

cessus d'élaboration des politiques de migration. Pardue esquisse une image historiquement exacte du métissage à Lisbonne qui est en corrélation avec les enjeux complexes de territoire dans le monde lusophone, en soutenant avec force arguments que le rap kriolu révèle les difficultés du peuple portugais à entrer véritablement en relation avec les Africains lusophones et leurs descendants à Lisbonne, avec lesquels ils partagent une langue, une ville et une nation. En tant que tel, le rap kriolu représente une faille de la puissance douce de l'inclusion et des restes du lusotropicalisme du Portugal, en plus de critiquer opportunément les nouvelles idées de mélange comme la *lusophonie*, en négociant des versions de l'interculturalisme politiquement induites. Par ailleurs, le cas kriolu affirme le potentiel pédagogique du hip-hop, puisque ce chronotope permet d'interpréter l'identité créole comme faisant partie intégrante d'un nouveau Portugal et, par extension, d'une nouvelle Europe. En fin de compte, ce livre traite des Afro-Européens dans les deux sens : les Africains européanisés et les Européens africanisés, qui comprennent le pouvoir de la culture expressive transnationale dans le sens d'une décolonisation et d'une reconstruction des hégémonies culturelles, prouvant que le mélange peut servir à la fois comme un modèle de et un modèle pour l'inclusion. *Cape Verde, Let's Go* dépeint le rap kriolu comme un effort éducatif particulier en direction de la performance civique qui invite le Portugal à accélérer le rythme de son changement de mentalité dans les industries culturelles et les politiques de la mémoire.

### **Queerness in Heavy Metal Music:**

**Metal Bent.** 2015. Amber R. Clifford-Napoleone. New York: Routledge. 166pp, 7 figures.

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Despite the breadth of theoretical approaches in metal studies, few have seriously examined at length metal music's sounds, spaces, history, and people through the lenses of gender and sexuality. University of Central Missouri anthropologist Amber R. Clifford-Napoleone's *Queerness in Heavy Metal Music: Metal Bent* ably addresses that lacuna and lays a firm foundation for future investigations. Clifford-Napoleone presents an insightful and detailed discussion of the relationship between queerness and metal music.

At its core, *Metal Bent* takes the results of an ethnographic survey of queer-identified metal fans (through an online questionnaire administered by the author), and distributes them throughout the book's five chapters, each dealing with a different facet of the relationships between, and intersections of, queerness and heavy metal. A principal aim, as stated in the introduction, is "an attempt to queer heavy metal" (2). This "queering" entails, in large part, investigating both the ways that the heavy metal scene and its music has long been queer (e.g., by exploring the contributions of LGBTQ+ people and culture to the genre), as well as the means by which queer individuals navigate, interpret, consume, and engage with metal music, people, and spaces. The author notes that her use of the term "queer"

is *not* “intended to denote queer theory, queer studies, or any other designation of the word ‘queer’ as a theoretical tool ... [rather, it is used] to denote individuals who self-identify as non-normative in terms of sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender presentation” (3).

The first chapter, “Heavy Metal Queerscape,” is used primarily as a means of outlining Clifford-Napoleone’s theoretical approach, particularly her concept of “queerscape.” Queerscapes, she explains, are created by metal fans “within the myriad scenes and subcultures of heavy metal”, and, within them, “lies a field of possibilities that allow queer fans to reterritorialize heavy metal and to then resist the heteronormative and homophobic aspects of heavy metal so obvious to outsiders” (19). Thinking of spaces and practices as part of a queerscape, the author argues, helps understand the ways in which same-sex desires are negotiated in otherwise largely heteronormative environments. More germane to the relationship between queerness and heavy metal, however, is that the mutual defence and world-making with which sexual minorities engage (two features the author argues are inherent to queerscapes), which speaks to a similarity between the heavy metal and queer communities: a shared ethos of “us against them” and standing together (19). Finally, the author extends the purview of queerscapes to include the ways in which metal music offers queer fans “a way to produce meanings and identities” (21).

Clifford-Napoleone’s second chapter is her strongest and most concise. “Black Leather” explores the links between a common aesthetic symbol or code shared by the queer and metal

communities: black leather clothing and accoutrements. She explores the leather jacket’s early connotations of masculinity as part of Nazi uniforms, as post-WW2 allied military surplus (worn by young men), and as concomitant with the rise of motorcycle clubs and culture (27–28). By the 1950s, leather-wearing gay motorcycle clubs sprang up in the USA and the links between gayness, masculinity, leather, and an outlaw or outsider identity were becoming more tightly intertwined. By 1960, some gay music industry men were requesting that early rockers appear onstage in black leather, a look that was shortly copied among rock musicians (30). Rob Halford, the openly gay lead singer of famed metal band Judas Priest, also played a tremendous role in ushering the spikes and black leather style of the gay leather clubs he (then secretly) frequented into the world of heavy metal. “Black Leather” ably lays the foundation for the two-pronged investigation that continues throughout the book: the discussion of both the latent and the overt (or explicit) queer musical and visual features of heavy metal, both of which, the author argues, are often overlooked or read as straight by non-queer fans.

Before getting to the meat of the book, the survey data, the author takes a moment in the third chapter, “Outsider Togetherness,” to reiterate her claim that metal studies has largely overlooked gender and sexuality outside of blanket claims about metal’s alleged near-exclusively heterosexual masculinity. Clifford-Napoleone’s survey of 548 respondents (who self-identified with a variety of genders and sexualities) from 39 countries elucidates the variety of

queer peoples' experiences with metal. The chapter's simple but evocative title comes from a respondent's explanation of being a queer metal fan, being an outsider (queer) while simultaneously a member of a close-knit in-group or community of other outsiders (metal fans). Unfortunately, the chapter also includes a number of pie graphs detailing aspects of the survey, which, due to having been rendered in black and white, are nearly useless. This section is also arguably marred by a brief foray in which Clifford-Napoleone attempts to define some allegedly commonplace metal slang terms for "types" of individuals in the community, namely "dickheads" and "macho cunts." The attempt to codify language that, in my own lifelong engagement with metal, is neither commonly used nor significant in metal circles, comes off as ineffectual and distracting. Still, many of her questions yield interesting results in this chapter. For example, her survey showed an almost universal rejection of the idea among queer metal fans that metal is either particularly homophobic or especially unwelcoming to queer people. That said, the author and many of her respondents are quick to point out that there have been some high-profile examples of homophobic behaviour in the metal world, chief among them the anti-gay rhetoric of Slayer's Kerry King and the 1992 murder of Magne Andreasen, a gay man, by Bård Guldvik "Faust" Eithun, a member of the famed Norwegian band Emperor. In an interesting example of how the "queering" of heavy metal can occur, even Kerry King's rampant homophobia doesn't preclude him from becoming the object of gay desire, as some survey respondents pointed out.

Respondents also described a variety of ways they felt their gender identities resonated with or were positively reinforced by metal's sounds and spaces. For instance, as one respondent stated, "I now consider myself a masculine woman and suppose that my interest in heavy metal is congruous with my masculinity" (61). In one of her most cogent passages, the author elaborates further on the notion of "outsider togetherness" and explains the queer experience of heavy metal in this way: "the heavy metal queerscape is also claiming authenticity, an authenticity that counters both the hegemonic veil of heterosexual masculinity in heavy metal and the stereotypical view of queer life that claims pride and community as its hallmarks" (63). Along the same lines, as one respondent explained, metal makes some queer fans feel like less of a stereotype (64).

Perhaps the most critical portion of the chapter, however, is the section entitled "The Music Makes Me Want to Fuck: Queerscape as Affective Audiotopia." Despite its brash title, this portion effectively describes the ways in which queer fans imbue metal sounds with a variety of powerful and personal meanings and how, for these fans, metal music, adapting a quote from Simon Frith, "gives us a real experience of what the ideal could be" (68). For many, Clifford-Napoleone explains, metal music is an outlet for anger, a path of individualism, and "a validation of their existence as queer people" (68).

Though it may be novel in the realm of metal studies, one dominant strand of Clifford-Napoleone's approach is well-trodden ground in ethnomusicology and popular music studies. That

is, the exploration of how queer metal fans, through imaginative and emotional engagement “reterritorialize” (19) and make their own music and spaces that many outsiders have long considered to be homophobic (or at least somehow not particularly queer or queer-friendly). Though the specific contexts and genres differ greatly, a variety of ethnomusicologists have examined with the ways in which people make personal and meaningful music that is ostensibly “not their own” (e.g., Samuels 2004: 138-139; Berger 2003: xvii).

The fourth chapter, “Everybody Knows,” focuses chiefly on the relationship between gender roles, norms, and their disruption vis-à-vis metal. The first portion focuses on Rob Halford. The author reiterates how Halford’s importing of the studs and leather aesthetic into metal (from the gay club and bondage world) had traditionally been read as queer only by queer fans, but had passed as a hyper-masculine heterosexual aesthetic for most straight fans. Clifford-Napoleone also devotes a significant portion of the chapter discussing how female performers like Joan Jett, and male performers like Norwegian Gaahl have long maintained intentionally ambiguous gender identities and sexualities, allowing queer fans in particular to map a broad range of sentiments onto these performers and their music. Significantly, the author points out how Jett’s gender-bending and ambiguity serve “as signposts for female masculinity and reveal the mutability of masculinity in heavy metal, especially in the eyes of queer performers and fans” (98).

The final chapter, “Eat Me Alive,” discusses various types of consumption

(e.g., of music, of performances) among queer fans. The section on musical consumption leads the author to a few interesting conclusions. For example, she writes that “the double-edged alterity of queerness and a heavy metal identity is further evident in the genres of heavy metal that queer fans consume” (115). Specifically, queer fans overwhelmingly preferred more obscure and extreme sub-genres, namely, black and death metal (115); in other words, even among metalheads, a group that already exhibits a preference for music that is considered by many to be “extreme,” queer fans tend to prefer metal’s most extreme forms. The author never suggests a single reason for this preference; still, if metal’s appeal lies partly in its “extreme” nature, then, she asks rhetorically, “what could be more extreme than listening to music that objectifies and threatens you?” (117).

The performance consumption portion focuses on how queer fans engage with, make sense of, and comport themselves during performances. Here, it is revealed that the viscerality of metal performances appeals to some queer fans: as one butch-identified lesbian fan noted, that visceral quality and “the combination of camaraderie and physical collisions during a show … elicit that butch feel” (124). More significantly, perhaps, are the author’s conclusions that, particularly among the male survey respondents, during metal performances, “queer fans of heavy metal are paying closest attention to the singer or the other males in the audience” (124). Her explanation for this is because “closely watching the singers of heavy metal gives queer fans the opportunity to consume that performance as a way to modulate their desires

and channel their bodily energy towards the object of consumption: the singer,” and because the males in the audience represent “a spectacle, a consumable object of body and feeling where the music acts as an accomplice in fulfilling queer desires” (124). One of the most telling insights into why metal has long been seen as ostensibly masculine and heterosexual comes towards the chapter’s end (136-137), when the author explains how metal’s effeminophobia has long been mistaken as homophobia. Specifically, she notes how respondents stressed the “importance of masculinity, toughness, and the avoidance of effeminity in the heavy metal queerscape” (137) and how “queer fans embrace the hypermasculinity of heavy metal when they consume and swallow down effeminity and in doing so, help to perpetuate the widely held belief that heavy metal is straight, white, and male-bodied alone” (137).

The final sentence of Clifford-Napoleone’s penultimate chapter arguably serves as a more succinct summary of her work’s chief argument than her brief conclusion does: “queer performers built heavy metal, they continue to alter and expand its most rooted concepts, and they continue to challenge the mainstream, heteronormative conception of heavy metal as purely heterosexual in the first place” (104). Given the fact that the author convincingly supports this statement throughout her book, most readers may be left wondering why it has taken so long for someone to finally examine a genre so obviously bound up with questions of sexuality and gender from the perspective of queer fans. In short, Clifford-Napoleone’s book represents a

compelling and (hopefully) foundational investigation into the diverse experiences of people who identify with a range of genders and sexualities in metal. The book stands to enlarge and enrich the realms of metal studies and popular music studies, more generally. 

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**Kwaito’s Promise, Music, and the Aesthetics of Freedom in South Africa.** 2016. Gavin Steingo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 320 pp., figures, photos.

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Les ouvrages sur le kwaito sont rares, pour ne pas dire inexistant; c'est donc avec intérêt que celui de Gavin Steingo doit être accueilli. D'origine sud-africaine, l'auteur a fait des études d'anthropologie de la musique aux États-Unis et a enseigné à l'Université de Pittsburgh avant de rejoindre Prin-