and prospects. Consequently, his knowledge on the working mechanisms of music is sparse and he cannot fathom if music theory and notation would help him in any way. During our correspondence, he felt at low ebb about music and thought he did not have any prospects and/or aspirations about it.

Zeynep has had instrument lessons all her life and also studied in a fine arts high school, thus she is articulate about music theory and notation. She picked up the bass guitar at 13 and first attempted to learn by herself, but the arduousness led her to take lessons. She worked for a period to overcome the difficulties posed by her smaller hands and extension of fingers: working long hours. To learn new numbers, her usual approach is to learn by videos, but if she locates an accurate sheet music, she prefers to use it. The courses she took at the fine arts high school did not provide a boon for her instrument: she found the school experience restricting and thought it did not bolster her musicality, but the theoretical lessons were helpful.

Many of these young people, especially the electric guitar players know Selim Işık, introduced in the Chapter 4 of this study as the author of a highly successful electric guitar method. Selim is in his forties and has been teaching the guitar for about 20 years. He owes his wide reputation to his series of instruction videos for learning electric guitar and “Sahne Senin”(The Stage is Yours) concert series where he plays with young musicians in various cities. Besides, as a solo metal guitarist, he makes guest appearances, records his own compositions and covers in metal style. Selim himself is a self-taught musician, but during his early career, he was able to experience from the firsthand what kind of challenges young musicians must overcome to make a career of metal music. He states that the lesser opportunities a prospect student of metal music has, the more he or she dedicates himself/herself to practice. Even though these students might never have the opportunity to get in touch with Selim, he follows

his method being shipped to every province of Turkey and occasionally publishes photos and videos of young people who send him feedback about learning through his method. Selim is adamant on teaching his students standard Western music theory and notation. Whenever he publishes a new track, he releases a package for those who would like to learn to play it that contains backing tracks for drums, bass and guitars, tablatures, note charts, standard notation sheet music and performance video of the song. He guesses that the most popular approach to learning by his virtual students that study his video lessons or book chapters is through Guitar Pro, a computer program designed for the rock/metal guitarists, whose save file of the song is also released along with the rest of the package contents. During our interview on 26.06.2017, Selim has confirmed what each participant so far has put forth: the music education in Turkey disregards popular music, and totally ignores a “marginal” genre of popular music such as metal. Most music teachers at secondary and high schools today have been trained with a lesser-quality and conservative education, and few further develop their skills once they are appointed music teachers. Many do not aim at trying to grasp their students’ genre choices or forming a bridge between the school curriculum and what students learn outside school. There are those less than adequate teachers who attempt at stamping their own musical tastes to their students, using the curriculum as a pretext: if, for example, a teacher is particularly into Eurogenetic art music or Turkish folk music, the students are thus exposed to those genres as the ultimate forms of art. Some ambitious teachers might form ensembles, train choirs and/or guide students for competitions like the Freezone High School Music Contest, but such endeavors are restricted to larger cities and more established higher ranking high schools. Selim reckons that the current system in Turkey, following instrument lessons outside school, is an effective strategy, but he believes that students should be careful to choose qualified teachers whose work should testify to their skill.

Serdar Dilekcan is a music teacher who studied in Gazi University Music Teacher Education Department, later pursuing postgraduate studies in choral conducting. During our online interview on the 27.03.2018, he stated that music’s timeless quality should not lead to stagnation and narrow-mindedness and a music teacher should always listen to whatever his students are listening to and be aware of “their” music as aware as he or she is of Bach or Beethoven. Serdar does not have the responsibility to supervise all musical activities of TED Ankara College, for example, the school’s

small recording and rehearsal studio and the guitar, drums and bass lessons offered there are given by younger musicians who are adjunct staff. When he coordinates the end-of-the-year shows, Serdar makes sure that every good enough musician and every genre including metal is given stage time. Occasionally, a student that learns their instrument approaches him to ask about music theory, harmony or notation conventions, which he never turns down, if the question is outside his own knowledge, he would suggest individuals that could be of help. Serdar asserts that, being a high-caliber school, TED Ankara College had always sought to give its students more than the state-controlled music curriculum sets forth. According to the latest official syllabus changes issued by the Ministry of Education, music lessons at high schools are no more compulsory. Therefore, no school authority forces disinterested students to participate in music lessons, but the school's various student clubs are quite active. Music lessons or music activities such as choral singing could be taken as extra-curricular activities and count as graduation credits. Serdar admits that, such an ideal environment is seldom possible outside a well-established school like TED and criticizes the curriculum designed by the Ministry of Education as being "uninteresting, biased and not connected to students' real life music experiences".

All participants of this study have learned to play their instrument and genre choice of metal music outside their school music education. Concerning their instrument, most report to meeting with indifference, even disregard and disdain from peers and teachers at high school. A few were supported in their quest for metal by their school music teachers, but most had to seek outside help since they were unable to relate the music curriculum they encountered at school or music school with the performance practices of their preferred genre.

5.3 Contextualizing and Communicating Through Music: Music Theory, Jargon, Skills, Expectations

Eurogenetic art music, my tiresome, rambling staple for comparison, has crystallized into an academic discipline more than a century and half ago with its canon of major works, personages and paradigm. This body of music operates within largely written rules, with both its performance practice and epistemology thoroughly established and deeply etched. If one can withstand the rigidity of most traditions belonging to the world of debatably mislabeled "Classical" music, one can indeed appreciate its claim for being an art form par excellence associated with refinement, supreme

sophistication and extreme discipline, often acquired through years of studying it in an academic environment. At various points of this study, it has been stressed that in the postmodern world of the 2010's, this diligence and aestheticism is becoming ever further pronounced. It is largely unthinkable today for a performer such as the legendary Neapolitan tenor Enrico Caruso, who never received any institutional training, to perform the canonic art music repertoire, for example.

Poutianen and Lilja find that, "Like any other type of popular music, heavy metal conveys fundamental parts of Western music tradition." (2012, p. 518) While some genres such as hip-hop or rap have a strong rhythmic presence and endless repetition of simple, monophonic melodic elements that accompany the vocal line; metal relies on the power trio or quartet (with a keyboardist and/or rhythm guitarist), performing sometimes polyphonic, complex parts, as a foreground element. The instruments are considered equally important, if not more important than the vocal line. This property of metal music has been rightfully compared to the practices of Eurogenetic art music (Walser 1992). Metal thus employs some complex elements of music theory such as scales (diatonic, pentatonic and modal), unorthodox harmonic progressions, (poly)modality, syncopation and polyrhythm as well as involving much timbral sophistication and dexterity. Consequently, there are highly versatile, virtuosic rock and metal performers around the world that work as full-time musicians, yet they could be considered musically illiterate in the Eurogenetic art music sense of the term. Some claim that, for metal music performance, formal music education is unnecessary at best, but may be detrimental and kill creativity as stated by Joey Belladonna of the metal band Anthrax (Personal interview, 29.03.2014).

A major objective of this study music making to exemplify and outline the kind of communication problems that hinder music making when okullu and alaylı musicians work together in a rock/metal context. For the sake of clarity, I need to once more mention here that I will not be debating about communication "through" music, but rather "intramusical" communication that musicians need to have in order to perform in a band. What needs to be "communicated" during performance or practice or creation among musicians? Can we define musical interaction as a language that has verbal and nonverbal components? Is this "language" universal or defined according to culture, genre performed and level of performer?

My literature survey yielded many excellent resources to provide answer for questions concerning musical communication such as Parncutt & Mc Pherson, Juslin and Sloboda and Miell- MacDonald and Hargreaves. Music Perception, which is the classification keyword for most of the research I consulted for this subsection, is a term used in music cognition to discuss the psychological and physical elements of receiving sound (Dowling 1986). It is also used in a non-positivist way to refer to how music may change subjective experience of or views on meaning and the contextual meaning surround a particular musical occurrence. North and and Hargreaves talk about “Normative and expert development in music” (2008), musical knowledge obtained through normal enculturation, it may include the “ability to process pitch, tonality, rhythm, harmony” without any special training. Adults who have no music training can solve musical problems at least at the level of undergraduate music students who have years of performance experience in their background.

Among those hereby listed, Philipp Tagg’s concepts codal incompetence (when transmitter and receiver do not have the same “store of musical signs” or when those signs represent different things along the communication process for the transmitting and receiving ends) and codal interference (when transmitter and receiver have the “same basic vocabulary of musical signs but differ in terms of sociocultural norms) should be foregrounded. To define these terms, Tagg discusses musicians and sociocultural identities and norms associated with them- for example heavy metal versus string quartets and the associates people who play these types of music and those who listen to them. That was the part that took a long time to sink in, but it is exactly what is happening when the classically trained musician says chord progression and the metalhead says riff, and they cannot find a rehearsal mark to agree upon to revise a passage.

Nevertheless, there are some contrasting opinions to these findings exist. For instance, Robert Walser reports about a commentary for Guitar for the Practicing Musician magazine by Wolf Marshall which is “quite musicological in tone and content; he deliberately compares Malmsteen's recorded performance to classical techniques, contextualizes it through style analysis, and translates certain features into the technical vocabulary of music theory. The style analysis situates "Black Star" with respect to two musical traditions: rock guitar (Blackmore) and Eurogenetic art music (Bach, Paganini, Beethoven, Vivaldi, etc.). Marshall simultaneously presents a

detailed description of the music and links it to the classical tradition by employing the language of academic music theory: chords, modes, counterpoint, form. Walser claims that “In fact, in my experience, many heavy metal guitarists (most of whom, like Bach and Mozart, never attended college) have a much better grasp of harmonic theory and modal analysis than do most university graduate students in music” (1992).

Metal musicians have developed their own jargon and spectrum of signifiers, exemplified by the use of words such as “lick”, “riff”, “drum-bass walk”, “groove” and “vibe”. They tend to invent vocabulary for conveying harmony and form phenomena, and body language seems to play a part as well. Background is an important factor, since when a schooled musician comes and imposes academic discipline such as rehearsal marks, or talks with jargon from academia such as tonic or dominant, they get lost. Left to their own devices, after some time spent together, they do not seem to encounter codal incompetence and usually submit to the lead of one person amongst band members to make performance and composition decisions.

5.4 Writing and Disseminating Music: Frequently Used Media

Most of the participants expressed their admiration for the Eurogenetic notation system and a desire to learn conventional music theory, but there are a number who never managed to do that. The reasons are various: one labels his liaison a “phobia” developed through negative learning experience, another claims he never had the opportunity, yet another expressed that she found music theory cumbersome and not very useful for her current purposes, but does want to learn in the future. Those who have learned (Alperan, Irem, Hazal, Zeynep) did so because their future professions required music literacy rather than their metal music learning and/or performing experience with their instruments. With the availability of learning tools listed below, lack of music theory and notation mastery does not seem to be a problem for these youths.

Playing by ear, arguably the oldest oral music learning method, takes on a new importance in the recording era. Digitized recorded tracks, accessed through streaming and downloading rather than hardcopy manifestations such as compact discs or LP’s not only constitute the medium for the young performers of this study to get acculturated in their genre of choice, but also provide them with unlimited trial and error opportunity. Young metal aficionados these days discover new bands

representing their favorite subgenre through Spotify playlists and YouTube and social media suggestions and immediately grab their playback equipment, which is seldom more sophisticated than their mobile phone and its factory issue headset to self-teach a favorite number. I have observed that this is seldom a solitary process: players by ear often need an outside ear to validate their progress. This outside ear could be a sibling, a peer or a mentor, whom they might not have in-person access, but digital communication. A heavily distorted, thickly-textured metal number might be hard to isolate and unravel track by track, but one's acculturation in the style and familiarity with similar gestures and musical elements ensures success.

Tablatures, shorthand for musical notation in use since the middle ages, have become popular tools of learning ever since guitar-dominated popular music rose into prominence in the 1960's. Guitar Pro, essentially a MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) sequencing program that is designed for electric guitarists, is unanimously the most popular computer interface for these young rock and/or metal players that form the universe of this article, as well as many other semi amateur performers I have interacted with throughout my study period. The program produces tablatures and standard notation, visually representing the multi-track structure of a song in a bar-by-bar, accessible manner. It offers playback and looping capacities that could be expanded with sound libraries that could be used for performing these backing tracks. One of the best features is that, just like Digital Audio Workstation software, the user has the means to isolate a particular part and implement their musical intentions, but only using the computer's internal sound card and its ASIO (Audio Stream Input Output) driver. Most instrumentalists I have interviewed singled out Guitar Pro as their primary composition, practice and playback tool. There are databases on the internet, on which Guitar Pro files of almost all guitar-based music available are listed. There are often multiple versions of the same song, transcribed by members of rock/metal society with different skill levels; therefore the accuracy and reliability of these files are varied. Also available on the internet are chord and tablature charts. For many of my interviewee's, the biggest problem is that the notation system they access from the internet is based on note names rather than solmization syllables (the fixed-do system) that is habitually taught in school music lessons in Turkey. This preference of Turkish schooling system is regarded as perplexing by some participants, whereas some

claimed that they only perceive the tablature as a string of numbers without any note names, so this discrepancy does not deter them.

In today's visually-oriented world, YouTube and similar video libraries seem to be a more effective tool for learning than any method. All my interviewees reported that they acquire help from tutorial videos and playthroughs, thus combining visual, aural and tactile learning processes. Some went insofar that, with the increasing availability of ever more detailed and advanced material, YouTube is their primary learning tool. For the Turkish youth, the greatest disadvantage with YouTube videos, besides the language barrier, is their frequent use of musical terminology. Considering that most videos stem from societies which have better access to music theory resources, and presumably more efficient music teaching strategies at schools, they are more informed and jargon wise correct. The participants of this study reported difficulties at times with using video material that takes for granted that the user is familiar with chord names and inversions, performing techniques and other jargon.

There is a wealth of available material on internet resources such as YouTube, but some of this material includes wrong information, inadequate or falsely explained instrument techniques and inexplicable jargon. Even when the source is commendable in terms of its content and methods, there is the language barrier to discourage many of the participants of this study from benefiting. There is no established educational structure or indeed reliable consultancy available to direct the young metal aficionados to their targets. There are educators in Turkey who work to overcome these difficulties, but their efforts are not coordinated and thus, by far, young people must indeed find their own calling and bearing through trial and error. It would be immensely beneficial to set up an "official" internet library, where individuals such as Selim Işık band together to aggregate pedagogically and musically optimized, reliable content.

It seems that, learning through social media channels is developing into a widely accepted way at amassing knowledge, as long as one gains enough skill in the field by hands-on knowledge and trial and error.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This is the first study that is centered on the “alaylı” musicians and has represented them as equals with “okullu” musicians. To get to understand “alaylı” musicians better, presumably better than they understand themselves, the research designated two paths to follow: leaving the safe zone of Eurogenetic art music behind and learning metal musicianship from scratch, the way autodidacts do: without academic supervision and through trial and error. The second path is, of course, making as much music as possible and comparing and analyzing this experience through a musicologist’s eyes.

These practical endeavors are complemented with theoretical endeavors: through following the references in published literature, developing an affinity to the stereotypical “alaylı” metal musician by collecting information about him/her and investigating how successful (global) metal musicians learned. The theoretical framework and the mixed method helped to make sense of the field and its practices: valuable detail has been provided about the communication processes within a band and their effectiveness have been appraised against established research.

At the end of my project, I had the opportunity to present and discuss this work with some of the veteran scholars of the Society of Metal Music Studies: Keith-Kahn Harris, Deena Weinstein, Brian Bardine and Rosemary Hill to just name a few. They immediately recognized that the position of the scholar was always “down with the audience, gazing around and at the stage”. This study for the most part, “gazes at the audience from the stage” and it is thus insightful.

6.1 Okullu and Alaylı Interactions: Fertile Ground for Making Music

Autodidact musicians and institutionally trained musicians initially do not have a musical language in common. This puts a heavy strain on intra-musical communication necessary to perform in a band. Only through time and interaction musicians can develop a common discourse which is productive in creation and performance of music. This common language is neither purely academic nor purely colloquial. From most metal musicians’ perspective, a musician trained in any other

(institutional) musicianship is not necessarily in command of all there is to musicmaking. Being specific, Eurogenetic art music tradition which is emphasized throughout this text in various contexts seems to be regarded fascinating but pedantic: too formal and “stiff”.

Every band has inner workings of their own: most bands do not prefer to advertise how they create their output, but some report on social media or through interviews exactly when, where and by whom an event in any phase of being a band occurs. With time, a band develops a supra identity that facilitates performing more complicated musical feats, such as producing and publishing an album. A forthcoming conclusive statement, which is not proven but potentially true is that the “band” as a social unit is in no other genre as important as it is for metal.

Metal has to be defined within its performative context. Feedback interview methods such as re-evaluating recordings of performance and a neutral outsider perspective if or when possible are valuable to musical cohesion and integrity. Especially in the case of an emerging band, when the band members themselves do not have enough experience to evaluate their choices, concerning both performance and composition, it is habitually the listeners, the target audience, to reflect how successful these decisions are. Since metal performance relies on the active participation of its audience, which contemporarily might be through social media, indifference often is worse than hostility for a band. If the audience is not moving in a gig and are listless, that spells a problem: interaction is an indispensable aspect in metal performance.

Musicians are nowadays required to have vast knowledge of music industry, intellectual horsepower and flexibility of mind: to be adaptable, collaborative, creative problem-solvers in the DIY, social media driven music industry of the 2010s. A successful 2010s musician ought not to be just be a reproducer of written script—no matter how expertly they can do this. A myriad of new trends such as mashups or crossover musics rely on a musician’s ability to improvise, arrange, or compose music. Postmodernism reflects onto today’s musics the way Attali describes and boundaries between genres are blurring. It was once trivial to guess what a classically trained musician would play: Mozart, Bach, Beethoven, or Stravinsky. Today, a string quartet might be playing heavy metal (*Apocalyptica*). Metal musicians need to be stylistically more flexible, and I believe one of the reasons metal lost favor since 1980s is that, both metal musicians and music did not prove as versatile and adaptable as today’s world

demands. Metal should keep on rethinking and adapting itself such as in the case of the Japanese band Baby Metal, and conservatism in terms of music making and consumption is not a luxury metal musicians can afford if they wish to keep on making music. The days Metallica took down Napster in 2003 is past: now they themselves upload their most recent album to YouTube, for the entire planet to watch. This is adaptability at its strongest, and metal needs even more of it.

It does not matter what century and what genre we are talking about, a truly successful musician has to reach a high level of musical mastery, yet today's musicians need to do more than playing their instrument very well for creating their own opportunities. Besides speed and skill a metal musician attains on his or her instrument, the study of music theory and history might give them an edge. However, institutional learning does not have to be perceived as the sole path to innovation and creativity. The different outlook on the theoretical, phenomenal and perceptive aspects of music often create fertile ground for compositional innovation. Sometimes a schooled musician is just not flexible enough to create a really interesting number, due to the centuries-old rules and codes etched onto his/her subconsciousness; whereas the autodidact musician simply does not have enough skill or knowledge to rightfully express his or her musical mind. The disadvantage is that it can adversely affect a band's motivation and/or rate of output, such as in the Listana case. The passion of metal musicians coupled with the skill and discipline that has to come with institutional music training becomes a formidable combination which lies in the core of successful bands such as Dream Theater, Queensryche, Kamelot and Meshuggah. Therefore, as MacIntyre and Potter state in their study of guitarists and pianists: "Less restrictive environments that allow individuals to pursue their interests and provide personal choice tend to enhance creativity" (2014, p.404). The formula that emerges from this study to amend the communication gap and keep productive would be to find the the right balance of leadership and responsibilities within the band and spending both vocational and non-vocational time together.

6.2 The Role of Education in Metal Music Making

According to the reports of Turkish conservatory trained musicians that were the informants of this study, the existing musical institutions in the country have a derogatory outlook onto metal. Eventually, most next generation professional rock/metal artists acquire the necessary skills either by their own efforts and/or through

oral tradition. Very few of Turkey's rock/metal virtuosi are music literate, and the situation in the world is only slightly better. Notable examples for musically educated metal performers are Hayko Cepkin, Idil Çağatay, Özlem Tekin and Serdar Öztop, and Steve Vai, Geoff Tate, Michael Romeo and Luca Turilli are representatives of conservatory trained musicians who have made a career of metal music. However, the vast majority of metal musicians who have been interviewed for this study are not institutionally trained, some by choice, some by lack of opportunity. In the last two decades, some more flexible institutions acknowledged metal music as a genre and begun designing programs to teach its basics: The School of Audio Engineering (SAE), for instance, has courses on the recording aesthetics of certain "extreme" musics, metal among them. There are institutions such as Metal Factory and Berklee College of Music that one can at least find likeminded peer students to form school metal bands.

Originally, metal performers were better versed in other musics, especially Eurogenetic art music. Through the efforts of figures such as Yngwie Malmsteen, the first generation of metal aficionados at least developed an affinity to some Eurogenetic art music and musicians. This appreciation still reflects in the psyché of some metalheads that I interviewed, but generally speaking from the data presented in Chapter 5, the new generation seems neither very interested, not proficient in learning how Eurogenetic art music functions or its representative works. Most metal players interviewed for this study deemed formal music theory and its jargon as useless attributes whose absence is not much felt in their experience. They prefer to use some musical terms such as "virtuoso" in their attributed, "imagined" meanings.

Music education at schools might not always be instrumental of effective to support young people to find their bearing with music. This study reinforces John Sloboda's remark that, in the developed world, "almost every child in school receives classroom music instruction from an early age...the general level of musical achievement in the school-age population is surely well below that of many other skills addressed by the school curriculum." (1996, p.107). The results of both the surveying and education profiling of young Turkish metal musician candidates confirm Lucy Green's findings "Many young people who go on to become skillful and successful popular musicians report that the music education they received at school was unhelpful, or worse, detrimental" (2008, p.4). Although studies on younger students who do not perform

metal indicate that they perceive the music education they receive at school as beneficial (Karakoç and Şendurur 2015; Noyan 2012), the informants of this study described those same music lessons as “disconnected from their musical reality”, “in vain”, “uninteresting”, “boring”, “serving no purpose” and “waste of time”.

A solution to this problem have been offered two decades ago in the Western world by pioneering educators such as Newsom (1998) or Boespflug (1999), namely introducing popular music and popular music learning strategies into school curricula. Studies such as Green (2008) and Poutiainen and Lilja (2014) prove that indeed the endeavor has been successful and consequently popular music and its practices are gradually becoming an integrated part of Western schooling system. As in the case of TED Ankara College, some schools in bigger cities of Turkey have embraced this approach as well. Although it is mostly dependent on the background and vision of the school’s administration, music staff in residence and funds available, some schools establish music studios designed for popular music, besides facilities for acoustic music such as Eurogenetic art music. The informants of this present study claim that, the most beneficial support they had from their high schools was that they were allowed to use school equipment and/or studio, when present. A wider study with a statistical approach would elucidate if incorporating popular music in a more organized way than holding a high school music contest nationwide would be beneficial for the Turkish case, as well.

6.3 Global vs. Glocal: Mapping out the Turkish Case

The global metal scene, although was transformed by the digital revolution of the 2000s, still is a thriving entity. Bands’ main source of income is not recorded music anymore, but they still are able to finance themselves through merchandise and tours and gigging. Crowdfunding snowballing through social media has become an important method for smaller artists to finance audiovisual production. Fans and scholars alike agree that the superstar era in metal music is past and no new band seems able to acquire the status of bands that are active since the turn of the millenium.

Metal music has formed its own scholarship in the past two decades and proves to be a very fertile field for social scientists from many disciplines. In some parts of the world such as Pakistan or Iran, presumably due to the social and religious pressures, followers of metal music are still persecuted. However, the verdict about metal being

closely associated with satanism, psychological disorders and violence, the common overtone in many publications till early 2000s, has dissolved. In some unexpected parts of the world such as Dubai or Caracas an unexpectedly strong metal scenes are present and thriving, although metal music seems to have its mass media visibility for the most part in the 2010s.

In Turkey, making metal music is an oddity and doing academic research on metal is very rare. After having conducted this study, I now have the reason to believe I am occupying a niche both empowering and laden with responsibility: representing every aspect of the music, musicians and metal underground of Turkey as unbiased as possible. This has not been possible with some subgenres such as extreme metal: I was simply not metal enough from their perspective to enter this field more than in a superficial sense. “As has been the case in so many places around the world, metal in Turkey has been blamed for being subversive by posing an affront to moral and religious sensibilities. Yet against all the odds, metal has attracted a strong and passionate following, and, on an individual level, has become a means of self-empowerment, emancipation, and resistance” (Hecker 2012).

In the light of this work’s findings, I have observed two shifts in the Turkish metalhead paradigm when compared to earlier work. The first is about the metalhead’s affiliation with the religious climate that has been dominant in Turkey. Deana Weinstein mentions that Islam is a strong enough force to “to preclude metal from getting a foothold among Moslem youth” (2000). My study in mild contrast displayed that the informants’ belief systems are varied between atheism, agnosticism and mild Sufism, even my relatively small study group has some participants stating that they are practicing Muslims that go to at least Friday Prayers and fast in Ramadan, thus there seems to be more variation compared to Hecker’s work in which metal represents a rebellious attitude towards Islam for the most part. In the contemporary Turkish metalhead’s mind, metal does not seem to be at odds with religion anymore. Their apathy and antipathy towards religion, if any, seems more affected by the last almost twenty years than by the anti-religion vein in metal music. As could be seen in Chapter 4.1, the majority of the participants who attended the survey located themselves towards a leftist political stance and spiritual and/or religious liberalism.

The second shift is in material status. My fieldwork reveals that the average Turkish metalhead is more likely to come from a working-class family in the post-2008 period.

In the past few years, metal subculture, despite having obligations such as acquiring expensive equipment or attire such as leathers and tattoos, seems to have shifted from the middle class to working class. The survey presented in Chapter 4.1 reveals that only 13 of the participants rate their economical status as above average or wealthy, whereas 22 participants rate their family income below average or low. 19 of the 32 interviewees have not gone to any private school and define their families as working class/lower middle class families. In conclusion, the dissemination through Internet has made metal much more accessible than other genres in Turkey and has helped bringing down some of the prejudices.

According to my opinion, Turkey is under a wave of increasing conservatism. The Turkish metalhead is even more marginalized and alienated due to social pressures of the dominant ideologies. Although very much shrunk compared to the fieldwork period of Hecker's study, due to the heavy taxing of alcohol and increasing social pressure by the government in the past seven years, the Turkish metal scene is still in existence. The high taxes on alcohol meant the demise of many a metal venue: there are fewer metal clubs or active bands in comparison to the fieldwork period of Hecker's work. In Chapter 2, interviewees affirm that the metal audience has become increasingly homebound and they do not or cannot spend money to come support live events.

Turkey lost almost all university festivals and spring activities and domestic open-air organizations since 2013. Some of the factors that led to this state are the government's pressure on whatever they deem marginal in comparison with their ideology, the extremely high taxes on alcohol and entertainment, safety concerns especially for a particular period of time because of terrorism perpetrated by ISIS or Kurdish separatist groups and finally the Turkish Lira's value loss against foreign currency, increasing costs for equipment and event management. In terms of the number of events, 2017 was an improvement upon 2016, and 2018-2019 could be classified as mediocre or below average in terms of the number of metal events. Since there is less internal tourism than 2000s and early 2010s mainly due to economic reasons, seaside towns such as Bodrum or Kuşadası support mid-scale rock festivals with national bands to attract domestic, urban youth. Of independent organizations or metal festivals there are yet very feeble signs: it seems the heyday for international open air metal festivals in Turkey is passed.

Istanbul and other Turkish cities, at least for a period of two years, were not on international musicians' tours. The parity of Turkish currency is dropping, so organizers cannot make attractive offers and the ticket prices are increasing dramatically. According to Onur Şişman and Haluk Ataklı, most of the bands refrain from coming since they have little desire to play for a listless audience, even if they were able to afford the concert. Some bands express doubts about their own safety to refrain from coming over. Only three bands are scheduled to perform in Istanbul till the end of 2017: Dream Theater on their 25th anniversary tour, Rotting Christ and Anathema, and fans greeted the announcement of these concerts with their very high ticket prices (a front-stage ticket of the Dream Theater concert is close to 80\$, a lot more compared to many countries) with wonder and overt enthusiasm.

The underground metal scene is adversely affected, but is not going down without a fight. Local metal artists are given very limited opportunity to perform or market their music, and they are increasingly pushed towards sponsoring their own enterprises. The chances of playing at university spring festivals and becoming support bands in metal festivals are much less than before, and no metalhead can earn an income unless they teach or play a generic set of cover songs at one of the few venues that still stand. Increasing prices made acquisition of gear and/or attire difficult. Especially those bands who perform more aesthetically demanding subgenres that cannot be recorded at home studios using meager equipment are having trouble standing together, organizing events and producing new material.

According to IFPI Report on Digital Music, piracy of music has globally declined due to streaming, but in Turkey this trend is not yet apparent due to high taxes and declining economical/social/moral parameters. The absence of crowdfunding, streaming and moneytizing concepts in Turkish music industry. The DIY (do-it-yourself) culture of the West never properly took hold in Turkey, so it is close to impossible to, for instance, crowdfund an album recording project. Further themes that merit further explanation here are the elitist and uncooperative attitude of Turkish fans toward music that is Turkish made, the disregard, even hostility of Turkish Music Industry towards metal and other factors regarding cultural pressures, hegemonies and/or leading ideologies.

6.4 Follow-up Research

The youth culture metal forms around itself is one of the most interesting aspects of doing research in the field of metal music, and I intend to follow up, once this work is finished, by researching the affects of Turkey's trajectory towards a Middle Eastern mode of government on the underground metal music scene of Istanbul.

I left the gender aspect not sufficiently explored in this work: in terms of observation, comparison and scrutiny, as well as writing it out. After this work is finished, I plan to resume performing, gain a YouTube following and keep on documenting the challenges of a female performing metal. Now that my network includes more female musicians, I might do more on especially mapping out the male gaze in metal music from the Turkish perspective.

As far as I am able to follow international research, within metal studies there is a topical gap: neither the scholars, nor the musicians, but especially the audience do not seem to come to terms with this. The very first metalheads are now grandmother and grandfathers: the story of two metalheads fleeing their rooms in their elderly care center to go to Wacken is a reality. Music industry is regarded as less tolerant towards aging female artists than male artists, thus I would like to keep investigating, starting with the research of Tasha Howe.

Will the Turkish Metal Scene ever recover and be as full of events as 2010-2013? I intend to follow up and see how the events will unfold. I am hoping to witness the perseverance of metal music winning its battle of existence once more.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Google and Spotify Data Regarding Metal

APPENDIX B: The Evolution of the Listana song: “Hasret”

APPENDIX A: Google and Spotify Data Regarding Metal

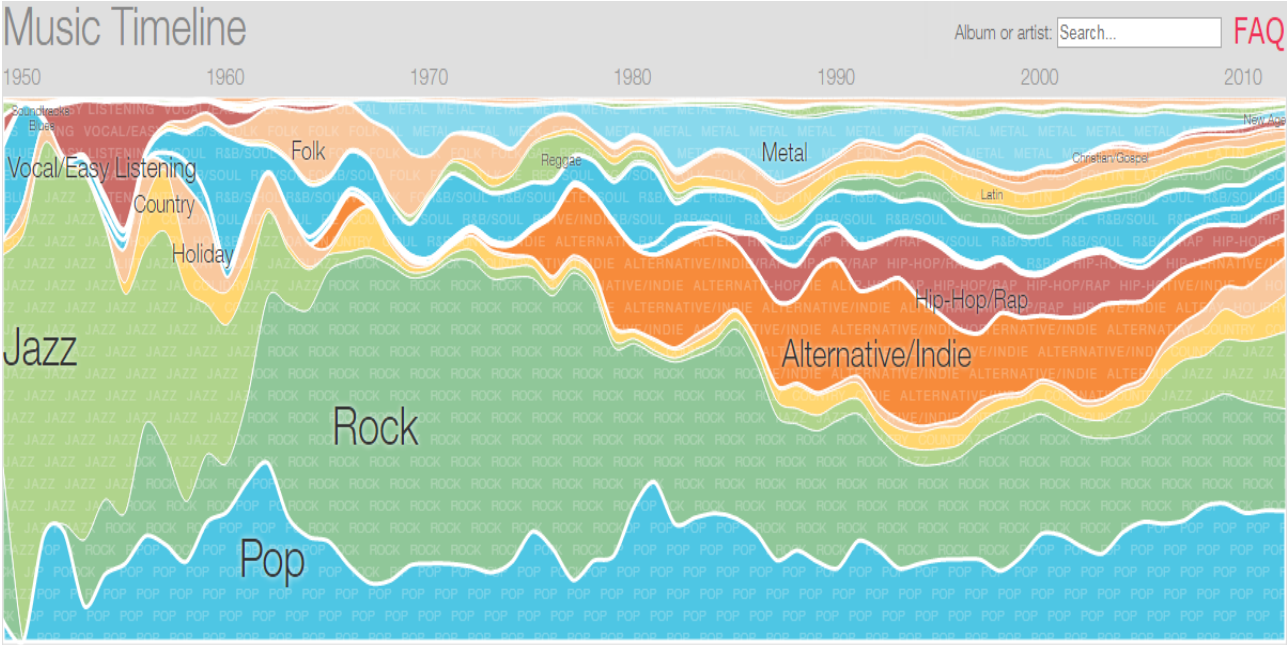


Figure A. 1: Google research data, derived both from album sales and contemporary music streaming figures shows that metal enjoyed a “golden age” in the 80s.

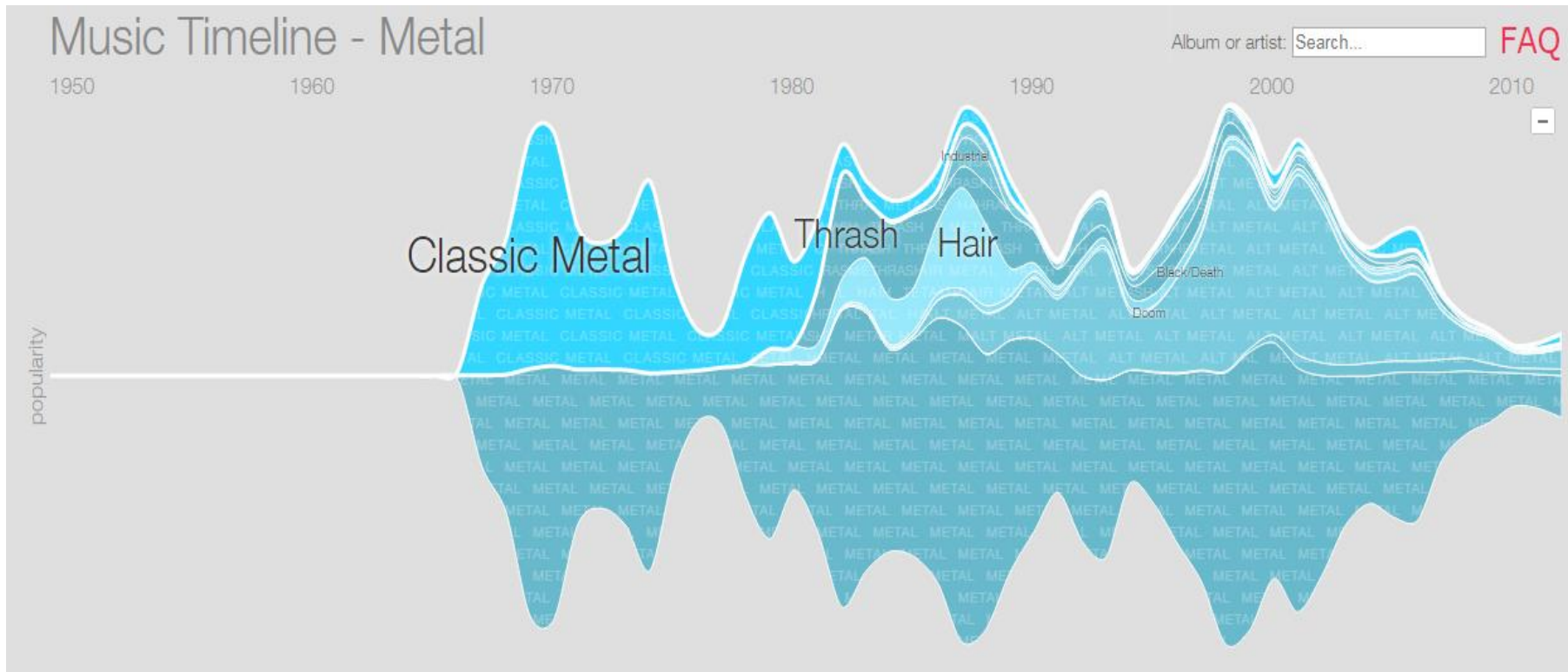


Figure A. 2: Google research data, showing metal subgenres according to genesis and popularity. The data is derived from album sales as well as relevancy.

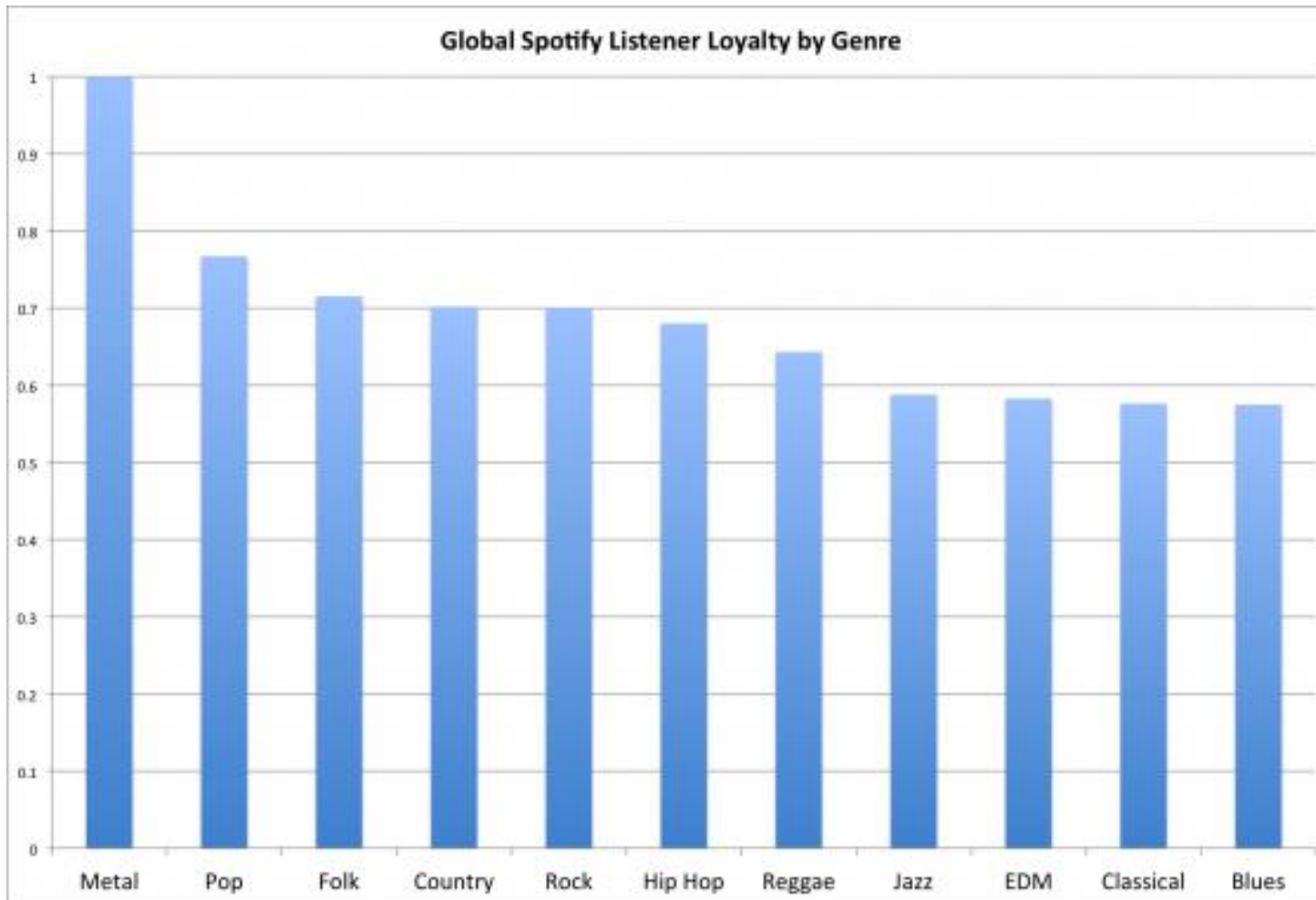


Figure A. 3: Metal listeners are regarded “loyal” by Spotify algorithms since they do not listen to much else. This graph confirms the findings of Chapter 4.1 of this work.

Album releases by year/genre

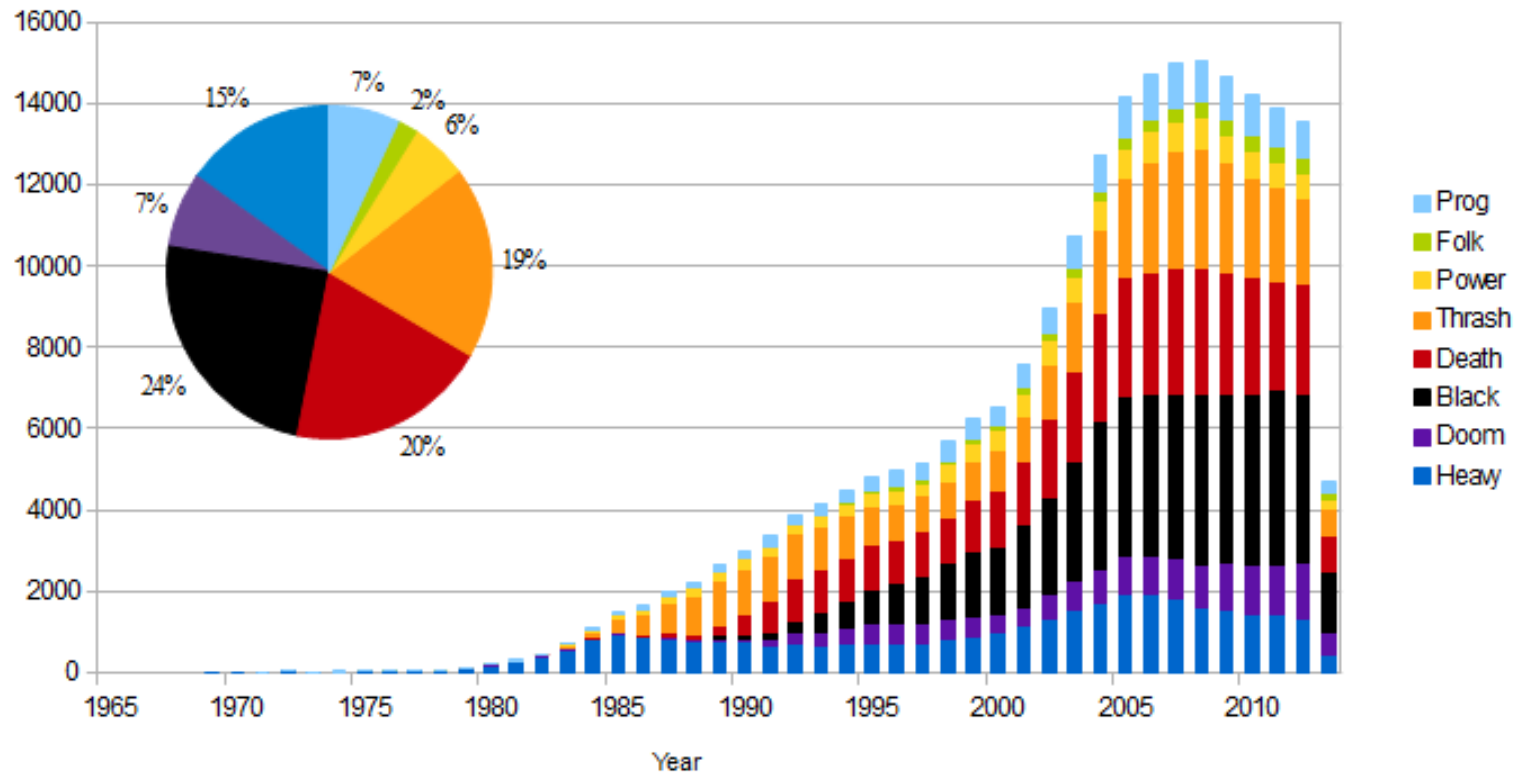


Figure A. 4: A global graph showing the popularity of mainstream metal genres in the recent years (2014). Source: Encyclopaedum Metalium.

Table A. 1: Most common and well-known metal music subgenres.

GENRE	REPRESENTATIVE GROUPS	SUB GENRES	APPROXIMATE DATE
HEAVY METAL	Judas Priest, Iron Maiden, Black Sabbath, Ozzy Osbourne		70s
TRASH METAL	Metallica, Slayer, Anthrax, Megadeth	Hardcore Trash,	Early 80s
POWER METAL	Helloween, Stratovarius, Rhapsody, Dragonforce	Progressive, Symphonic	80s
BLACK METAL	Cradle of Filth, Dimmu Borgir, Immortal	Melodic, Symphonic, Raw, Pure	Early 80s
DEATH METAL	Children of Bodom, Cannibal Corpse, Gojira	Melodic Death, Technical, Florida	Early 80s
SYMPHONIC METAL	Epica, Nightwish, Haggard	Power, Prog, Black,	Late 90s
PROGRESSIVE METAL	Dream Theater, Porcupine Tree, Camel, Symphony X	Symphonic, Power, Death	Early 90s
GOTHIC METAL	Lacuna Coil, Evanescence, Within Temptation		Late 90s
DOOM METAL	My Dying Bride, Katatonia	Black, Sludge, Death, Funeral	Early 80s
FOLK METAL	Eluviette, Korpiklaani	Celtic, Medieval	Early 90s
VIKING METAL	Amon Amarth, Turisas, Falkenbach	Pagan	Mid 90s
ORIENTAL METAL	Myrath, Orphaned Land, Meleckesh		Mid 90s
WHITE METAL	Deliverance, Jerusalem, Saint		Early 80s
INDUSTRIAL METAL	Rammstein, Marilyn Manson, Nine Inch Nails	trash, black, death	Mid 80s
METALCORE	Killswitch Engage, Trivium, Bullet for my Valentine	math, hard, death, rap	2000s
NU-METAL	Linkin Park, Drowning Pool, POD		Mid 90s
DJENT	Animals as Leaders, Meshuggah, Periphery		2000s

Table A. 2: Aural / musical properties of metal subgenres.

GENRE	MUSICAL PROPERTIES
HEAVY METAL	Two guitars, repetitive chord progressions, advanced vocal techniques, pentatonic scales, common time, phrygian, aeolian and dorian modes
TRASH METAL	Two guitars, very fast tempo, powerful male vocals
POWER METAL	monotonous drum beat, repetitive power chords, shredding guitar and keyboard solos, very high male vocals and operatic technique
BLACK METAL	Satanic lyrics, blast beats, scream vocals, evil sounding scales such as phrygian or locrian, tremolo picking
DEATH METAL	Scream vocals, dual guitars, regular time signatures, occasional keyboard, regular drumbeats, aggressive guitar and drum sounds
SYMPHONIC METAL	symphonic elements, soprano vocals, heavy keyboard parts, orchestral elements (violins, oboes, horns etc), orchestral backing tracks
PROGRESSIVE METAL	virtuosity, complex structures, Western Art Music influences, guitar-keyboard unison solos, irregular time signatures
GOTHIC METAL	Female and male vocals, usually female fronted, piano and string sounds, Western Art Music influences
DOOM METAL	Long power chords, extremely slow tempos, female vocals with male growl vocals, tritones, phrygian scale
FOLK METAL	finnish folk culture, ethnic instruments, folk song inspired, occasional female vocals, medieval European music influences
VIKING METAL	growl vocals, fast tempos, aggressive, warlike character
ORIENTAL METAL	oriental rhythms, orientalist cliché, belly dance performance, makamic features, ethnic instruments
WHITE METAL	Two guitars, repetitive chord progressions, advanced vocal techniques, common time
INDUSTRIAL METAL	electronic musical elements, industrial sounds, sequencer and electronic samples
METAL CORE	breakdowns, intense passages, screaming vocals, drop guitar tuning, low-register riffs
NU-METAL	shout or scream vocals, buzzsaw guitar sound, 7-string guitars, electronic background
DJENT	7,8 or 9 string guitars, uneven time signatures, polyphony, progressive, rhythmic, and technical complexity

Table A. 3: Visual / thematic properties of metal subgenres.

GENRE	VISUAL PROPERTIES	THEMATIC PROPERTIES
HEAVY METAL	Leather trousers and jackets, long hair, chains and rings as accessories, motorcycles	Riot, criticism against social codes, common human fears, anti capitalism, chaos
TRASH METAL	Long hair and/or beard, skull and gore tattoos, motorcycle, bandanas, sunglasses	Mostly about hate and anger, anti capitalism, anti religion and system, chaos
POWER METAL	Long hair obsession, medieval clothing, sunglasses, studded belts and boots, swords	Epic and fantastic themes, fantasy role playing themes, mystical and medieval lyrics
BLACK METAL	Corpse-paint and make up, black dressing, spikes, studded leather clothing, capes	Satanist and evil lyrics, anti religion and god, evil and demonic themes, homicide
DEATH METAL	Tattoos, black dressing code, shabby and wornout clothing, torn jeans, distorted band logos	Vulgar and brutal scenes, violence and gore, gruesome, misogynist, nihilistic ideology
SYMPHONIC METAL	Black and medieval dressing, long hair, lace and dark makeup, corsets, fetish items	Fantastic, mythic and epic elements, dreams and inner feelings, medieval culture and courtly love tradition
PROGRESSIVE METAL	Casual clothing, legible band logos	Elevated social themes, psychological themes, spiritualism
GOTHIC METAL	Gothic make up and clothing, vampire like image, sorcery and witchcraft associations	Love, romance, depression, psychology, common fears
DOOM METAL	Black and gothic clothing, corsets, fetish items, dishevelled look	Sorrow, depression, disappointment, despair, suicidal, melancholy
FOLK METAL	Peasant like and medieval-inspired clothing, folk instruments.	folk tales, fairy tales, legends, national heroes, folklore
VIKING METAL	Pagan and Viking outfit, horns, swords, helmets	Viking history and tragedies, war, raid and victory themes
ORIENTAL METAL	oriental clothing, desert and eastern motifs, Arabic and/or Beduin make-up	Oriental mythology and mysticism, Oriental-literature inspired themes
WHITE METAL	Casual conservative clothing	Judeo-Christian traditions, Christianity metaphors, spiritual warfare between good and evil
INDUSTRIAL METAL	working class clothing, pyrotechnics, grime, body make-up, jumpsuits	intense system criticism, anti-society and individualist themes
METAL CORE	piercings and chest tattoos, shaby clothing, nudity	personal anguish, failed romance, environmentalism, animal rights, anti-corruption and anti-capitalism
NU-METAL	baseball hats, baggy pants, dreadlocks, bald heads, chin beards	Frustration, anger, and nihilism, anti-capitalism.
DJENT	nerdy look: eyeglasses, serious demeanor	avangarde composition, music as maths, artifice, virtuosity

APPENDIX B: The Evolution of the Listana song: “Hasret”

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system covers bars 20-24, with the vocal line starting at bar 21. The second system covers bars 22-24, with the vocal line starting at bar 22. The instrumental parts (S-Git, E-Git, E-Bass, and Drums) provide accompaniment throughout.

System 1 (Bars 20-24):

- Bar 20:** Instrumental introduction. Drums play a steady eighth-note pattern.
- Bar 21:** Labeled "Verse 1". The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Ya- nar ce- hen- nem". The dynamic marking is *f* (forte).
- Bar 22:** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "a- te- piy- le".
- Bar 23:** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Yal- nız ge- ce- de".
- Bar 24:** The vocal line concludes with the lyrics "be- de- nim,". The dynamic marking is *p mp p mp*.

System 2 (Bars 22-24):

- Bar 22:** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "a- te- piy- le".
- Bar 23:** The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Yal- nız ge- ce- de".
- Bar 24:** The vocal line concludes with the lyrics "be- de- nim,". The dynamic marking is *p mp p*.

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Figure B. 1: The notation of Hasret below is exported from the MIDI Sequencing Program Guitar Pro, v.6. Initial version from 2012, bars 20-24.

25
Ka- ran- lık- lar- da kýv- ra- na- rak ol- maz du- a- lar e- de- rim

26

27

28

29
O- ku- nur fer- siz göz- le- rim- den gön- lüm- den bü- yük

30

31

Drums dynamics: *f p mp p mp p mp p mp p mp p mp p mp*

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Figure B .1 (continued): The notation of Hasret below is exported from the MIDI Sequencing Program Guitar Pro, v.6. Initial version from 2012, bars 25-32.

ke- de- rim, Al- dý- ðým her ne- fes e- zi- yet, Has- ret a- cý- sý

çe- ke- rim!

Brutal

p mp f p mp p mp p mp f fff f fff

mf fff mf fff f fff mp fff mf fff mp fff mp

8/42

Figure B. 1 (continued): The notation of Hasret below is exported from the MIDI Sequencing Program Guitar Pro, v.6. Initial version from 2012, bars 32-37.

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Hasret', covering bars 20 through 27. The score is arranged for four instruments: three S-Guitar parts (S-Gt), one E-Guitar part (E-Gt), one E-Bass part (E-Bass), and one Drums part. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers bars 20-23, and the second system covers bars 24-27. The second system begins with a section labeled 'Verse 1' at bar 25. Dynamics are indicated throughout, including *p* (piano), *mp* (mezzo-piano), and *f* (forte). The drum part uses 'x' to denote cymbal hits. The guitar parts feature various chord voicings and melodic lines, with the E-Guitar part showing a more active melodic line in the second system.

Figure B. 2: This version of Hasret is the recorded version for Unveiled from 2013, bars 21-27.

S-Gt 36 37 38 39
 S-Gt
 E-Gt
 E-Bass
 Drums
p mp f p mp p mp p mp p mp f fff f fff

40 41
mf fff mf fff f fff mp fff mf fff mp fff mp

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Figure B. 2 (continued): This version of Hasret is the recorded version for Unveiled from 2013, bars 36-41.

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Hasret', covering bars 17 through 30. The score is arranged in two systems of staves. The top system includes staves for Guitar 1 Midi, Guitar 2 Midi, Pt. (Piano), Drums Midi, Channel 1 in B, Channel 2 in F, Channel 3, and Channel 4. The bottom system includes staves for Guitar 1 Midi, Guitar 2 Midi, Pt., Drums Midi, Channel 1 in B, Channel 2 in F, Channel 3, and Channel 4. The score is written in 2/4 time and features a variety of musical notations, including chords, single notes, and rhythmic patterns. The key signature is one sharp (F#) for the first system and one flat (Bb) for the second system. The score is exported from Notion 6.

Figure B. 3: This is the final version of Hasret to be recorded in 2019, bars 17-30, exported with Notion 6.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 31 to 37, and the second system covers bars 38 to 42. The tracks are as follows:

- Guitar 1 Midi:** Features melodic lines with various articulations and dynamics.
- Guitar 2 Midi:** Provides harmonic support with chords and single notes.
- Pt. (Piano):** Plays a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Drums Midi:** Includes a drum kit with snare, hi-hat, and kick patterns.
- Channel 1 in B:** A melodic line in the key of B major.
- Channel 2 in F:** A melodic line in the key of F major.
- Channel 3:** A melodic line in the key of B major.
- Channel 4:** A piano accompaniment track with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).

Figure B. 3 (continued): This is the final version of Hasret to be recorded in 2019, bars 31-42, exported with Notion 6.

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Published Conference Proceedings

- Conference paper: “Global versus Turkish Metal: An account of a changing society from within” in Musicult ’16 Music and Cultural Studies Conference proceedings, ISBN: 978-605-9207-25-6 (presented in May 2016 in Istanbul, Turkey)
- Conference paper: “Music-illiterate Virtuosi: The autodidact rock band performer “ in Musicult ’14 Music and Cultural Studies Conference proceedings, ISBN: 978-605-5120-77-1 (presented in May 2014 in Istanbul, Turkey)

Conference presentations

- Conference Paper: “The Dilemma of Dr. Jekyll and Ms. Hyde – Writing a Practice-Led Dissertation on Metal Musicians”. HardWired. Heavy Metal Research Conference VII: Discipl(in)es of Transgression? Transdisciplinarity and the Study of Popular Culture 2.-4. Oktober 2019, Salzburg. <https://www.uni-salzburg.at/index.php?id=212145>
- Conference paper: “The “Longing”: Composing Progressive Metal for Turkish Metal Listeners”. 5th Modern Heavy Metal Conference, 26-30 June 2019, Helsinki, Finland. <http://www.modernheavymetal.net/2019/02/tentative-list-of-mhmc-2019-standard.html>
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- Conference paper: “Standing Against The Odds in Black: A Study on Select Turkish Metalheads” in Identities: and Interdisciplinary Approach Conference in October 2014, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Conference paper “Self-taught and schooled: can they co-exist on the same stage?” in 3rd International Conference on Music & Emotion, June 2013, Jyväskylä, Finland.
- Conference paper ““Pseudo Versus Genuine Orient: To What Extent Do They Share Their Imagery and Musical Toolkit?” in 14th International RIDIM Conference on Music Iconography, June 2013, Istanbul, Turkey.
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- Conference paper “Imperialism and the Representation Of the ‘Other’ On the Late-19th Century Opera Stage” in 2. Representation in Music and Musical Representation Conference, in October 2010, in Istanbul, Turkey