

Colour in Metal

“How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it?”.

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Abstract

Metal music has long been seen as a space for rebellion and outsider identity, but what happens when even the outsiders exclude? This research explores how people of colour (POC) metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture, and how they enact their identities in spaces that often feel unwelcoming. Using a triangulated qualitative approach -ethnographic participant observation, open-ended interviews, and artifact/social media analysis- this study centres POC voices to uncover both structural and emotional dynamics of exclusion, inclusion, and resistance.

Findings show that while explicit racism still exists in extreme subgenres, more subtle forms of gatekeeping, stereotyping, and invisibility shape everyday experiences for POC fans and artists alike. Many respondents described a need to prove their authenticity, suppress parts of their identity, or seek out alternative communities. At the same time, POC-led bands like Zulu, Jesus Piece, and Body Count are reclaiming space in the genre, using music as both resistance and representation. Ultimately, affective belonging in metal is uneven, fragile, and often negotiated through emotional labour. Still, POC metalheads persist, enacting their identities, challenging norms, and reshaping what metal culture can be. They're not just participating in metal; they're transforming it.

Keywords: metal culture, people of colour (POC), affective belonging, identity enactment, exclusion, ethnography, race and music, cultural resistance.

Contents

Abstract	2
Introduction	4
Theoretical Framework	6
Methodology	9
Research design	9
Data collection	9
Sampling	10
Data analysis	10
Ethical considerations	10
Validity	10
Results	11
Ethnographic participant observation	11
Open-ended interviews	14
Lack of diversity	14
Identity enactment	17
Artifact and social media analysis	19
Conclusions and discussion	25
Reference list	26
Appendixes	29
Appendix 1: Interview questions	29
Appendix 2: Informed consent	30

Introduction

If you walk through the crowd at a metal concert, it becomes apparent within seconds that the majority of attendees are white and male. For those who share these characteristics, this may not stand out as unusual. However, for people of colour (POC), the lack of diversity is often immediately noticeable. This demographic imbalance has contributed to the widespread perception of metal as "white people music." Yet the genre's origins tell a different story. Metal evolved from rock and roll, which was itself heavily influenced by blues—a genre deeply rooted in Black musical traditions from the American South (Brown et al., 2016). Despite these origins, metal has developed into a scene dominated by Western musicians and fans, raising important questions about how and why this shift occurred.

Whereas musical genres have generally become more accessible to people from diverse backgrounds through relatively affordable companies like YouTube, Soundcloud or Spotify, metal remains an exception. While the genre has gradually become less exclusionary, it is still far from fully inclusive (Nilsson, 2016). Many Western metalheads argue that the scene is welcoming to everyone and that there are no longer barriers preventing POC from participating. However, the lived experiences of many POC fans tell a different story. Some describe feeling like outsiders at concerts, while others recount being questioned about their authenticity as metalheads. Even in online spaces, discussions about metal often reflect an underlying assumption that POC are not naturally part of the culture. Some would describe themselves as aliens at metal concerts or even while just watching a metal music video (Image 1).

Image 1: A reddit post. Translation: Question: Why metal fails to attract black people? Answer: As a black person I feel like an alien if I do anything with metal, be it something simple like watching a video or going to a concert, I feel like a fish out of water that goes to shows.



This contradiction raises an important question: If metal has become more inclusive, why do so many POC still feel excluded from it? Some Western fans perceive the issue as a lack of interest from POC rather than a systemic problem within the metal community itself (Nilsson, 2016). However, sociological and psychological theories suggest that historical stigmatisation, social identity dynamics,

and transgenerational experiences all play a role in shaping who feels comfortable engaging with a particular cultural space (Goffman, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 2000; Turner et al., 1989). Even as explicit discrimination has declined (Nilsson, 2016), unspoken norms and cultural expectations continue to shape the landscape of metal, making it difficult for true inclusivity to take root.

Understanding this issue requires more than just acknowledging the demographic makeup of metal; it demands an exploration of inclusivity, exclusivity and alienation. According to Ahmed (2004) these concepts could be seen as part of affective belonging, which is the way emotions create a sense of attachment to particular spaces, identities, or communities. While some scholars argue that metal is already inclusive (Gaines & Weinstein, 1992; Walser, 1993; Hill & Berger, 2002), others contend that these claims overlook the lived realities of marginalized fans. The framing of POC as outsiders in the metal scene reflects a broader societal tendency to place responsibility for exclusion on the excluded, rather than on the structures that maintain exclusion (Thibodeau, 2014).

This is why this thesis will examine how POC metalheads engage with metal music and culture, while addressing the following research question: “How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it?”. The sub-questions will be introduced and elaborated upon in the theoretical framework.

The public's disregard for this issue, and its misrepresentation as a lack of willingness among POC to participate, is why I want to explore whether POC feel excluded in the metal scene, even when they are seemingly “included.” Also, because I see it and experience it as a non-western metal fan. For me personally, every time I step into a concert venue, I find myself instinctively counting the number of POC present. Of course I try to think of it logically, because I know a lot of western metal loving friends who are accepting and welcoming of me and POC. However, the (un)conscious feeling of not belonging to the scene still lingers, especially when people that I do not know start asking unnecessary and sometimes offensive questions like: Do you really listen to metal? Do you really like metal? Or the most alienating of them all: Are you here to see the band or are you here just with friends? To them it might seem harmless, but for me it seems like they think it is unfathomable that someone like me could truly enjoy this type of art, like I am unworthy of it. For these reasons I personally see this as an issue worth exploring, and I wanted to see whether other non-western metalheads share similar experiences.

To highlight the issue, this research employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative data from interviews, song analyses, and social media artifacts such as posts or stories. At the same time this research centres POC voices in metal, while balancing subjective experience with broader cultural trends to provide a partial perspective (Haraway, 1988). Analysing lyrics of POC-led metal bands helps with extracting themes of exclusion and identity reclamation. Additionally, interviews will be conducted with POC metalheads and musicians, focussing on their experiences of inclusion and alienation in predominantly white spaces. Lastly, this research examines how historical exclusions manifest in contemporary practices, such as venue gatekeeping and community interactions.

Theoretical Framework

To answer the main question “*How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it?*” it is important to firstly define affective belonging. Here we follow in the footsteps of Sara Ahmed (2004), who argues that affective belonging refers to the personal experience of feeling that one belongs. It is shaped by emotional attachments, exclusions, and power relations. She suggests that emotions are not merely personal experiences but are socially constructed forces that shape how people feel included in, or excluded from, communities, nations, and social groups. She also highlights that belonging is not just about formal membership (e.g. a passport), but also about who is emotionally accepted within a group or society.

However, Probyn (1996) suggests that belonging is driven by a yearning or longing to be part of something, rather than a fixed state of membership. People feel drawn toward places, communities, or identities that they may or may not fully inhabit. She continues, similarly to Ahmed (2004), that belonging is not just about social categories, such as nationality, but is felt through the body and how one moves, speaks, and interacts with space and others. Probyn (1996) challenges the idea that belonging is absolute. Instead, she emphasises that people often experience partial belonging or ‘outside belongings’, where they may feel connected to a place or group but still experience exclusion or alienation. Additionally, they emphasise that belonging is not rigid but shifting and situational (Ahmed, 2004; Probyn, 1996). To elaborate the main question, the following 3 sub questions were devised: *How do POC metalheads experience emotional connection within metal culture? How do POC metalheads experience social inclusion, exclusion and alienation within metal culture? And how do POC metalheads experience identity negotiation and reclamation within metal culture?*- These questions incorporate the different concepts that are prominent in the affective belonging theory.

Although metal is often associated with Europe and North America, its development was not confined to the West. Early metal movements also emerged in parts of Africa and South America. Nevertheless, the most commercially successful and widely recognized metal scenes took shape in the Western world, where the genre became intertwined with cultural and social dynamics that reinforced its exclusivity. One possible explanation is that, as metal evolved, it became an outlet for white men, particularly those who felt they were losing social dominance due to the increasing rights and visibility of women and marginalized communities (Clinton et al., 2018). This reactionary sentiment played a role in the rise of extreme subgenres such as black metal, where some foundational artists expressed explicitly racist, sexist, and anti-establishment views through their lyrics and imagery (Brown et al., 2016). The presence of such themes in early metal reinforced barriers to entry for POC and women, making it more difficult for them to engage with either open or closed sub genres, as either fans or musicians.

This cycle of exclusion was further reinforced by the lack of visible representation. With few POC and women producing metal music, aspiring artists from these backgrounds found little to relate to, and the predominantly white fan base remained largely unchanged. Even when POC-fronted bands like Stone Vengeance emerged, their audiences were still mostly white (Fellezs, 2012). The absence of diversity within the scene meant that potential new POC listeners were less likely to feel a sense of belonging or representation (Thibodeau, 2014). However, some subgenres eventually became indifferent to gatekeeping, which made it possible for POC who enjoy metal music to participate more freely in the culture.

Metal's historical "whiteness" mirrors broader 'systems of marginalisation' (Ahmed, 2004) where POC are often excluded from cultural domains deemed non-POC. They also face both overt and subtle forms of marginalisation. Bowker and Star (1999) discuss how classification systems reinforce social hierarchies through ostensibly neutral mechanisms, often masking historical injustices such as colonialism and segregation. These classifications persist in modern cultural domains, including metal.

M'Charek's (2013) concept of race's 'quantum state', shifting between biological reality and social fiction, offers a lens to analyse how racial identity is negotiated in the context of metal culture. Defining metal culture solely as "white" and excluding POC (Schaap & Berkers, 2020) reinforces the false binary that race is either a biological fact or a social fiction. However, as M'Charek (2013) argues, race can be both, depending on the narrative. In this fluid or "quantum" state, a band like Alien Weaponry may appear non-POC due to them sometimes wearing Western-style clothing and using English lyrics, yet they are Māori. The way they present themselves, whether dressed traditionally or singing in Māori, demonstrates how symbols and material semiotics shape racial perception (M'Charek, 2013). Their racial identity is actively enacted in each performance, shifting between different interpretations.

Many well-known metal musicians share this duality. For instance, Robert Trujillo, of Mexican and Native American descent, played for Suicidal Tendencies before joining Metallica (Wikipedia contributors, 2024a). Similarly, Tom Morello of Rage Against the Machine has Kenyan heritage, while the band's frontman, Zack de la Rocha, is of both Mexican and African descent. Again, fans often assumed both were white Americans based on their appearance and style (Wikipedia contributors, 2024c). This contrast between racial identity as defined by ancestry and by appearance challenges race as a strict binary (M'Charek, 2013). The way audiences interpret racial identity in Metal contributes to the "multiplicity of race," where racial identity is "done" differently depending on the social context of the performance.

Furthermore, the notion that metal is a white genre (Schaap & Berkers, 2020) is both fact and fiction (M'Charek, 2013). It is factual in that the genre has historically been dominated by western artists and fans, but it is fictional because it erases the contributions of POC musicians. A notable example is Body Count, an African-American band that pioneered rap metal by merging metal with themes from rap, highlighting the experiences of Black communities (Wikipedia contributors, 2024b).

Their work exposes the illusion of Metal as an “apolitical” genre, revealing it as a constructed narrative. The material semiotics (M’Charek, 2013) of their music -including instruments, lyrics, symbols, and performances- becomes a space where race is continually negotiated and redefined. By embodying multiple identities, Body Count disrupts the racial binary (M’Charek, 2013) while reshaping the narrative of who belongs in Metal culture (Nilsson, 2016).

POC artists in Metal challenge these cultural boundaries demonstrating how race functions both as a marker of inclusion and exclusion (M’Charek, 2013). Their participation in a genre often viewed as Eurocentric highlights the historical racialisation of music and the overlooked contributions of non-western artists (Schaap & Berkers, 2019). Moreover, while Metal often presents itself as a neutral space where identity is secondary to fandom, it implicitly centres whiteness. This ‘social fiction’ continues to shape the genre’s racialised dynamics, positioning POC musicians as both outsiders and essential contributors to Metal’s evolving identity (M’Charek, 2013). Additionally, McAdams’s (1997) *Narrative Identity* highlights the active resistance of humans against systemic and cultural exclusion, and how they might navigate such boundaries through personal and collective experiences, incorporating resilience and resistance. Modern resistant musicians include: Leader As Animals, Sepultura, Zulu, Oceans Of Slumber, Bloodywood, Tetrarch, Alien Weaponry, Jesus Piece, Zeal & Ardor, Body Count, The Hu, Bleed The Pigs, Vulcano, Voice Of Baceprot, Children Of Gaza, Nova Twins, Stone Vengeance, Fire From The Gods and City Morgue.

One of the fundamental reasons cited by mainstream academia for exclusion is that the stigmatisation of POC remains relevant across different cultures, even if it has become less overt. Traces of it still persist, embedded subtly within societal structures (Goffman, 1969). For POC in Metal, these boundaries can lead to experiences of alienation and stigmatisation. However, mainstream research often emphasises how societal categorisation reinforces racial group boundaries (Turner et al., 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 2000). This perspective largely shifts the blame onto POC, explaining exclusion as a result of their own perceptions rather than systemic barriers. This reflects what Du Bois (1903) described as “What does it feel like to be a problem?”, where POC are framed as the issue while the system congratulates itself for supposed inclusivity. This is all the more reason to seek and highlight the POC perspective, which is the main goal of this research.

Methodology

Research design

To help answer the main and sub questions *“How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it? How do they experience emotional connection within metal culture? How do they experience social inclusion, exclusion and alienation within metal culture? And how do they experience identity negotiation and reclamation within metal culture?”* the concept of affective belonging will be operationalised to fit the context of the field research, thereby supporting the construction of valid and trustworthy ethnographic qualitative research. Affective belonging refers to how emotions, such as comfort, familiarity, or estrangement create a sense of being “at home” or of feeling out of place in social and cultural spaces. It is not just about physical inclusion, but also about emotional alignment with a group or space (Ahmed, 2004).

Affective belonging can be divided into four key concepts or indicators that help with identifying and analysing the main concept: Firstly, emotional connection where the feelings of comfort, safety and alienation could influence affective belonging. Secondly, bodily experiences refers to the physical access to specific environment. Thirdly, discourse that entails the way people express their inclusion or exclusion (I feel at home/ I do not fit in) and the interpersonal relationships where people experience connection or disconnection with others. Fourthly, the power structures that shape the belonging of people.

Data collection

The problematisation of POC disregards their lived experiences and what truly matters to them. To avoid this, this research is conducted by, for and with POC metalheads, ensuring that what matters actually comes from the POC perspective. This echoes Stengers' (2010) idea that “it matters”, highlighting the importance of how knowledge is produced and whose voices are heard in shaping these discussions.

For this reason, in-depth interviews were chosen as a part of the field research, to better understand the degree of affective belonging that POC metalheads experience. Furthermore, the interviews included open-ended questions based on the four indicators of affective belonging (appendix 1). Based on these, a thematic analysis will be conducted to identify recurring themes such as inclusion, exclusion, alienation, identity negotiation and reclamation. However, it is important to note that other power structures may have had a significant impact on affective belonging, especially race in this case, but also gender considering the demographic composition of the target metal culture, which is mostly, ‘white’ and male. Additionally, the research will analyse music lyrics and social media artifacts, pertaining to POC metalheads on global scale, to see if the recurring themes from the interviews are

also reflected in other expressions of metal culture. Lastly, observations will be carried out at a metal festival called Samhain. This is done to gain a better understanding of the kinds of people who engage with metal culture, and also to support with the recruitment process.

Sampling

As the focus of the main question is the experiences of POC metalheads, it would make sense that the sampling for respondents consists of POC metalheads. Finding this specific group could be difficult, as they might be unwilling to speak about their experiences in fear of more ostracisation. However, considering that the researcher is part of this group, and thus has existing connections and relationships with POC metalheads, it would become possible to recruit 5 male and 5 female respondents who are willing to openly discuss their experiences.

Data analysis

A thematic analysis will be conducted following Creswell and Creswell's (2022) approach, with coding based on the previously explained themes derived from Ahmed's (2004) framework: emotional experiences of belonging, spatial and bodily orientations in belonging, experiences of estrangement and exclusion, and the power structures that shape belonging. Atlas.TI software will be used to organize and analyse the qualitative data.

Ethical considerations

The researcher ensured reflexivity by keeping a research journal to document personal biases and interpretations, especially as the researcher is a part of the analysed group. Additionally, respondents were informed about the research and the interview beforehand. If they were still willing to participate, they were asked to sign the informed consent form (appendix 2), which also contains a confidentiality agreement to ensure the protection of respondent anonymity.

Validity

This research uses triangulation (Creswell and Creswell's, 2022) through cross-checking the data from different sources, which are the analysed scientific papers, interviews, music lyrics and social media artifacts. This way the internal validity (credibility) of the research would increase. Additionally, external validity (transferability) is purposefully being tested by comparing the findings in the interviews with those from the analysis of the global music lyrics and social media artifacts. Furthermore, dependability will be strengthened through the use of code-recode strategy at two different moments, to ensure consistency and replicability of the research findings. The previously mentioned research journal will also be useful for future replicability.

Results

The results from the different research methods will help with answering the main questions: *“How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it?”*. As the process has been iterative, the results of different methods could intertwine with each other, since similar themes and concepts can be found in multiple results sections. Therefore, the results of the three methods will firstly be exhibited in this section. Thereafter, shared and unique themes will be analysed in comparison to the themes and concepts in the theoretical framework.

Ethnographic participant observation

To do this, I attended multiple metal concerts and frequently visited specific metal bars and venues. Additionally, I attended Samhain thinking it was an average metal festival where different subgenres were played. To my surprise, I found out it was a black metal festival that is leaning more towards the ‘National Socialist Black Metal’ (NSBM) subgenre, which is a genre known for its associations with white supremacy. I quickly noticed that as I walked to the merchandise stands -which is usually the first thing metalheads do-. The first vinyl I picked up had a person wearing a KKK hood on the cover. Even more shocking was that when I went back shortly after to take a picture of it, it was already sold. I asked people what they thought of it. Some found it funny, though more in a disbelief kind of way. Others reacted indifferently: ‘we are used to it’, or even ‘what did you expect from black metal?’. The first response may reflect a coping mechanism, while the second one shows the acceptance of such a disturbing level of normalisation, and at the same time criticizing anyone who dares to question it.

Speaking about the vinyl made people continue the conversation towards similar issues in the metal scene. They started talking about problematic bands and their clothing merchandise, even pointing to pieces of clothing that people in the crowds were wearing: “That t-shirt is from a band that got cancelled because of racist things their drummer said”. This shows that people are conscious of the racism that happens in metal culture. Additionally, others mentioned that some merchandise contained Nazi imagery. However, they dismissed most criticism, claiming that most fans have no idea what such imagery actually means. On the contrary, I also heard some other festivalgoers exclaiming in disbelief that such merchandise was allowed to be worn and sold at this Samhain festival. Ironically, the Samhain Belgium edition had stricter rules and regulations, similar to many other metal festivals. Some might argue that this issue arises from impracticality, as the organisers cannot monitor what every festivalgoer is wearing or what each box of merchandise is containing.

Well, if a solution to this issue seems impractical, then what about other issues like white bands on stage wearing blackface paint while performing? In this matter, the organisers have much more responsibility, as they are the ones booking such problematic bands. When I saw this band, I could not believe my own eyes. I had to ask the people around me whether that was really what I was seeing, or if it was just tattoos or weird lighting. People found my question funny: "Is this your first time at a black metal festival?", a reaction that echoes the idea of accepting discrimination as an unchangeable fact. Furthermore, others explained: "It is just corpse paint". But most of the times, 'corpse paint' refers to face make-up with contrasting white and black paint -like that of the band Kiss-, not a fully blacked-out face and head.

Throughout the festival, I looked for POC outside of my friend group which contained one POC whom I had interviewed-. The results were lacklustre to say the least, but understandable considering the white supremacy I saw thrive without any restrictions. I even saw people do the Nazi salute, not even as a stupid and unfunny joke, but with clear intent. So, it is no wonder POC do not dare to come close to such places and genres. As a result, I could sadly count the people who are visibly of colour on one hand. From a crowd of several thousand visitors and 150 band members, only one visitor (besides my friend) and two bandmembers were clearly POC. Of course, this is based on what I saw, but considering I was scouring each stage looking for POC, I can confidently say there were little to no POC there. Besides observing the general happenings of such a festival, I could therefore mostly focus on a very small group and how they behaved and engaged with this environment.

I was with a friend of mine -who is POC but white passing- with whom I sometimes speak and joke in Arabic. In the 2 days that we were there, he did not say a single word in Arabic. I asked him about it afterwards, and he answered vaguely: "You never know at these places". This was coming from a someone who would purposefully scream Arabic jokes and sayings at Dutch friends when we are at other venues and bars. This shows that even a very open, proud and outspoken person can become subdued simply because being himself might put him in danger. The other POC I saw was a woman in her late twenties of African-American descent. She was always alone, so at some point I approached her and struck up a conversation with her about the festival in general, but also to ask if she had come alone. She said she was loving most of the performances and that she did come alone. One thing led to another, and I asked her about her experience here as a black woman. She responded: "People do not speak to me as much as at other places, but at least they do not bother me with stupid comments. So, I do not mind enjoying the show without hearing such things". Afterwards, we "adopted" her for the rest of the festival. She seemed happy to be acknowledged in such a space.

At another moment someone said: "There are 2 types of metalheads: old bald white men and young long-haired white dudes". You can assume that this person was one of the two types. They did not necessarily mean it in a bad way, but comment reflects the ignorance embedded in metal culture. Saying it out loud makes it sound like an absolute truth, but it is not. If it were, I and other POC would not be here. Even if such person does not want this to be true, such behaviour is what turns fiction into

fact. Over time, that fiction can become the norm, making POC feel invisible or even unwelcome in these spaces. This reinforces that discriminatory ideals that have been entangled with metal since its inception.

In all fairness, Samhain and black metal could be considered as the extreme far end of the metal spectrum. To compensate for this, I also attended other concerts, such as Animals As Leaders, an instrumental progressive metal band founded by their African-American guitarist. There, I noticed that that many more POC were present. There were a lot more interactions between people who did not know each other, mainly because there were more mosh pits, which can a form of social interaction. This may be attributed to the very young demographic compared to Samhain, which attracted a lot more 'old-heads'. Additionally, at the Animals As Leaders concert, the number of women was much higher, which was something that was also lacking at Samhain. At another event -Enter The Voigt-, I overheard an interesting conversation between a woman of colour (WOC) and a white middle-aged Dutch man about why POC do not engage that much with metal culture:

White Dutch man: The doors are open but I think people (of colour) are settled in their own safe environment and culture. They think they might stick out like a sore thumb in the mostly white crowds at metal concerts and festivals, but in reality nobody cares, if you fall in a mosh-pit everyone will try to help you no matter who you are and what you look like.

WOC: That might be true, but past personal experiences and transgenerational trauma (especially with metal culture) still play a role in this. Also, leaving the door passively open does not necessarily mean you are inviting people (of colour), of course you do not necessarily need to overly broadcast it to the whole world like with some other diversity issues, but actively trying to invite people (of colour) would not hurt. This passive positionality is one of the reasons that metal culture is still lacking in diversity.

White Dutch man: But it is also because that for the longest time there were no good black (POC) metal artists, of course because in the past the culture was not welcoming towards black people and other minorities. In other genres like rap which was created by African Americans, for some years it was only for black people until very famous artists like Beastie Boys and Eminem showed that it could also be for other people. As for metal, in the past there were little to no famous black metal artists in the scene, so there were also no role models to make it more inviting for people from non-white cultures. This is changing now with good bands like Jesus Piece (lead singer Aaron Heard). I think that people (of colour) are a lot more welcome now in a lot of sub genres of metal, except some sub genres like black-metal where it was racist and discriminatory from its inception.

WOC: But why was hip-hop already appropriated (colonised) inside 15 years from its inception, while metal has barely progressed in the past 60 years. So, the argument,

that people don't easily leave their own culture because it is comfortable, does not hold up. Of course adjusting to new cultures takes time but why would white people do it with hip-hop but black people would not do it with metal. It means there is something holding them back or keeping them out, so maybe past personal experiences and transgenerational trauma based on historical happenings like colonisation, slavery and segregation.

White Dutch man: That could also be true, but I think in the past 15 years metal has become more inclusive and I think we are going to see it become even more diverse in the future.

This shows the extreme lack of introspective reflection this Dutch man has. What he said was not necessarily untrue, but it lacks depth in regards to what POC actually are asking for. Additionally, arguing that “in other genres such as rap, which was created by African Americans, it was for some years only for black people until very famous artists like Beastie Boys and Eminem showed that it could also be for others”, downplays the fact that these western artists capitalised on and appropriated African-American culture. Furthermore, phrasing it this way undermines the severity of the actions carried out by western people, something that is being (sub)consciously justified.

Open-ended interviews

Lack of diversity

Through the six interviews that were conducted, different perspectives on metal culture and the reasons behind its lack of diversity emerged. Respondents 1, 2, 3 and 5 expressed views similar to those of the Dutch person in the conversation earlier: that non-western cultures often criticise metal culture because they do not understand it, or even fear it, which leads to fewer POC engaging with it. As R2 said:

I see more people that are from out of the country rather than people who are originally from the country, not necessarily in the point of immigration or whatever, but more ethnic background. But you should see it as also, it's multicultural being that multiple cultures live together. So that point of, oh, metal is bad music, still hangs in a lot of these cultures. Even though they live in a foreign country, such as the Netherlands, their culture is not really removed from them. So for me, most of the backlash I got was when I was in the Netherlands, was with my family, considering that then I had more freedom to express myself, right?

R3 also said: "People in Iran would say, speaking about Twenty One Pilots, why the hell are you listening to this? I cannot even imagine what they would say if I let them listen to Lorna Shore" They

meant that even a light rap-rock band is seen as too heavy, so imagine what they would think of a heavy deathcore band.

However, in contrast to what the Dutch man said, the respondents attributed the lack of diversity to a multitude of different reasons. One reason was the different treatment and assumptions they experienced based on their race. R5 elaborated further: “Because in metal, what I just most frequently have is that people just look at me and they're just like, is he here for the music? Does he like metal? He doesn't look like metal. Looks like he likes K-pop or something”. They add: “Usually they just talk to me in English and assume I don't speak Dutch”. This kind of treatment makes POC feel different, so they either have to accept that they are different, or try and overcompensate for their identity and skin colour in order to conform to the dominant characteristics of Western culture. As R1 explained:

The black people act extra white, extra racist jokes, being extra, extra. Trying to fit in. That's what I felt like, okay, they're trying really hard to show, prove that they're like, what they are. And not just a skin colour... To prove themselves to the others. On the others, or on themselves. I think also on themselves a lot. Because what me and my brother really felt is some kind of self-hate. Because we didn't want to be like those black people. We want to be how we are. But I can also see how that can change into, we don't want to be like those black people, we want to be like the white people. I think that internally can happen. It's a kind of dilemma, you know, like caught in the middle. And yeah, if you don't choose this, you're going to be this. I don't even think it matters if you're black or half black or Chinese or Indian. I think this happens a lot when you have a big group and a smaller group.

This illustrates the struggle of rejecting the previously imposed idea of singular self by society, while now continuing to impose it on oneself individually. This is especially true for minorities in Western societies, as they often find themselves caught between multiple identities. This could explain why some Dutch men claim that metal culture is inclusive and unconcerned with race, gender or other categorisations, while at the same time, POC are struggling with their dual identity.

Another reason for the lack of diversity is that there is a lot of gatekeeping within metal. This phenomenon originated, perhaps unintentionally, at the inception of metal, as it was meant to protect the outsiders in their safe haven from influence from main Western culture. However, this protective mechanism continued in such a way that even other outsiders began to be excluded. As R5 explained:

Because those people are feeling like outsiders. So they created this thing for themselves. I think now it's more popular than ever for younger people to also get into it. So the older generation might feel like they need to gatekeep it. It's also music for outsiders so it might also attribute to, this is for us. You need to prove yourself. Because we, like us, we didn't have a place and we had to turn to here. So they feel like this need to be protected. But it might be expressed, maybe not in the most righteous ways.

Interestingly, the idea of “proving oneself” came up on multiple occasions throughout the interviews. For example, R6 stated: “It's ironic because metal, like punk, was meant for the outsiders. Yes. But now, if you're just not one of those outsiders, then you have to prove some of it to yourself”. Similarly, R1 explained that a Dutch man once told them: “Normally I don't like black people, but you're okay” after R1 shared a interest in an obscure band that the Dutch man liked. Additionally, R5 said: “Okay, so you kind of had to prove yourself. So that when people get to know you more, they're like, oh, okay, you're a cool one”. These statements reveal an inequality in treatment from people in the culture towards non-Westerners, therefore they have to always work harder to become part of this group, which is also an “outsider group”.

Furthermore, when speaking about their first experiences at a metal concert, R5 said: “Lots of older people at that place. But also just a lot of white people. Lots of men, specifically long hair, metalhead, you know? Not a lot of diversity, I would say”. Considering the discriminatory merchandise and behaviour from some Western metalheads and metal artists, it is no surprise that this is the first aspect that POC notice. Similarly to this quote, R2 was extremely baffled by a Confederate flag at a campsite of a metal festival:

I don't necessarily understand the Confederate flag. For me, if I would see it in the South in America, then I would kind of have some understanding to it, considering that's where they're from, right? And not necessarily be a form of hatred, but rather Southern pride, right? I'm proud of being from a Southern state. So be it. I understand other people's things. And if it's not necessarily a hateful message, then it's understandable. But when you're in the Netherlands, far away from the South of the Americas, and you're putting up a flag like that, it kind of is implying something... I think anyone has the right for an opinion. And I also believe in no paradoxes in that sense, where I'm not gonna tell someone he has the right to think everyone is equal, but I'm gonna tell someone else he does not have the right to think all people are unequal. If you want to think that way, that is your way. And that is your form of thinking. I will not interact with it. Yeah. But if you're gonna use symbolisms and signs to kind of portray it to other people, then I feel like that is a form of, let's say, nonverbal taunting in a sense even. It's already difficult to feel sort of a sense of belonging in places like this, not because of the people, but rather just because of the atmosphere. But then when stuff like this happens, it makes it even more difficult for people who are a bit more sensitive or have experienced a lot of hatred.

This exposes the assumption of modern inclusivity as a blatant contradiction, one that can hide the actual exclusionary tactics used by some Western metalheads, whether consciously or subconsciously. R6 confirms this by ironically saying: “-We accept everyone, and we have to protect everyone, and it's about unity, and solidarity, and so on.- And in the end then you still just get dirty looks, because you might look different”. A noticeable pattern in the interviews is that the respondents spoke less of ‘open

discrimination' and a lot more of 'timid discrimination'. This makes sense considering that there are extreme punishments for people who openly discriminate against minorities, such as "getting cancelled". This led to bigots hiding their discriminatory ideologies from the masses, but these are purposefully made noticeable towards POC, similar to what R2 said about "nonverbal taunting" and what R6 said about the "dirty looks". If Western metalheads behave like this, it is no wonder that POC hesitate to engage with metal culture. Then it would make sense that there is lack of diversity in regards to fans and artists.

R1 -the lead singer of a metal band- explained: "The lead singer is the first face you see when you are at a show, so if they are always white that would make you feel different". If there are fewer POC artists, there will be less POC metalheads; and in turn, fewer POC metalheads means fewer POC artists. This leads to a never-ending situation of a lack of diversity within the metal culture on all fronts. Furthermore, in speaking about their inspirations as a POC artist, R1 shared: "When I was 19, when I was really getting into heavy music, I saw Oceano. I saw the video clip and I saw this really big black guy. And I was like, what the fuck? This is so cool. Because I don't see that a lot". So, later when they became a singer, they wanted to become a good role model for POC. But also to normalise it for Western metalheads to see POC on stage and in the crowd, also to avoid the following anecdote from happening to him and other POC artists: "when I played in a show, people come up to me, like, "yo, bro, this is really awesome. At first, I thought, like, oh, what the fuck is he doing? Is he gonna rap or do reggae or something? What the fuck? But afterwards, it was really cool".

Identity enactment

These were some of the reasons that POC gave for why they felt that they were unwelcome in the metal scene. Yet, they still engage with the culture, because, as all the respondents said, they love the music too much to let other people ruin it for them. Their presence is therefore a conscious choice. As R4 explained: "I have been going to metal concerts for many, many, many years at this point that I just don't feel weird even if I'm the only brown person in that gig". To cope with the negative aspects of metal culture, most respondents choose to ignore the ignorant comments, looks, lyrics and imagery. Sadly, most respondents feel or felt stuck in the middle of an identity dilemma, similar to what R1 previously said about having to hide their identity to fit in.

However, some find coping mechanisms that work for them, such as ignoring negative aspects or simply getting used to them. Others try to actively be part of smaller metal communities that are created by and for minorities. R5, for example, explained about the goal of a festival organised by LGBTQ+ metalheads: "to try and compensate and make a safe space for those people that enjoy the music, but just don't like being in that space (most metal spaces) where they might have to be alert the entire time". This is important as R6 repeated multiple times in the interview that they "always feel afraid" at metal concerts because they look like a woman. They also added they have seen men grope

random women at festivals, so they were scared that if they were unlucky then that would also happen to them. This feeling of uneasiness and alertness leads to non-western metalheads having a subdued experience, because if they draw attention to themselves and their identity, it will most likely become negative attention. Interestingly, some like R3, consider themselves lucky to be “white passing”. Because of this, they do not have to necessarily suppress their identity, as it is not visibly different from that of Western metalheads. Instead, they simply avoid drawing attention to it in order to fit in.

Alternatively, like R1, R4 tries to be a good role model, in this case for Indian metalheads, as he plays the bass in another metal band. He said: “This is also when I get on stage right now. I think some people might get surprised that there is an Indian guy playing in a metal band. That is for people here in Netherlands, but for me I'm like, I'm just Indian that does not change”. This is a way to defy the expectations of Westerners, while inspiring and inviting non-Westerners into the scene. Doing so requires self-confidence, which takes time to build, especially in hostile environments. In the case of R1 and R4, who have been in the metal scene for at least fifteen years, it is understandable that they have had time to develop that confidence. However, looking at the other respondents, some like R2, R3 and R6 are still getting used to the culture, while others like R5 try to avoid it altogether or even seek alternatives, such as the K-pop scene. This shows the difficulty for newcomers to feel or become welcome in the scene.

Some respondents, like R2, said the following in regards to Western metalheads assuming his identity also as Western, and then sharing some racist remarks and jokes: “And when they find out that you are of Persian and Iraqi descent, they're like, oh shit, sorry, they kind of feel awkward. They get uncomfortable, but in all fairness, I kind of make them feel uncomfortable back”. Making people uncomfortable this way is a form of reality check, to make them aware that such remarks are unacceptable anywhere. He is reacting to Western people, who are showing signs of ‘main-character syndrome’, so he is claiming his identity while simultaneously taking their main character role away from them. When speaking about the non-verbal taunting that happens at these places, R2 added: “These people want to be in the spotlight. If you just don't give them the spotlight, they can spew out all the hate they want in their own basement to a bunch of 16 year olds on Reddit.”. Which is a very logical way of thinking for coming up with the conclusion of just ignoring it. On the other hand R5 advocates for educating the newer non-western-male audience:

But it's also important to speak up towards the artists about it and to not be this, to also express this to newer people. So they know what bands to look out for. Like this might happen there. Or they're not necessarily very open-minded or they're women unfriendly. To warn new people, newcomers into this scene. I think it's also important to educate, guide people towards the bands that are nice and that are making good music, that are being activist about just basic human rights and not being antagonistic towards minorities and women.

This way experienced non-western metalheads can make newcomers feel more welcome and introduce them to safer spaces, instead of them accidentally being thrown into the deep-end (discriminatory subgenres) and then getting wrong ideas about the metal genre as a whole. Furthermore, welcoming newcomers in this way can create a snowballing effect, making it easier for non-western metalheads to openly enact their identity, as others will also be enacting their identities.

With all the different ways the respondents engage with metal culture and its exclusion, all of them believe that the culture is becoming more inclusive. Furthermore, R1 and R4 (the respondents with the longest period of engagement) said that the culture feels more inclusive than ten years ago. They added that the more POC are exposed to this culture, the more they will engage with it. This continuous cycle leads to a change in this cultural sphere and its composition. R4 added, when talking about the band Bloodywood: “I’m like. 200% sure that people are so inspired that this brown band from India is just killing it at the scene. There must be some kid somewhere is picking up a guitar and saying I’m gonna play metal because Bloodywood is doing world tour and I can see them playing with Iron Maiden and Gojira. Why can’t I do that?”.

Artifact and social media analysis

Looking at the emergence of new metal bands consisting of POC gives hope for the future, as most of them express their identity and experiences through their songs. Since there is so much to choose from, I narrowed it down to a couple of prominent bands. I will thus analyse the lyrics from Spotify focusing only on the interesting parts that add to the experiences of POC in relation to inclusivity. All images are from the official pages of the bands on Instagram.

Jesus Piece

Image 2. Aaron Heard



An example is band Jesus Piece, whose lead singer Aaron Heard is of African American descent. He gave a speech in one of Jesus Piece's live shows in Los Angeles in 2022 (an Instagram reel), where he addressed the mostly POC audience about their existence in the metal scene:

Why we started the band is because there wasn't a fucking representation for people like me and maybe like you, you know in heavy metal music there was like four or five bands, you know. But fuck that. It should be a million bands. Yo this is our space just as much as it's anybody else's. If you've ever felt like you want to make music or you want to be involved in this, you don't need anybody's permission. You do that shit because you want to fucking do it. If anybody tells you anything different, then you know what get the fuck out of the way. You do what you want to do, cuz at the end of the day, that's what its about. It's just carving your own path and doing what you feel is true to yourself and your friends and your community, so fucking do it!

In his speech, he rightfully criticises the lack of representation of POC in metal music, as well as the gatekeeping that occurs when POC try to get involved. But he also implies the possibility of breaking through the barrier as he, his band and other similar bands have done and continue to do. Heard wants to empower POC to occupy public spaces that the system has deemed closed or forbidden for them. He emphasises that the POC public has the power to change metal culture to a truly inclusive culture for artists and fans alike. At the end of the speech the POC in the audience gave a very long and loud ovation, as if saying "finally, someone like us who understands us". Seeing only the video of this gave me goosebumps. It already gave me hope for the future and a sense of finally being able to belong to the culture. I can only imagine being there and seeing it live in person.

Body Count

Image 3. Members of Body Count



Looking back at older POC bands like Body Count shows that this public has been going through similar issues since even 35 years ago. Ice-T, originally acclaimed rapper, founded Body Count with six other African American artists in the 1990s. They were then one of the pioneers of rap metal, where they introduced issues discussed in rap music to metal. These issues were mostly about the experiences of African American people. For instance, they also wrote about their experiences in the metal scene. For example, Ice-T wrote the song ‘there goes the neighbourhood’:

*‘Here come them fuckin' niggas
With their fancy cars.
Who gave them fuckin' niggas
Those rock guitars?
Who let 'em in the club?
Did you make 'em pay?
Who let 'em on the stage?
Whose lettin' 'em play?
Don't they know rock's just for whites
Don't they know the rules?
...
We're here,
We ain't goin' nowhere.
We're movin' right next door to you,
Body Count, muthafucka.
And those of you that don't like it
Can suck, my muthafuckin' dick, ha, ha, ha, ha.’*

Body Count describe the way they were treated while playing at metal venues and clubs; the way that metalheads then would complain about them playing or even owning an electric guitar, as if they are doing something so horrible and breaking the law. Western metalhead were so scared that POC would take everything and steal “their” culture, not even knowing that they also stole metal culture. The response in the lyrics is beautiful: *‘We’re here, we ain’t goin’ nowhere’*. Luckily, Body Count is still making rap metal music to this day. They even won a grammy in 2021 for the song ‘Bum Rush’

With such lyrics Body Count expresses their feeling of being silenced by the system in metal music and other genres. Modern POC bands also express such sentiments, such as Bleed The Pigs with their song ‘White Washed’. In it Kayla Philips, the female African American lead vocalist, sings/screams about her experiences of self-alienation while trying to fit in the metal culture, where she feels she has to tone down her identity to be able to fit in. This suppression could also be noticed in the song ‘They Don’t Like It’ by the band Fire From The Gods. The African American lead vocalist of Jamaican descent, AJ Channer, sings about his past struggle with feeling forced to suppress his Jamaican accent to fit in the scene. Throughout the song he beautifully swaps accents and exclaims: *‘dem nah like it when*

me talk dem way... they don't like it when I talk like that'. Afterwards he says, do not hide your voice, speak, sing and scream loudly: 'Lift every voice and sing'.

Zulu

Image 4. Members of Zulu



Another band that writes songs about what it is to be a POC in the metal scene is Zulu. It consists of four African American young men who are new to the metal scene. Most of the songs tackle different types of issues they face. One song that focuses on the alienation that they experience is 'Where I'm From':

*'I know you see
We can't even be
Who we want to be
Check it
It's been exclusion from the jump
And that's a fact
Ya bumbaclat
Fiya bun fi dat
Yo I can't shake it
You really believe
But in this big white cloud
I can hardly breathe
You wouldn't be here if it wasn't for us*

*And this one thing
One thing
You can trust
We've been here
And we ain't going nowhere'*

The lead vocalist, Anaiah Muhammed, describes how he quickly notices that they are one of the few POC in the scene, where POC are being gatekept from being a part of the culture. He explains that they have been excluded since the rise of metal culture. Being at events shows how alienating and suffocating it feels to stand between all the western metalheads. Muhammed ironically exclaims: 'metal culture would not have existed without non-western cultures'. He concludes with: '*we've been here and we ain't going nowhere*'. This song was released in 2023 and could be a reference to Body Count's song 'there goes the neighbourhood', which was released almost 30 years before it. This shows that the issue is still here, and apparently almost all policies the system has produced in the past 30 years did not help the actual inclusivity issue in metal culture. The policies have only problematised POC even more. This shows a shared imaginary between these POC metal artists, whereby the idea of exclusion for being POC is prevalent in the minds of these people.

Bands outside the west

All of the POC bands named before are from the United States and Europe, but all of them have non-western lineage. There are also so many huge metal bands from non-western countries, such as the band Sepultura from Brazil that was influenced by the band Vulcano, which could be the band that started metal music in Brazil and South America. An amazing Indonesian metal band is called Voice Of Baceprot: the band consists of three young Muslim women wearing headscarves and headbanging to their songs about racism and inclusion. Another band from Indonesia is called Children Of Gaza: the name says enough about where they stand on the Palestinian resistance. Lastly, there is a Mongolian band called The Hu, which consists of eight Mongolian artists. All of these bands incorporate elements from their cultures, such as style, language or even traditional instruments. Most of them are very famous worldwide and tour the world and perform at famous festivals. Their songs also incorporate their own experiences in the western metal scene.

In some interviews they describe the bewilderment they see on people's faces when they start singing in their own language or when they start playing their "weird" traditional instruments. Of course, they also use some English lyrics in their songs and there is a duality to be seen in this. They use the English language to globalise their music, but still use their traditional sounds to show signs of resistance and refusal to the western culture, which was forcefully taking over most artistic cultures in non-western countries in the past 70 years (Brown et al., 2016).

Image 5. Sepultura from Brazil



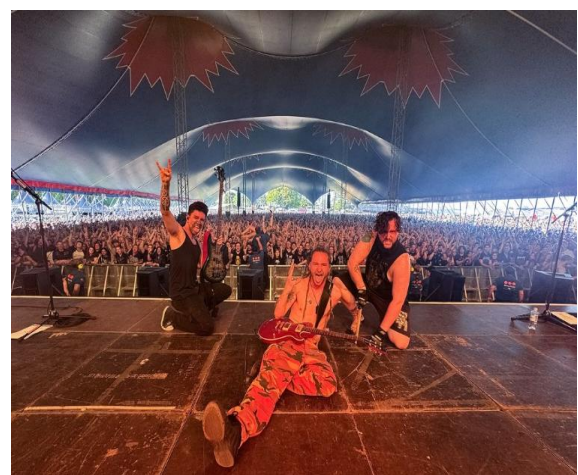
Image 6. Voice Of Baceprot from Indonesia



Image 7. The Hu from Mongolia



Image 8. Alien Weaponry from New Zealand



The bands and songs that were analysed show a different experience from what mainstream metalheads think. As in that most of the artists experience alienation and so to prevent that from happening they would suppress their own identity to have success in the culture or even enjoy it. The question will be how long will they endure until they break. In the words of Aaron Heard from Jesus Piece: *“What will be the straw that breaks the camels (sic, QH) back?”*. Then again *“Why put up with that?”*. Artists like Heard, Mohammed and Ice-T have already walked that path and made it throw the tunnel with all the tribulations they faced. They did it in three different periods in the past 35 years, what could indicate that the issue has not disappeared or even changed that much. The lyrics could also be seen as an adviser for and by POC when dealing with this issue. In an interview with Knotfest on YouTube, Heard said that the reason he wanted to become a metal musician is that he never saw metal artists that looked like him. He wanted to be a part of the change and to be a role model for the younger generations.

Conclusions and discussion

So, *“How do POC metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture and how do they enact their identities within it?”*. What became clear throughout this research is that inclusion does not automatically mean belonging, similarly to what Ahmed (2004) meant by affective belonging. Just because the doors are technically open, does not mean everyone feels welcome to walk through them. Through participant observation, open interviews, and artifact and social media analysis, I got to see, hear, and feel how affective belonging -or the lack of it- plays out for POC in metal culture, and how it still often feels like we are guests in someone else’s house.

Each method exposed something slightly different. Ethnographic participant observation showed how deeply embedded racism still is in certain corners of the scene, like in rock music (Schaap & Berkers, 2020), but especially in the black metal scene. From the KKK imagery being sold without hesitation, to people doing Nazi salutes in unironic unironically, it was hard to ignore how accepted exclusion still is. Even when POC are present, like the woman I spoke to who said she was left alone but not included, it feels more like it is being tolerated rather than embraced. That experience is far from what metal claims to be: a space for outsiders (Nilsson, 2016). Apparently it is, but only to certain outsiders.

Furthermore, the interviews added another layer. Here, POC shared how they had to constantly navigate assumptions, prove themselves, or tone down their identity just to not stick out. A few said they were even grateful to be “white passing”, because it made things easier, which should not be the standard. What stuck with me most was the repetition of similar stories: POC being questioned at shows, assumed to be someone’s plus-one, or having to overcompensate just to be seen as real fans. So, the same culture that prides itself on not caring who you are, clearly does. Lastly, it was not all negative. Similarly to Thibodeau’s (2014) research, a lot of hope came from the artifact and social media analysis. Whether it is the raw, defiant lyrics of Body Count in the 1990s, or the empowering words of Aaron Heard and Zulu today, POC artists are not just entering the scene, they are reshaping it. They are calling out the hypocrisy, rejecting invisibility, and showing younger generations that metal can belong to them too. Hearing Aaron Heard scream “this is our space just as much as it’s anybody else’s” is not just a moment of catharsis, it is a roadmap for resistance.

So what do these three methods tell us when put together? Observation showed the spaces we are excluded from. Interviews revealed how we carry that exclusion in our bodies and minds. And the songs and posts from POC artists gave voice to the pushback, the fight, the refusal to be erased. Together, they paint a clear picture: POC don’t need permission to belong in metal. We have been here. We are still here. And like Zulu said: “we ain’t going nowhere”.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Personal Experience & Identity

- How old are you? What is your gender?
- How did you first get into Metal music, and what drew you to the genre?
- Can you describe a moment when you felt particularly included or excluded in the Metal community?
- How do you personally define your racial or cultural identity, and does it influence your experience in Metal?

Perception of Metal Culture & Race

- How do you think race plays a role in the way people experience Metal music?
- Have you ever encountered assumptions about your identity based on your presence in the Metal scene? If so, how did you respond?
- In what ways do you think Metal culture is inclusive or exclusive toward POC artists and fans?

Representation in Metal

- Do you feel that POC artists are adequately represented in Metal? Why or why not?
- Can you think of a specific Metal band or musician that challenges traditional racial narratives in the genre?
- How do you think the visibility of POC in Metal has changed over time?

Genre & Cultural Boundaries

- Some people argue that Metal is a predominantly "white" genre. What are your thoughts on this perspective?
- How do you think different audiences interpret race within Metal music and culture?
- Have you noticed any differences in how POC are perceived in different subgenres of Metal (e.g., Black Metal vs. Nu Metal)?

Challenges & Future Change

- What are some challenges POC face in Metal, either as fans or musicians?
- Have you ever felt pressure to present yourself in a certain way to fit into Metal culture?
- What do you think could be done to make Metal a more inclusive space for diverse artists and fans?

Emotional experiences of belonging

Spatial and bodily orientations in belonging

Experiences of estrangement and exclusion

Power structures shaping belonging

Appendix 2: Informed consent

Colour in Metal: How do ‘people of colour’ metalheads experience affective belonging within metal culture?

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Erasmus University

This study aims to explore the experiences of people of color (POC) in Metal culture, focusing on issues of identity, inclusion, and exclusion. By conducting interviews, we seek to understand how race is perceived, enacted, and challenged within the Metal music scene.

You will participate in an interview lasting approximately 45 minutes, conducted in person. The interview will be audio-recorded (with your consent) and transcribed for analysis. You may decline to answer any question or stop the interview at any time without any consequences.

Your responses will be kept confidential. Your identity will be anonymized in all research reports and publications. Only the researcher and authorized members of the research team will have access to the interview recordings and transcripts. Data will be securely stored and deleted after 6 months in compliance with ethical guidelines.

There are minimal risks associated with participation, but discussing experiences of race and exclusion may be sensitive or emotional. If at any point you feel uncomfortable, you may pause or withdraw from

the study. There are no direct personal benefits, but your insights will contribute to broader discussions on diversity and inclusivity in Metal culture.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time without providing a reason and without penalty. If you withdraw, your data will be permanently deleted upon request.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you can contact Qays Hussein at 621570qh@student.eur.nl

If you have ethical concerns, you may also contact Erasmus University, faculty of Social Sciences

By signing below, I confirm that:

- I have read and understood the information provided in this consent form.
- I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- I understand that I can withdraw at any time without consequence.
- I consent to the audio recording of my interview (circle one): YES / NO

Participant's Name:

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Researcher's Name:

Researcher's Signature:

Date: