台灣極端金屬研究

Extreme Metal in Taiwan: An Investigation

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摘要

本文試圖釐清台灣極端金屬音樂的發展脈絡與歷史軌跡。藉由田野調查與參與觀查的方式,本研究盡量呈現樂手的生活風貌、音樂實踐與發展上的困難。本文嘗試與本地搖滾論述對話,藉由一個實際上在台灣相對不被論述重視的樂種,作者藉此探討搖滾樂在台灣發展的文化形構,以及極端金屬如何在這樣的條件下面對困境並走出自己的路。因此本文藉由探討裝扮在重金屬的意義、偏差的概念、音樂的挪用與再現以及台灣極端金屬在極端金屬全球化下的地位。由以上若干環節,本文作者試圖勾勒出台灣極端金屬一個大概的樣貌。

關鍵字:黑金屬、文化形構、死亡金屬、重金屬、搖滾樂、表演理論。

Extreme Metal in Taiwan: An Investigation

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to examine in the first place the developmental history of Taiwanese Extreme Metal. By adopting participant observation as his research method, this author explores the trajectory, stories, musical ideas and personal values of Extreme Metal players in Taiwan. The author begins by concluding the temporal origin of Extreme Metal as well as other related issues such as ideology of Rock, resistance and heterogeneity, influence of cultural industry and strategies of everyday life in the first chapter. The second chapter elaborates issues of drag and players' performative strategies, with the discussion of performance in general ranging from staged performance to players' daily life as an alternative kind of social performance, thus leading to a more comprehensive understanding of the magnitude of performance as mentioned by Victor Turner and Richard Schechner. The author goes on to expound the image of deviance imposed on players in the chapter three. By employing the theorists from Howard Becker, Emile Durkheim and Mary Douglas, the author concludes the pressure from educational system and academic inheritance of the study of Rock made the deviance formation possible. The fourth chapter discusses the players' appropriation and representation of music. The author shows that the strategies of marketing and socio-economic background influence the players' fame and future career. In fact, a well-designed plan is crucial for their future development. The author explores the role of technology in chapter five, arguing that not only technology is essential in making the Extreme Metal sound, it also stands at the very center of the Extreme Metal authenticity. In this regard, this author assumes that musical authenticity should be multiple rather than single because different types of music require different presentations in order to attain their aesthetic objectives.

Keywords: Black Metal, Cultural Formation, Death Metal, Heavy Metal, Rock Music, Performance Theories.

Acknowledgment

I have gone through some difficulties throughout this research. There were times that I was obstructed and felt frustrated. This tiny thesis would not be successful were it not for the help from my teachers and friend. I would like to use this chance to thank my advisors Professor Ivy Chang, Yuan-Hung Chu and Chien-Chang Yang for their kind suggestions and invaluable supports. I would also like to thank Anthelion, Chthonic, Disaster, Death, Nuno and other interviewees in the thesis for their time and efforts. I also want to thank my parents for their support. Finally, I would like to thank my other friends and classmates who constantly help and support me. Thank You all guys!

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The origin of questioning

    Extreme Metal (Black Metal and Death Metal) is the most violent music genre developed so far that pushes Heavy Metal to the farthest extreme. Regardless of minor differences, characteristics like bestial shouting, speedy guitar solos and heavy drums make Black/Death Metal the best example of musical violence. Besides music, the images and philosophy of them are also shocking and controversial. For Black Metal, influences from pagan culture and Satanism have caused anti-social crimes like murder and church burning, and thus frighten people. For Death Metal, the violence and gore revealed in the lyrics also incurred incessant attacks on its ill imaginations. However, because Black and Death Metal contain dissident elements not allowed by social establishments, they are loved by specific groups of people, especially teenagers and young adults. In Taiwan, due to different cultural contexts, the development of the genre is staggering and unpromising. People's distaste for Heavy Metal in the market makes the development of Black/Death metal much slower and more difficult. Generally speaking, the gradual success of Extreme Metal bands in Taiwan is decided upon three major factors. Firstly, it is the hard work of some pioneers who struggle to spread information and introduce music, and therefore Extreme Metal was able to develop despite the great socio-political changes. Secondly, it is the change of the socio-political environment that creates a fertile ground for this alternative subculture. It is the change in political ideology, cultural-historical imagination and the entire condition of music market that makes development possible. Finally, it is the operational strategy, the careful articulation to local and global scene that enables some Extreme Metal bands succeed. With an interest in the development of Black and Death Metal in Taiwan, and the kind of life style lead by those members, this study attempts to offer a preliminary investigation.

1.2 Literature Review

    Heavy Metal is an important Rock genre that attracts scholars' attention. Sociologists and musicologists provide much insight into this interesting subculture. For sociologists, the music and the fans of Heavy Metal direct their inquiry toward the social meaning of music, and the behavior of these people[1]. In the beginning, socio-musicologist Theodore Adorno has discussed the social foundation of music. He thinks that although music is a spiritual and individualistic product it is in fact influenced by the social and historical conditions of each artist. However, owing to

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1. The ideas of these scholars and theorists will be further discussed in the latter part in literature review and relevant issues concerning this type of music.

Adorno's personal taste, he fails to see the values of other musical genres. He fails to recognize his own limit that his priority over classical music is itself a very bourgeois and economically privileged choice. For example, Jazz music, as well as other non-classical music would be undervalued by Adorno's standards. In the late 1970s, Simon Frith had inaugurated a groundbreaking research on popular music. He tried to study the social components of music like age groups, gender, class, musical influence, space of performance and the study of market. Frith succeeds in outlining a clear picture of the entire subcultural genre- how it is formed, how it attracts people, the economical and other requirements that may prevent people form joining musical activities, and makes subcultural music target of academic research. Frith places more emphasis on the sociological aspect than the musical side. His theory fails to explore the musical elements- composition, styles, reception and feelings of music. Therefore, his theory is a bit insufficient in elaborating the profundity of music, especially for musical genres marked for musical richness and sophistication, like Rock and Heavy Metal.

In the mid 80s, Deena Weinstein's *"Heavy Metal: the music and subculture"* successfully combines the social analysis of the subculture and appreciation of the music. She describes the history of Heavy Metal in the first four chapters and then turns to musical analysis in the last three. She connects the aesthetic origins of Heavy Metal with contemporary American history and then assumes that such aesthetic elements are an unavoidable development in the American culture. Deena Weinstein's research is detailed and unique. She combines the insiders' perspective with clear yet insightful observations. She defines Heavy Metal as thematically romantic and musically chaotic, and thus it relates to the minds of the American youth that needs identification in the age of over-industrialization. She speaks for the Heavy Metal whereas her enthusiasm also incurs critic from some aspects in the American society. However, her work is still pivotal in initiating a cultural investigation of the genre. As she explores the depth with academic deliberation, she becomes one of the most important scholars in the study of Heavy Metal in the U.S.

Similarly, Robert Walser's *"Running with the Devil: power, gender, and madness in heavy metal music"* offers other points of analysis. To complement Weinstein's rather historical and introductory discourse, Walser provides more theoretical arguments in issues like male-dominance, visual performance and cross-dressing, moral and social controversies as well as philosophical significance the music may have. Walser interrogates such issues with sociological and musicological theories, and sees the underlying veins behind the fury, providing a very instructive exploration for both fans and scholars. Following Weinstein and Walser, researchers of Extreme Metal employ a similar reasoning, in epistemologies yet differing in methodologies in

exploring the controversial issues of the genre. On the discussion of Death Metal, Harris Berger takes Weinstein's method a step further with a deeper perspective. He interviews and lives with an Ohio Death Metal band Akron as to indigenize the theoretical analysis. In his words, he uses situational phenomenology to claim that listeners' agency lies in the freedom in choosing to what he wants to listen. Therefore, our choice of listening and our intention of focus, with pretension and retention in our perception in fact differ and are the basis of our agency. This is shown in the music we choose to listen to.

Natalie Purcell, in her *"Death Metal Music: the Passion and Politics of the Subculture"* presents a complete picture of American Death Metal. She offers a detailed analysis on many aspects concerning the genre such as opinions from fans, reactions of the players to the public and the moral crusade targeting on American Death Metal band "Cannibal Corpse" by the U.S. Senators. This book is basically the collection of her extensive fieldwork, in which she combines both qualitative and quantitative methods in the design of her questionnaire and problematic. On the issue of globalization and dissemination of the music, Keith Kahn-Harris renders a very important line of reasoning in how Extreme Metal is conceived into myriad local contexts. While the above-mentioned theorist basically focus on the U.S-based phenomena, Harris focuses more on the dissemination of the genre, as well as how the music is articulated with other meanings by musicians from different locales. Then, Harris provides a very important exploration into the issue of musical appropriation and representation, which in return amplifies the research scope of Extreme Metal.

On the other hand, study of ethnomusicology provides useful methods and arguments on intercultural musical studies. According to Bruno Nettle (1983), the method of doing ethnomusicology mainly falls on the two areas of study-anthropology and musicology. According to him, the credo of ethnomusicology is:

1) we endeavor to study total musical system an, in order to comprehend them, follow a comparative approach, believing that comparative study, properly carried out, provides important insights. Our areas of concentration is music that is accepted by an entire society as its own, and we reserve a lesser role for the personal, the idiosyncratic, the exceptional, in this way differing from the historian of music. We are most interested what is typical in culture. 2) We believe that music must be understood as apart of culture, a product of human society, and while many pieces of research do not directly address the problem, we insist on this belief as an essential ingredient of our approach. We are interested in the way in which a culture musically defines itself, but

also in the way it changes its music, and thus we also stress the understanding of musical change, less in terms of the events than in the process. (9)

As Nettle mentions, the credo of ethno musicology is at first to comprehend how music is accepted by the entire society, and how society and culture influence the change of musical style. Moreover, the task of ethnomusicology is to evaluate the ways in which societies conceive musical creation and to derive an analytical system academically (Nettle 1983: 27). Alan Merriam (1964) also stresses that ethnomusicology is to be defined as the study of music in culture which implies that ethnomusicology is composed of both an anthropological investigation combined with musical analysis. Since it is human who creates music, the research of musical sounds should cover the study of socio-cultural comprehension. He contends that:

> To these various definitions I have elsewhere added my own, stating that for me ethno musicology is to be defined as "the study of music in culture" (Merriam 1960), but it is important that this definition be thoroughly explained if it is to be properly understood. Implicit in it is the assumption that ethnomusicology is made up both of the musicological and the ethnological, and the music sound is the result of human behavioral processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture. Music sound cannot be produced except by people for other people, and although we can separate the two aspects conceptually, one is not really complete without the other. Human behavior produces music, but the process is one of continuity; the behavior itself s shaped to produce music, and thus the study of one flows into the other. (6)

This author also employs the method of ethnomusicology in order to expand the scope of observation in his study. His intention is to complement the epistemological lack of local popular music discourses focusing disproportionately on social theories rather than on actual observation. The author believes that it is important to offer the first-hand description. He also thinks that theorization based on field study would provide unique yet insightful argumentation compared with mere explanation of theoretical texts. In the latter part of this paper, this author continues to resort to his field observation in order to converse with theories on the greater scale.

1.2-1 Definition of the music

Death Metal is one style of the Extreme Metal genre. It is usually played at extreme fast tempo, usually exceeding 200 beats per measure. The sound of guitar is

tuned down much lower; and because drummers usually use double pedals, it would sound like canons firing. The vocal, sounding more like a beast growling instead of a man singing, is the result of purposeful guttural sounds. Generally, it's difficult to understand the lyrics in Death Metal clearly even we resort to the lyric book. The combination of these instruments would be too noisy and indigestible to common people. However, for other Rock fans, Extreme Metal is equally awfully unacceptable. Nevertheless, Death Metal is not mere noise. It is not just an action for destruction. Death Metal claims a higher level of musical skill and virtuosity than other Rock genres. Good Death Metal pieces require complicated composition and excellent skills. To reach excellence, players have to spend more energy in practicing compared to any other Rock genres.

1.2-2 Historical Background

The prototype of Extreme Metal emerged even before 1990. In 1981, British Heavy Metal band "Venom" released their album" Welcome to Hell", which already had the rudiments of Black Metal today. From 1985, in band "Death" and "Possessed" in Florida, the contemporary Death Metal elements like bestial growling, distorted guitar riffs and intrusive percussion had gradually appeared. Since then, a new Heavy Metal genre had formally emerged. Besides the watering from bands of New Wave of British Heavy Metal like Iron Maiden and Venom, another important influence to Death Metal is an American Thrash Metal band named "Slayer". The 1983 "Show no mercy" and 1985 "Reign in Blood" from Slayer exert vast influence on the subsequent development of American Death Metal. In fact, precursors Death Metal music like "Death" and "Possessed" sound more like the combination of today's Death Metal and Thrash Metal. The maturation of Death Metal came in at the late 80's, when it was combined with hardcore Punk and gave birth to their progeny. called Grindcore. The most mature Death Metal emerged from 1990, when Florida Death Metal act "Deicide" unleashed their album "Deicide" with full throttle. The angry, repulsive and cynical voice of Deicide's vocalist Glen Benton opened a new page for Heavy Metal. Meanwhile, the main Grindcore bands in U.K also turned to Death Metal; this change could be seen in Napalm Death's 1989 "Mentally Murdered" and Carcass's "Symphonies of Sickness" album. Then, it influenced Swedish Black Metal band Entombed in their album "Left hand Path". Entombed then became one of the most renowned Swedish Black Metal band in the world. Sweden also turned into world's Black Metal powerhouse since then.

From late 80's to mid 90's, Florida had become the center of American Death Metal. Following Death, Morbid Angel, Cannibal Corpse, more Death Metal bands appeared during this period. Besides, the advancement of recording technology led to

a better sound quality of forthcoming Death Metal albums that the guttural human voices and punching bass drums were better combined than the previous albums. It also helped present a much more complicated composition and musical structure. In fact, when it was hay day for Death Metal in America, there were always some bands in every state that were worth mentioning. By this time, Thrash Metal has been dethroned and Death Metal was the new king. Death Metal had become more and more popular and assimilated into the mainstream market. There were even death metal albums entering Billboard top 100, which was the best footnote for this phenomenon. As Death Metal reached its zenith, some bands had become milder and much more milder and catchier. Deicide's "Once Upon the Cross, Incantation's "Mortal Throne of Nazarene", Death's "Individual Thought Pattern" was not that violent. Although Death's" Individual Thought Pattern" was musically technical, it's still soft for Death Metal. In fact, as Cannibal Corpse shortly appeared in Jim Carey's movie "Ace Ventura" and Morbid Angel showed up in MTV's "Headbanger's Ball" program for promotion purposes, the assimilation of Death Metal by the mainstream became increasingly serious.

1.2-3 Development of Black Metal

Early Black Metal started from a small circle in Norway. This circle included some of the early important Black Metal bands including Mayhem and Burzum. Early Black Metal contained anti-Christian lyrics, blasphemous themes and resorted to native Norwegian culture. At this time, Arseth of Mayhem was notorious because of his anti-social deeds. There were some church burning accidents in Norway; Arseth confessed to the crimes and became police's attention. Meanwhile, the members of the Black Circle also threatened some Death Metal bands touring in Norway because they thought these bands were not evil enough. What drew the national attention was a suicidal incident as one day the vocalist Dead of Mayhem shot himself with a gun in his house. Arseth, who was also a Mayhem member, took the picture of it with a Polaroid instead of calling the police. Arseth even collected the broken skulls of Dead and other members, using them as necklace. What was more shocking was that Varg murdered Arseth presumably over verbal disputes in 1993. Arseth was found with 23 knife wounds in his back. Varg defended himself by saying that his actions were out of self defense, because Arseth tried to kill him. Varg also proclaimed that there were financial problems with the first two Burzum album released by Deathlike Silence records owned by Arseth, that led to this incident. Varg was sentenced for 21 years in prison and left the Black Metal Circle. Even in prison, Varg was still able to write songs and release new albums. Varg was going to be released in 2007, and he claimed that his new creation will be back to the early Burzum style.

The late 90s's Black Metal was not so brutal and had better recording quality. There was another Black Metal tide rising in Eastern Europe and to everyone's surprise, the Eastern European Black Metal was full of originality due to the long political suppression. The Eastern European Black Metal was not similar with its Norwegian counterpart, yet it was closer to the early Black Metal style.[2]

1.2-4 Themes and concepts of Black Metal

In Black Metal, themes such as the praise for darkness and Satan worship were an end in them. It was a special way of expression, as metaphors and symbols are in literature and poems. Metaphors of darkness and hidden premonitions of the unknown future were the two most common subjects in Black Metal. Heavy Metal was in fact deeply influenced by Romantic philosophy and poets like Byron, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Thoreau. Dark side of humanity, the possible existence of the other world, disillusionment of reason and conviction of morality were common themes in Heavy Metal. In fact, these themes arose from some important questions of humanity like life and death, dreams and reality, heaven and hell, hope and despair. On the surface, we see evil and ugliness in Heavy Metal, yet behind these dark clouds, there are silver linings of deep philosophical inquiries and hope. For example, bands like Black Sabbath in the early Heavy Metal history, revealed deep philosophical concerns. In spite of Ozzy Osbourne's shocking behaviors like biting a bat's head and their profane album covers, these progenitors of Heavy Metal had planted seeds of artistic and philosophical concerns for others to explore. Their successor, Black Metal, harbored the fruits of its ancestor and cultivated them into a bolder and fuller harvest.

a. Scandinavian folklore

It was from the folklores of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. The folklores of Finland had also been much influenced by Scandinavian folklore, yet they retain their distinctive cultural features. Scandinavian folklore also shares similarities with English and German folklores. Belief in the old gods is most distinct in Scandinavian folklore. The most famous god is Odin, who is said to have led the Wild Hunt with Thor (*Tor*) chasing trolls with his thunder. Some Norse mythologies continue to live on today and are affected by Christianity. The stories are about the lives and doings of these beings, and their interaction with humans, which constitute the major part of Scandinavian folklore. In today's Black Metal, it is still frequently seen that stories about these gods are written into songs.

b. Norse or Scandinavian mythology

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[2] The information reference is from Natalie Purcell's "Death Metal Music: the passion and politics of the subculture", p23-46.

It is the pre-Christian religion and legends of the Scandinavian people which include older Germanic paganism and Anglo-Saxon mythology. It is a collection of stories about Northern Germanic tribes that have secret religion with no written scripture. Passed down orally in the form of poetry, these beliefs remain in folklore forms in rural areas to this day. Because of the mystic nature, it provides materials for literary works and movies.

c. The Viking Culture

The Vikings existed between 793 and 1066 AD in Scandinavia and Britain. In this period, the Vikings raided most parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and North America. Viking society was based on agriculture and trade. They also emphasized honor both in combat and in the justice system. The long boats used by the Scandinavians were unique. Other Norse peoples, especially those from Sweden, continued the exploration southward from Russian rivers to the Black Sea and on to Constantinople. Because of the valor and the successful revolt against Christianity of the Vikings, modern Black Metal bands have utilized much of the Viking legend as their source of inspiration (like Amon Amarth).

d. The Church of Satan and Satanism

The Church of Satan drew its name from the Christian-Islamic concept of Satan, and claims that every individual can be his or her own god and is responsible for his or her own destiny. It was established in San Francisco on Walpurgisnacht in 1966 by Anton Szandor LaVey, who had also been the Church's High Priest before he died in 1997. After the death of Anton Szandor LaVey, his position passed on to his wife, Blanche Barton. To this day, Barton remains involved in the Church. However, in 2001, she gave her position to members Peter H. Gilmore (the vocalist of an American Black Metal band Acheron) and Peggy Nadramia, the current High Priest and Priestess, who went on to publish *The Black Flame*, the official magazine of The Church of Satan. Many celebrities have been associated with the Church of Satan, including Jayne Mansfield , King Diamond (vocalist of a famous Black Metal band, Mercyful Fate), Marilyn Manson (pop singer), Boyd Rice, vocalist Matt Skiba, professional wrestler Balls Mahoney, and journalist Michael Moynihan (author of the book "Lord of Chaos").

e. Other forms of Extreme Metal
Doom Metal:

It is a slow and painful, often gothic in its music form. Its rhythm is slightly slower than Heavy Metal, yet it stresses the mournful, sad feelings in music by using guttural vocal sound and keyboard's string effects. Usually, power and speed are not the most important elements in Doom Metal, the fabrication of the heavy and gloomy

atmosphere is the sole and most crucial task.

Power Metal:

It is a Heavy Metal genre that crosses Speed Metal and Punk. The rhythm of Power Metal is usually fast, and its music strong, heavy with fast guitar solos. Compared with Speed Metal, Power Metal emphasizes the bass sounds and guitar solos. It incorporates punk's simple rhythmic structure with Metal's speed and power. The themes in Power Metal are usually positive and optimistic philosophies on life.

Speed Metal:

Speed Metal developed in the late 70s. It is a type of Heavy Metal with more melody and guitar solos. It appeared in the time when Punk gradually died out and lost its influence. Speed metal inherits guitar solo and various drum fill-ins from traditional Heavy Metal and evolved a longer, more complicated musical structure. Pioneering bands like Iron Maiden has brought melody and narrative tempos to Heavy Metal; Motorhead has brought proto-punk progressive elements and connects its music with the biker culture and narrative of nihilism in modern society.

Grindcore:

Grindcore is the subsequent development of Death Metal. It arose from hardcore Punk and Thrash metal. It sought a more extreme and provocative feeling of souls tortured in pain and despair. Like Death Metal, Grindcore utilizes fast tempo, barchords colliding at high speed, dissynchronized and downtuned guitars and guttural howls of vocals to cause feelings of chaos, confusion and indifference. Yet there is more rhythmic repetition in Grindcore, and it repeats the heavy chorus more frequently than Death Metal. Famous Grindcore bands includes Napalm Death and Carcass from England. When the genre was founded, it soon attracted both Punk players and Metalheads. Even today, with Death Metal gradually dying out, Grindcore retains its vitality and is still played by many today.

f. National Socialist Black Metal

In the beginning, Nazi-Skinheads were a right wing subculture that developed in England in the early 80s'. They were usually racist, conservative, and anti-semic. They emerged at a time when the U.K was experiencing the second wave of Punk. The second wave punk movement antagonized against the commercialization of the first wave. Punk's political position is in fact ambivalent. The first wave Punk was exploited by the mainstream media and the commercial market. The left-wing groups created the image of Punk as social activists. However, the revival of the second wave was utilized by the right wing. The merge between Black Metal and skinheads was a

coincidence. The anti-authoritative claims in black metal were used by skinheads as a pure source of energy and revival- the revival of pure violence toward Semitic enemies. The vocalist of the founding Black Metal band "Burzum", believed in Nazi creeds himself. His burning churches and killing were therefore a manifest of such beliefs. It is noticeble that Black Metal also helped the spread of New-Nazism in a more secure way.

1.2-5 Musical and Performative Characteristics

Music

Blast Beats- Blast beats are torrents of alternating snare and bass which increase the speed of death metal. Drummers play blast beats as bass-snare-bass-snare procession really fast, while hitting a hi-hat or a ride on the bass drum. Double bass is used very frequently in order to create extreme power and shock. Usually the double bass part is supposed to be twice or more as fast than the snare beating. It takes lots of practice to keep perfect timing and control over the snare and the double bass drum.

Fast Strum: It is a technique involving whipping the pick lightly across the bottom three strings of the guitar for power chord to make a "scream" and distorted effect. It was first used by Slayer and then perfected by Morbid Angel and others. Now this style is so advanced that it can be used to encode polyrhythmic data within a dominant rhythm, and is often used for foreshadowing by metal guitarists.

Double Bass- Double bass appeared very early in the late 70s, however, it was the rise of death metal that made drummers excel in the skill. It means playing two drum pedals at the same time regardless of whether there being two bass drums or not. With the aid of both feet, the bass drum could be played at a very fast speed and could deliver a very powerful and even deafening sound. In the beginning, there were just few drummers that could show this skill in the recording like Paul Mazurkewicz of Cannibal Corpse and the drummer of Deicide.[3] Yet as time moved on, the extreme fast double bass playing became almost indispensable for every Death Metal drummer in the circle.

1.2-6 Stage Performance elements

Corpse paint

Corpse Paint is a style of black-and-white makeup used by Black Metal bands during live concerts along with photos portraying an imagery of evilness and

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[3] The information is from the website allmusic com. Please see
http://wm03.allmusic.com/cg/amg.dll?p=amg&sql=77:11957.

decadence. In the beginning, it was used to imitate the dead corpse when living people went on trips into the underworld. Although sometimes mistaken for the glam metal makeup, the use of corpse paint is in fact meant to make one look as terrifying as possible. Celtic Frost was the first Black Metal group to use such kind of make up. There are also earlier precedents like The Misfits and King Diamond of Merciful Fate who used similar makeup in the early 80's. Today corpse paint has almost become a privileged mark of Black Metal fans to show their uniqueness, originality and freedom.

Armors and Weapons

Armors and weapons are used by Black Metal artists in the concerts for a sense of power, strength and violence. The use of assorted weapons may be the biggest difference between Heavy Metal and other Rock genres. From the very beginning, Ozzy Osbourne of Black Sabbath had used knives and chains to show the male prowess. Then, many metal bands utilized swords, axes, chains, spears and other weapons to show their power and invincibility. The weapons in Black Metal are usually bigger and heavier to show that they are the most powerful among other people. It is said that sometimes these weapons would have fans injured, yet it happens only accidentally. Usually, fans would be more excited with the aid of these weapons.
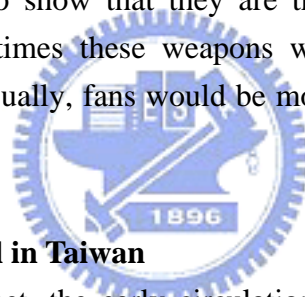
1.3 A History of Black Metal in Taiwan

Before the rise of Internet, the early circulation of Black Metal music started from some record stores in Taipei. Metal fans gather in stores like "Crossroads", "Han-Chiang" and "Rock Plaza" to collect CDs and meet friends. The first meaningful event during this period was the founding of the Skeleton Town- the first BBS discussion board for Metal fans to chat and exchange information instantly. The reason why the founding of this board was important is that it was the only computer-based information source. It transcends the time-space barrier to form a virtual metal alliance. The board masters like Freddy Lin and Death, have been helping promote the Metal development and performance to this day. We can set July 1994 as the official beginning of Taiwanese Black Metal music.

After the founding of the Skeleton Town, several Black Metal bands had appeared. Forbidden Ground and Intuition appeared before Chthonic- the most successful Black Metal band today. They mainly performed at Metal pubs in Taipei. However, they did not gain success because even Rock and Metals did not support them. The drought continued from 1996 to 1998. Bands like Forbidden Ground, Intuition, "Du-Ing-Sha"「獨陰煞」 and Chthonic confronted bottlenecks like losing audience and creativity, tire of performance and worries about the future. Also, the

failure of Metal artists also cast shadow on their minds. However, Freddy Lin of Chthonic still seized the opportunity to promote live performance in this period. In 1998, the first Metal festival "Metal Immortal" held in Vibe was an enormous success. Later on, "Metal Immortal" became one of the important annual metal concerts. Beside, with the rise of the Internet, people had the chance to know more about the Black Metal music. In 1999, on one discussion board in Taiwan Culture Station, Black Metal fans engaged in a serious debate with Christians. Although most of the language used was quite vulgar, the meaning of this incident was that through Internet and fans' efforts, black metal gradually became known to the people outside the small circle. As there was a burst of Black Metal from the end of 1998 to 2001, nearly 10 Black and Death Metal bands existed on the scene: Catacomb, Apocalypse, The Curse, Manum, Black Messiah, Chthonic, Anthelion, Disaster, Sky Burial, The Seventh Symphony and Hercules. As mentioned before, some people were influenced by the information on the Internet, some were just influenced by Freddy Lin of Chthonic. Chthonic released their first album in 1999. This was the first album solely made for metal in the Taiwanese Rock history. This album brought Chthonic a big success. Their albums in Tower Records in Taipei were completely sold out and their performances were crowded with people.

Freddy also organized several activities including Metal Immortal, Spring Scream Stage Rock at the same time. He is one of the most important music organizers in the Rock and Heavy Metal circle. The later development of Taiwanese Black Metal was highly influenced by the "external" factors. First of all, it was the rise of the Internet that helped Black Metal fans meet and gather information. Also, the invention of MP3 helped listeners choose what they like due to the convenience of the format. Third, it was the social changes that helped subculture like Black Metal develop. Besides personal efforts, we may also give credit to the indigenization movement, the appropriation of youth by DPP, the incorporation of Western and Japanese cultures into the popular music market and the merging of the local record companies with international labels. Although Black and Death metal is just a minor musical genre, its history still shows that the influence of society is indispensable to the development of Rock.

1.3-1 Censorship and confrontations

In the beginning, when Heavy Metal was first introduced into in the late 1970s, it had refreshed and pushed the idea of rebellion and originality of Rock a step further, and attracted many young people into listening to Rock music. The reason why Heavy Metal attracts young people is still based on the relation between Rock and youth. There are several reasons determining the rise of Rock. Firstly, it is about the baby

boomer phenomenon in the post-war western society. In the U.S, in the mid 1950s, when these babies grew into teenagers, they were nurtured and financially supported by their parents. Therefore, their financial capabilities gradually made them influential consumers in the popular music market. Secondly, because these teenagers wanted to be identified and struggled to position themselves in the society, they are attracted by the rural and anti-elitist elements involved in Rock (Grossberg 1992). Rock offers youngsters a place to release their boredom and anxiety toward adulthood. Although Rock was influenced by folk culture, it was still born out of popular music, which means that there is an ambivalent quality in Rock- it claims folk values like authenticity and originality in the commercial popular music market. These qualities make Rock especially attractive to young people because Rock gives them a space of transitions to channel drudgery in daily life. Rock helped them release anger, escaping from the alienation of daily life and surveillance from parents. Rock helped the postwar youth reconstruct their effective identification, and the involvement of youth in Rock also contributed to the change of styles in Rock. As Grossberg said, the mutual articulation between youth and Rock makes Rock "a culture of transitions into a transition of cultures" (179). Rock has continued to go through various changes of stratification and stylization. Heavy Metal is this "product" of change. When Heavy Metal emerged in the late 70s, Rock music had already become a major music genre. Heavy Metal, like Rock, was much concerned with social issues and problems, which made up the basis for popularity among young people. Moreover, the rebellious and indulgent attitudes highlighted by this type of music incurred attention and confrontation from other groups of people in society. The relation of Heavy Metal and youth is one of the most important issues in this study.

1.3-2 Politics and commercialization

As mentioned earlier, there was an ironic side about Rock. On one hand, its development depended on the mass consumption of CDs and tapes to maintain the market. On the other hand, it was also the purchase activity that created the sense of freedom, rebellion and independence. As Keir Keightley (1996) put it, Rock has to make distinction in popular culture rather than make distinction between popular culture and elite culture. According to Keightley, the term "Rock" consists of historical context, audience, critical discourse and people's practices in the industry. These elements formulate our understanding and perception of Rock music. Because of its various components, there is no final definition to Rock. We may have some general ideas, but what can be defined as rock may vary with time and points of view (Keightley 159). Two issues are worth further attention. At first, since there are always musicians insisting on values like authenticity and originality in Rock, the

transition between different definitions is itself a political struggle. It is not just struggles over definition, but also a struggle among different ideas and generations. Youngsters in the 60s who became adults in the 70s also faced attacks on their beliefs. Generation by generation, Rock continues to renew its form and revamp its content according to the situation of the youth and the social definition it confronts. This struggle is more violent in the case of Heavy Metal. The violence, destruction, despair and disillusion in Heavy Metal reflect the problems that young people face in the society. Violence and despair are not the problems in them but the symbolic representation of inner feelings. As Keith Harrell indicates, living in the post industrial society, youngsters are confronted with more risks and uncertainty and thus become numbed and indifferent to life. The meaning of listening to Death Metal is to empower themselves. By putting audience on a conflicting moral ground- an "us" versus "them" situation, Death Metal enables fans to reverse the balance of power and thus helping them justify their conditions (Harrell 1994).

On the other hand, the image of rebellion and non-conformity is itself marketable. The example of Elvis Presley is an obvious one in early history. Not only do youngsters need to look for the next idol, the capitalists also need such kinds of people to profit from. "Is Rock for real or for sale?" becomes another political battleground. In summary, the issues discussed in the study include: the development and history of Black and Death Metal in Taiwan, its relation with youth and society and debates regarding underground versus mainstream music. It is endeavoured that this study will help create a clear contour. The beginning chapter is about history and the people I have interviewed. The subsequent chapters comprise of questions engendered during the research, and some proposed answers to which this study will hopefully also give a glimpse of.

1.3-3 Repression and heterogeneity in culture

On repression, the theory of psychoanalysis offers a repertoire of analysis and insights. In the first place, what have been repressed does not escape, but are "stored" in the sub-consciousness. Through dreams, jokes, forgetfulness, humor, misplacement of words the previously repressed materials are possible to break the censorship of conscious mind and are able to be revealed. Besides, there are other ways in which the repressed materials cast influence on psychology and daily life, presented as symptoms and anxiety. There is a complex mechanism of repression, symptoms, anxiety and other manifestations in everyday life. Sigmund Freud had argued that we are threatened with suffering from three roots: from our own body, which is doomed to deterioration and dissolution and for which pain and anxiety are indispensable warning signals; from the external world, which may rage against us with

overwhelming and merciless force of destruction; and finally, from our relations to other men (Freud 1927). The symptom of pain will appear whenever the part of the body concerned is touched from outside, even when the pathogenic situation is associatively activated form within (112). In our mental life, nothing which has once been formed can perish- everything is somehow preserved and in suitable circumstances (when, for instance, repression goes back far enough), it can once more be brought to light (69).

In culture, dominant values would repress the minor ones. Such repression could be both visible and invisible. From the point of view of repression, mentality and value systems are more important for research topics. While the study of everyday life follows tactics and strategies of Michel de Certeau, another method that is rather neglected is the psychology of people. As Freud says, psychoanalysis plays a very important part in the understanding of everyday life. It is with this motivation that the field research is preferred, because most of the theses about popular music focus on theoretical construction and literature research, while in a way the reality of the members are misinterpreted and "repressed" by abstract theoretical terms. As a rule, in the cultural field of study as well as in society, social homogeneity could be precariously at the mercy of violence (Bataille 1933, 1979). The homogeneity forms spontaneously in the play of productive organizations, yet is constantly protected from various unruly elements that do not benefit from production, or not enough to suit them, or simply, cannot tolerate the checks that homogeneity imposes on the unrest. In such conditions, as Bataille argues, the protection of homogeneity lies in the recourse to imperative elements which are capable of obliterating the various unruly forces or bringing them under the control of order (124).

However, at the moment people of the homogenous order rejoin the heterogeneous formations that already exist in either a diffused or an organized state, they then acquire from the latter a new character- the general positive character of heterogeneity. What is more, the social heterogeneity does not exist in a formless and disoriented state but on the contrary, in a split-off structure; when "social elements pass over to the heterogeneous side, their action still finds itself conditioned by the actual structure of that side" (125). Hence, the study of homogeneity and the condition of its existence thus necessarily leads to the survey of how heterogeneity is simultaneously constructed as Bataille proposes. Such a study constitutes the first phase in the sense that the primary determination of heterogeneity defined as non-homogenous supposes a knowledge the homogeneity that delineates it by exclusion (125). Inspired by Breuer, Freud (1927) regards the pathological symptoms the manifestations of patients' mental life that is also the key of relief. Freud described the relation between dreams and symptoms as follows:

If they force themselves upon our notice at ant point, we discover by analyzing the symptom which has been produced that these normal thoughts have been submitted to abnormal treatment: *they have been transformed into the symptom by means of condensation and the formation of compromises, by way of superficial associations and in disregard of contradictions, and also, it may be, along with the path of regression.* In view of the complete identity between the characteristics features of the dream-work and those of psychical activity which issues in psychoneurotic symptoms, we feel justified in carrying over to dreams the conclusions we have been led to hysteria. We according borrow the following thesis from the theory of hysteria: *a normal train of thought is only submitted to abnormal psychical treatment of the sort we have been describing if an unconscious wish, derived from infancy and in a state of repression, has been transferred on to it.* In accordance with this thesis we have constructed our theory of dreams on the assumption that the dream-wish which provides the motive power invariably originates from unconscious- an assumption which, as I myself readily admit, cannot be proved to hold in general, though neither can it be refuted. But in order to explain what is meant by 'repression', a term with which we have already made play so many times, it is necessary to proceed a stage further with our psychological scaffolding. (598)

The unconscious is the larger sphere. Which includes within it the small sphere of the conscious. Everything conscious has an unconscious preliminary stage; whereas what is unconscious may remain at that stage and nevertheless claim to be regarded as having the full value of psychical process. The unconscious is the true psychical reality; *in its innermost nature it is as much unknown to us as the reality of the external world, and it is as incompletely presented by the data of consciousness as is the external world by the communications of our sense organs.* (613)

The study of Extreme Metal is an attempt of "symptom analysis" on the homogeneity formation of the popular music in Taiwan. The exclusion of Heavy Metal fits best to the inquiry of repression and homogeneity that people may question the underlying principles of the local popular music circle, since any type of cultural formation utilizes certain discursive practices while excluding others at the same time. In Taiwan, the study of Rock and popular music centers mainly on the following aspects- first, popular music products being a form of commodity that marketing strategies, distribution, promotion and advertisement schemes, are the focal points of such

researches. For example, Chen Shu-Yi's master thesis "The Taiwanese popular music and mass culture" (1992) discusses the trinity of artists, marketing and distribution of the popular music industry. She discusses how powerful such system is in promoting the artists as well as the record sales. Chou Chi-Fen's "Deciphering the idol worship"(1994) analyzes the commercial operation, consumer psychology and the particular comforts idol worship may bring the teenagers. He concludes that popular music industry is a mixed blessing that may contribute to the empowerment of teenagers as it may worsen their reliance on commodity consumption simultaneously.

Valence Lee, focuses in particular on the mode of production and distribution of the independent music record companies, centering on how the diverse and fragmented distribution networks of underground music works to spread information and distribute materials; and how some people in the circle, by their invaluable effort in making connections contributing to the development of certain music genre. Nien Li-Wen's thesis discusses the production mode of Chthonic and Jiao-Gong (who work together in Hakanese), how they cooperate and compromise with the commercial institution, and how they succeed by systematically developing their own distribution access and promotional strategies.

The other dimension regards popular music as a cultural form that carries certain meaning, thought and ideology in particular period under the socio-political influence. This aspect claims that popular music is a part of the cultural formation in which socio-political values struggle for authenticity and legitimacy. This view is consistent with Antonio Gramsci in the hegemonic construction and struggle, and Louis Althusser's ideological apparatus, that the cultural field is the potential site for hegemonic action and ideological dominance. However; since there is certain autonomy and changes of resistance in Gramsci and Althusser's theoretical construction, the dominance in popular music and cultural field is not thorough. Hence, this aspect of study not only explores the construction of political and economic forces, but tends to reveal the agency of the audience, players and listeners. Chang Chao-Wei's "Who is singing there-The History of the Taiwanese Folk Song movement" (1994) is the most representative one of this type of research. In the study, he carefully analyzes the rise and fall of the Folk song movement with the shift of political ideology and social change. The defect of this aspect of research is that it lacks serious discussion of musical aesthetics, of how melody, rhythm or progression could also be part of the struggle. Aiming specifically at the idea of resistance and agency, this type of research highlights genres like Punk by glorifying the resistance, DIY spirit and defending for the youth rebellion. Their blindness has certain autocracy.

The extreme example is seen in Chang Tie-Chi's book "Can Rock and Roll

change the World?" (2003), which, on page 61, declares that the glamorous performing techniques of Heavy Metal bands such as Led Zepplin fails to reflect the youth's frustration and anger; they are isolated from the society. He claims that only Punk reveals the spirit of Rock, and only Punk fulfills the youth's ideal to play music, it is the DIY spirit of Punk that is able to resist the commercial dominance (Chang 2003).[4] One of the drawbacks of the "socialist" studies is that they over-glorify the spirit of rebellion, ideological struggles and musical authenticity. Nevertheless, they fail to see that in the cultural filed, every factor and discourse help to shape the developing profile. Even the academic discourse cannot be immunized from this structural cause. The merits and disadvantages of the socialist discourse contribute to the elevation of particular genres while carelessly repressing other types of Rock. To a more extreme extent, the socialist method is not that advantageous than the idealization of the commercial ideology. There are still other researchers studying popular music based on the two above-mentioned frameworks:

On the theme of resistance, Chou I-Chen (1995) focuses on the political subjectivity and popular culture, she contends that in the cultural field, both the lyrics, song styles and social changes are mutually constructed. She argues that the theme of resistance cannot be separated from the social context; the music style and themes reflect the subjective positions of certain group of consumers, and work as their reaction to the social conditions.

Chen Kai-Tung (2004) reexamines the relationship of commercial popular music and the "independent" music circle in the scope of culture value, cultural industry and culture policy. He addresses the efficacy of the term "independent music" and then analyzes the background of its development. He argues that the idea of progress on music, is decided internally and externally, both by the reflection of players toward

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[4]中文原文如下:「音樂上,搖滾樂雖是六零年代青年反文化的體現,到了七零年代已經與年輕人生活脫節。不論是重金屬的齊柏林飛船(Led Zepplin),或是前衛搖滾Pink Floyd,都強調高超的演奏技巧、華麗的舞台效果或是深奧的概念性專輯。這些龐大沉重的恐龍所生產的音響,早已無法表達年輕人的挫折感與憤怒。相對的,龐克強調的是懂三和弦即可組團,且相對於那些超級樂隊的大舞台,七零年代中期在英國興起許多小pub讓這些樂團可以隨性演奏。所以龐克音樂是音樂的生產到表演都是DIY精神,讓任何年輕人都可以實現玩音樂的夢想。他們要挑戰六零年代以降日益強大的音樂商業建制,打破職業表演者的界線,並讓音樂的詮釋權回歸普羅大眾」。張鐵志。《聲音與憤怒:搖滾樂是否可能改變世界?》。台北市:商周出版,二零零四年,頁六十一。本文特別指出這樣的論述篇章,意不在指責不能有這樣的評論視野;相反的,筆者頗認同這樣的論述與英雄化樂手的歷史敘述所需的道德勇氣。然而,不論再怎樣的強調詩意與悲壯,都忽略了從音樂本身來看樂種的獨特性。並且,當本地學術圈的搖滾論述都一窩蜂的崇尚這種方式來談論搖滾,進而學舌的變成一種耽溺時,筆者懷疑搖滾實際的發展史和豐富性反而因此被埋葬。

the society and how much resources from greater circumstances are given to the players.

Chuang Yu-Lin (2004) illustrates the cultural resistance of the Black Hand Nakasi Worker's Band as to conclude that music is a way of self-transformation and conversation. In the study, it is an important medium for the players as they get into the struggle of the labor and other social movements.

Chen Chin-Wen (2005) explains the independent music exhibited at Ho-Hai-Yan Rock Festival in view of cultural governance. She criticizes how the carnivalesque rock festival is being misused by politicians and becomes awfully commercialized. From the audience's point of view, she infers that such festival should be held by civil institutions to lessen the commercial influence, and thus the rebellion of youth may be reserved.

Tai-Yun (2005) analyzes the practice of the independent record companies in Taiwan- "A case Study of The White Rabbit Record". She finds that production, consumers and the interaction among fans and players are important for all the participants. She argues that the economic weakness of the independent players force them to have to find out other survival strategies, either through production mode, technology or cooperation with the so-called mainstream market.

Chen Jian- Ning (2005) notes the impact of digital music on the pop music industry. Because the digitalization of music has structually changed the profile of the industry, both companies and producers are influenced when evaluating the values of the products. Hence, the integration, cooperation and competition among artists and performers have all being reformulated.

Kuo-Yung Jen(2006) analyzes the new paradigm of the popular industry, he argues that the pirated records and technology have influenced the industry. However, they also help to reshuffle the old production mode while stimulating the new one. Based on this assumption, he argues that there is a new paradigm forming in the industry from the late 90s onward.

To complement the arguments of the above-mentioned studies, methods such as field work and the discussion of musical aesthetics are employed in this study. In part it is because of the research of Extreme Metal requires in-depth observation and insiders' opinions. Furthermore, the diversity of the discussions in Heavy Metal suggests that there should not be a universal comment on what is the most "authentic" Rock genre, as suggested by the above-mentioned researches. What we have concluded may be just a general profile of the music circle, which may be influenced by individual definition, the evolution of music and is always context-specific.

Admittedly, the general principle of these studies is subject to a number of qualifications, including a requirement for the account to be taken in determining the

epistemologies of the thesis or the visibility of the research topics. In the researches mentioned above, the "style" may precede the choice of methodologies. Thus research of this kind does not necessarily offer first-hand observation or explain actual circumstances. The essential difficulty with this kind of study is that it favors certain courses of arguments, which may result in a wrongful inference. Therefore, whatever is intellectually original in popular music study may face problems of discursive choice of choosing epistemologies due to the undue emphasis on the social or commercial sides of discussions. All of these aspects suggest that the potential absence of any significant studies of Rock and popular music is a matter not of concept, but of organization, of structure and the preference of academic institutions.

To speak frankly, there should be nothing inherent in the appreciation of Rock as to exclude Metal from being the subject of research. During these years few attempts were made to reconsider the inadequacy of the directions mentioned above. What is more, once these methods had adopted the popular viewpoint, the actual situation and vitality of Rock and popular music would in fact be distorted and disturbed. There has been no critic commenting on this insufficiency, nor has there been any doubt on the preference of subjects and theories by scholars. Whereas issues such as the pleasure and aesthetic of music have been formally excluded from the academic circle, they remain interstitially dynamic, and these activities are still important for people even if they have not been spoken. The essential point is that different methods of doing popular music is possible, ranging from the choice of subject to the entire construction of new theoretical framework, thus giving rise to the new dimension of the local studies. It is erroneous to think that it is possible to eliminate the significance from other kinds of popular music studies in academic research.

1.4 Research Method

The author began this research as a participant and observer. Because it is impossible to gather information by mere literature gathering, he entered the circle as a common audience, and then as a friend. He would talk with the performers and other audiences after the performance, and then made their acquaintance. He raised my questions until interviewees trusted him. The fieldwork took the form of personally participating in the events being studied. It can take several forms depending on what role the researcher plays. In my study, this author participated as an observer/participant for most of the time, yet on some occasions, he participated as a full member participant because of the friendliness and invitation from my interviewees; on other occasions, he participated as a working staff to help get the performance working; and yet in others, he participated just as a normal audience without any relevance to the people on the scene. There are four roles of observers in

Gold's notion: complete observer, observer-as-participant, the participant-as-observer and complete participant. In this study, this author was a complete observer in the beginning. As he grew to know my interviewees, he became an observer-as-participant. Therefore, according to the different roles this author took, the relations of familiarity were also varied. He would not reveal my role as a researcher in the beginning. The revealing of my position still depended on the involvement and importance of the people related to the Death Metal scene in Taiwan. Because of the divergent relations among interviewees, the questions this author gathered were sometimes discrete in the process. The more he got involved the more he found it's difficult for me to organize a clear problematic. It was only near the end of investigation that this author was able to form a meaningful problematic. Due to the complexity of this scenario, his ideas are not insightful, yet he believes they can work as viable points of view to stimulate further discussion.

1.4-1 Members interviewed in the study

Nuno

Nuno is the owner of "Nuno's Live House" and also the vocalist of " The Leading Voice". From the beginning, he shared a lot of similar ideas on subjects ranging from music style to activities in Taiwan with the author. He has also taken charge of several music festivals here. His most favorite music genre is 80's Heavy Metal. Nuno told the author that the reason why he likes the 80's Heavy Metal is first because it was an burgeoning age for Metal; during this time, Heavy Metal entered the mainstream market and was accepted by the public. Seeing metal on Billboard top 20 was not strange. Also, it was an age for metal skills to develop. Masters with virtuosos appeared also, though probably just by coincidence. For guitars, there was Eddie Van Halen, who invented the tapping skill, which remains indispensable for today's guitarists. For playing styles, there was Yngwie Malmsteen who opened a new field called "Classical Heavy Metal". For drums there was Ingo Schwichtenberg for the pioneering use of double pedals that becomes so essential in today's Death Metal. In fact, the 80's Heavy Metal was also the first encounter with Metal for Nuno and the author. As teenagers, they looked to the '80's Heavy Metal for a fantasy and escape from the school boredom. Talking with Nuno is always intelligible to this author.

Chthonic

    Chthonic started with many difficulties. They faced a lot of transitions of players because of discrepancies in musical ideas among members. The Chthonic now- a band highlighting Taiwanese identity - is the result of several transformations. In the beginning, the vocalist Freddy Lin had showed his concern for the development Taiwanese culture. Freddy was interested in the Taiwanese culture even when he was a mere high school student. The founding of Chthonic, and later working as the board master in "Skull Castle", were the gradual steps toward his high school dreams to promote the Taiwanese subjectivity and consciousness. Freddy also did a lot work introducing during his board master era. He wrote many articles and record critics. He also held many activities to gather fans around Taiwan. According to Death, the activities then were fun enough. Freddy would host the events in Taiwanese and fans would just tell jokes and stories about music. In the early stage of Extreme Metal development, the Skull Castle BBS played a very important role as a router of information. The board masters were also critical for introducing and spreading the knowledge of this type of music to other people, just like what Freddy did. Besides being a vocalist in Chthonic, Freddy was also a main promoter of several Rock festivals in Taiwan. These festivals, now welcomed by common people and supported by the government, faced much harsher conditions in the beginning. As Freddy recalled, he did his best to make these festivals going on despite financial deficit. He even had to sell souvenirs like T-shirts and records to mend the budget black hole. Therefore, these festivals would not be successful were it not for Freddy's passion for

music and perseverance for personal ideals. In 2003, Chthonic had received the best band trophy in the Golden Melody Award- the most important music award in Taiwan. This glory was the best support and reward for Freddy and Chthonic's persistence. The success of Chthonic also cast a vast influence on later Black Metal bands after 2000. Now Chthonic is preparing for their next album, and the Taiwanese culture is still their main concern.

Disaster

Among all interviewees, the author spent the most time and shared the most common ideas with members of Disaster, whether in musical tastes, philosophies on life and recreational interests. Meeting them was a pure coincidence. In the beginning, the author just interviewed them for the research purposes. However, as time went by, the members and the author formed a comrade-like friendship, sharing lots of ideas besides music involving life experiences, personal values, emotional experience and opinions. First of all, Death/Black Metal for them is a way to experience deeper feelings like hatred and anger, they listen to them to experience these emotions and then release it. Although themes of darkness and rage are symbols of Death/Black Metal music, they exist in fact in people's everyday life. People all have chance to experience anger, frustration, hatred, pain. Music works as a vessel to vent it out. So with Disaster, when this author asked them what this kind of music meant to them for the first time, the guitarist just gave a dim answer "music is life". Afterwards, when the author became more and more familiarized with the members, he had a chance to experience all kinds of incidents with them; this author knew that their music is in fact the representation of all their emotions. Music plays an important role in their life for it helps them to overcome anger and frustration. Members of Disaster experienced these negative emotions in everyday life, they then vent it out through music. Therefore, the purpose of playing Extreme Metal is to transcend something negative in life, instead of a wayward release. Disaster's music is not just a release of anger, they also express their concerns for society and criticism toward politics. In their song

"Lamb", they expressed a story of being wrongly arrested by the police. In the song "Innocence", they mourn for the inability to change the world. The members of Disaster don't possess enough educational resources; however, their music is the direct manifestation of their worldviews. The reason why they choose Metal is because they think that Metal is musically strong enough to match their deep feelings inside. Music for them is fun, joyful, and a representation of their philosophy on life. It also helps them experience different kinds of emotions. This is the most important impact music has on them.

Death

Death is another important person the author encountered in the fieldwork. The first impression she made struck the author as smart, charming and enthusiastic. Her attitude toward music is quite different from that of Disaster's. To Disaster, Metal is used as a vent for anger and dissatisfaction toward society. Yet for Death, music is generally about passion and fun. Metal's fast tempos and speeding double bass drums epitomizes her personality, for she is a very active person who dare to pursue whatever she desires. The interviews between Death and Disaster were different, too. The atmosphere during the interview with Disaster was a bit heavy because members generally talked of sadness and unbearable burdens in life. Yet the interview with Death was quite another matter. The atmosphere was light yet strange in a way. Generally, this author raised some questions on politics, critical issues or music's societal context. However, this author found it quite inappropriate to raise these questions. Metal for Death is totally happy stuff. She listens to Metal just to feel the power and speed in it. That just makes her feel invigorated and energized. For her, having fun is the most important factor why she chose Metal as her favorite kind of music. It functions as a way to experience fun and a way to know people. Therefore, social and political issues in music are quite unfamiliar to her because she doesn't understand the use of these issues in music, and it's not the reason that she digs into Metal music. By going to live shows and talking to people on the Internet, she came to know a lot of people from different nations and thus furthered her interest in Metal

because it brings her a lot more fun. For Disaster, maybe gloom is the term for them, yet for Death, fun is the best word to illustrate her choice. It is a pure and totally positive energy that brings her fun and adventures in life.

Anthelion

(Picture is offered by Faya)

Members of Anthelion were the youngest among all the others interviewed. The members are young and rather inexperienced in their musical performance. However, Anthelion members have discipline and ambition. Their performance is quite powerful and their skills are quite experienced. Anthelion's live shows are among the few that fans look forward to in Taiwan because they are well prepared and always give their best shot in live. Metal for them is also a way to release frustration and anger in life, which also means an important career. For them, Metal is a life-time career. It is not just a channel to release personal feelings. They regard the musical success as overriding and unequaled. Anthelion's members are very active. They set up plans to perform at different places and plan to record an EP or even an album in the future. During my interview, they already revealed their intention to record an official album in Europe. Therefore, members of Anthelion will undertake two to three part time jobs to provision for the expenses for touring and instruments. For Anthelion, music is not simply just music, it means the utmost achievement one can reach in his life. According to Code, the vocalist of Anthelion, music is the most important thing for him. He takes music as more important than food or sleep. Music is his lifetime pursuit, and he'll do his best to make his dream come true. Issues like society and politics are not their main concern. They just care about whether they can do better in music. The reason they want to play music is not for money's sake. Rather, the reason they think so highly of music is because music is what they really care about. They want to show that they can achieve excellence on something they think is most important to them. Music for them is also an important source of self-assurance.

1.5 Other issues explored

1.5-1 Ideology of Rock

According to Lawrence Grossberg (1993), effect is both psychological and material. It demands that we speak of the body and of discursive practices in their materiality. This foregrounding of affect is also probably connected with my reading of Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) "The resistance of the popular occurs on terrains altogether different from that of culture in the strict sense of the word…and it takes the most unexpected forms, to the point of remaining more or less invisible to the cultivated eye" (155). Thus, Rock's identity and effects depend on the appeal of its sound textuality. To describe Rock culture as a formation is to constitute it as a material- discursive and nondiscursive- context, a complex organization of cultural and noncultural practices that produces particular effects, such as forms and organizations of boredom and fun, of pleasure and pain, of meaning and nonsense. The Rock formation cuts across any attempt to divide up the field of popular discourses and practices; bringing together genres, media styles, and so forth. To speak of a formation is also to constitute Rock culture spatially as a particular dispersion of practices across time and space.

Grossberg moves on to say that, the Rock formation has a temporal extension and boundary. It is a historical event and production that emerged at a particular moment, made possible by and in response to specific conditions of possibility. These conditions (social and economic) had given rise to Rock culture but also constrained it at the same time. As these conditions opened up trajectories and transformations of Rock, they also confined it within particular frameworks. Following this logic, Grossberg says that the notion of Rock is dead, is about a discursive haunting within the Rock formation and a possible eventual reality. He assumes that if the Rock formation emerged as a response to particular conditions, then, when those conditions changed and the effects of the discourse within the formation changed, then the set of relations and effects articulated around it would not be the same. The set of relations and effects would be different. Two questions would then arise- Firstly, how is it possible to describe the changes in the formation of Rock? Secondly, what is relationship between social structure and artistic creativity, as well as the possibilities of resistance? In the first place, as the youth became sophisticated and opinionated, the discrepancies of ideas and philosophies on life emerged between them and their parent generation. According to Grossberg, a prevailing generation crisis was one of the factors that defined the content of the youth's identity. The concepts of social structures that the world offered the youth would seem to fail to incite the youth's sense of commitment and passion. They face the dilemma of living two lives- one

defined by the interpretation and institution of the adult world that attempted to incorporate the youth into them; the other was the prospect of following the ideologies and lifestyles of the parent generation.

It was based on this conflict that Rock opened up and offered a possibility of transition to help the youth maintain identification and sense of belonging. By highlighting the sentiment that "something matters", Rock established a specific definition of authenticity. However, the term "authenticity" is not anything about ideological purity, or does it have an origin. According to Grossberg, the term was a middle-class obsession to compensate for the sense of absence of their authentic past (Grossberg 1992). Because Rock was able to make the youth feel belonged somewhere, it could speak both to the identity and difference of its audience. What Rock did was reconstitute an identity and offer meanings. By articulating the historical condition into a specific audience, the styles of Rock were able to evolve as a response to different demands of authenticity required by various generations of people). "Rock" thus means the entire formation. It includes affective machine, politics of fun, politics and strategy of everyday life (Grossberg 2002).

The definition of authenticity of Rock provides a measure of how Rock differs from other cultural forms. Since the definition of authenticity helps distinguish Rock from other music, it imposed different cultural practices between Rock fans and participants of other art types. This divergence termed as "excess" as Grossberg says, marks the reality and even the legitimacy of the fan's difference which is often interpreted as Rock's inexorable tie to resistance, refusal, alienation and marginality (Grossberg 1992). Among all other standards, the most important measure of authenticity is the musical sound. Because Rock was originally made available to the majority of fans through radio and records, the sound is Rock's primary impression. The ideology of authenticity lies in strategies to redefine the sensibility of youth culture, expanding from music to the entire lifestyle. Starting from the sensibilities felt in the music, Rock music involves subsequent development including definition of authenticity, lifestyles, discourses and ideologies. Rock therefore continually opens up new spaces and centers. Rock must change in order to respond to people's needs, and reproduce authenticity in new forms. It constantly moves from one center to another to project its authenticity. It is the changes and transitions, which enable Rock to matter, to make a difference, and to empower its fans.

The discussion on Grossberg's concepts needs to be called a temporary end since this study is about Heavy Metal, not Rock. However, the initial investigation of Grossberg's theory may help to delineate the complicated fissures lying under music and social life. As the study is about the every day life of the performers, Grossberg's theories play an important role in formulating some important arguments in later

chapters.

1.5-2 Issues of Culture Industry

Adorno characterizes the culture industry as an "assembly line" mode of production and referred to it as the "synthetic, planned method of turning out its products (factory-like not only in the studio but, more or less, in the compilation of cheap biographies, pseudo-documentary novels, and hit songs) into mere commodities (Adorno and Horkheimer 1979). Adorno (1967) condemned what he called the "pseudo-individuality" in cultural industry because he thought the pleasure obtained from consuming only made people submissive. The needs created under capitalism oppose to the true needs and pleasure such as happiness and freedom. For example, he argues that free improvisation of Jazz performers was a mere display of conceit because "what appears as spontaneity is in fact carefully planned out in advance with machinelike precision" (123). Unlike Adorno, Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo (1977) saw the radical potential of popular music connected to the rebellion of youth in opposing authoritarianism. Popular music can provide possibilities for individual as a way of self-expression and communication, thus may consolidate societal stability. Moreover, Sara Cohen (1991) sees a tension between commerce and creativity in her study on Rock bands in Liverpool. She found that bands can be categorized into two types- The first are bands that show opposition or resistance to hegemony; the other are bands that promote their music by commercial strategies (196). Pushing Cohen's idea further, Simon Frith (1983) thinks that the commercial and creative aspects in Rock are interrelated. He argues that art and commerce were integrated in the 1950s' Britain Rock. He thinks that Rock is an integral part of the commercial system in which there is less conflict between art and commerce than people previously assumed (83).

1.5-3 Strategies of everyday life

According to Chou (Chou 2005) the philosophy of everyday life started from Edmund Husserl. Although the idea of *Lebenswelt (life-world)* is not totally the same as the term "everyday life", Husserl guides the followers to see the importance of everyday life as a basis of an ideal world. Husserl tries to theorize a philosophy without making presumptions. He starts with the discussion of experiences in life then develops the experiences into inquiry of intentionality. Husserl thinks that our consciousness is always the consciousness about something. The forms of consciousness are related to the content of experiences, and these experiences are directed upon objects. Thus all such objects are intended. Therefore, there is an immanent process in dealing with all experiences. The objects are constructed in the

synthesis of different "perspectives" in which the objects are seen or remembered later in the same fashion.

Husserl's idea of phenomenology extends beyond the boundaries of individual consciousness. Husserl's phenomenology thus not only focuses on one self's experience but also the experiences of others and the society.   He thinks the process, called "bracketing" is the basis of understanding and social life. What Husserl laid is the foundation of a phenomenological perspective of looking at social life. Although he departs from the life-world, he turns backs to it and broadens the understanding of it. Following Husserl, Alfred Schutz continues to discuss the idea of life-world as well as its connection to people's daily life. Unlike Huseerl, Schutz does not juggle with metaphysical ideas like "bracketing" or "reduction". He goes on to discuss the limits and the possibilities of meaning in the life-world. He thinks that the strength of phenomenology lies in handling the experience of everyday life world. In making this world the subject of sociology, he renders variegated realms of human experience essential components of sociological knowledge. Also, he moves on to discuss the experience of transcendence. Transcendence is an experience felt distinctly different from reality. Although transcendence symbolizes an unworldly experience, its basis is still in ordinary life. By outlining the characteristics of transcendence, Schutz concludes that transcendence is an indispensable part of daily experiences. There are several kinds of realms of transcendence including the world of dreams, the world of imaginations and phantasms, the world of art, the play world of the child and the world of the insane. Although these worlds are not pragmatic experiences, each of them has particular formation and specific connection to reality. Especially in the world of art and fantasy, people are freed from the life governed by instrumental reason. It is at this point that Schutz sees the potentials of art and fantasy as a transcending and liberating force. Since people are relatively restricted in thoughts or action in other realms (worlds), the unrestrained experiences that art provides grant freedom. Furthermore, because the world of art is a constituent part of the life-world, we may seek this type of liberation in everyday life. Thus it is possible to escape from limitations and constraints imposed on us.

On the other hand, Henri Lefebvre, another influential theorist of everyday life proposes in his "Critique of everyday life" that the western philosophy has to be criticized for its negligence of daily life. He thinks that every problem in philosophy has to seek answer in everyday experience. He points out that the idea of everyday life is a modern concept that which relates to the development of modern society. In pre-modern period, man remains harmonious with nature and whose experiences are more integrated into that of art, philosophy and religion. However, division of labor in modern life breaks this harmony. Based on the exchange values, the need to separate

work and leisure has emerged in order to conform to the modern lifestyle. The modern everyday life has become dull and rigid, and man is stripped of the sense of self-assurance.

[5]Nevertheless, Lefebvre still believe there is hope hidden in everyday life. There are ways and thus strategies to escape from the restraints of an industrialized world. All the above-mentioned theories offer myriad perspectives in entering the fields of art, music and social life. They show that art and music are indispensable both in offering enjoyment and access to freedom. They also indicate the abundant everyday life experiences. Hence, the investigation of everyday life could be very interesting.

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[5]Lefebvre (1981) argues that:

> With daily life, lived experience is taken and raised up to critical thinking. It is no longer disdained, regarded as an insignificant residue, produced by a necessary methodological reduction, ultimately destroyed. But nor is it overestimated, inflated, counterpoised to what is rational. It assumes in theoretical thinking the place it occupies in social practice: there it is not everything, but it is not nothing either. On the other hand, lived experience and daily life do not coincide. Daily life does not exhaust lived experience, for there is lived experience outside it: above and/ or below it. Nevertheless, the relation between the experiential and the conceptual is fore grounded. It contains a much larger issue: that of the relations between thought and life- a Faustian question that is scarcely resolved by apologias for life of for pure thought. (11)

> Hence. The complexity of daily life, as it emerges from the proceeding summary, cannot be attributed to a linear process, whether historical, philosophical, economic or social. It results from many conjunctions. The realization of the social being known as 'human' found itself thwarted by distortions and alienations that were themselves attributable to a multiplicity of causes-the division of labor, social classes, ideologies and 'values', oppression and repression. But at the time under consideration, there was not yet no rupture between objects and people, their gestures, actions, situations and discourse. All these aspects of daily life were part not only of the mode of production, but of a totality called 'civilization' (a stronger term 'culture', which was subsequently substituted form it). Fragmentation did not yet obtain; a certainty persisted, despite wars and despite the disappearance of the major religious, historical and moral referents since the beginning of the century. (14)

Chapter two: Visual Elements in the Performance

2.0 The cultural Significance of Visual Performance and Cross-Dressing

As a means of communication, clothing is an important source to tell others the basic information of a person. Clothing may function also as masks to conceal the gender identification, and the fact of a vacillation between sexes.[5] As many feminists argue, the cultural construction of sex is a series of compulsory imitations and coercions. Nonetheless, the social requirements of sex may change with time and therefore are not indestructible. Dress codes themselves have specific signification. The reversal of it may engender new meanings and impacts. As the dress code is similar to a kind of general principle, personal choice in choosing what to wear is the stylist variation by each person in contrast to the general norms. To look at dress codes from a wider perspective, transvestism is not just the violation of dress codes, but a disobedience to the strict separation between male and female constructed by culture. Hence, the visual performance of transvestism shows the vacillation of gender and instability of identity--a process from sexual identification to the disruption of meaning in the cultural context. On the one hand, drag conceals the real gender identification; on the other hand, it loosens the rigid sexual codes and images. It then

[5] Roland Bathes has argued that the clothes function as semiotics and codes to be recognized by people. In the fashion system, he argues that there are three different structures: one technological, another iconic, the third verbal for any given object (Barthes, 1990). He said that:

Although the choice of oral structure corresponds to reasons immanent in its objects, it finds some reinforcement from sociology; first of all becasue the propagation of Fashion by magazines(i.e., in particular by the text) has become so vast; half of all French women read magazines at least partially devoted to Fashion on a regular basis; the description of the garment of Fashion (and no longer its production) is therefore a social fact, so that even if the garment of Fashion remained purely imaginary(without affecting real clothing), it would constitute an incontestable element of mass culture, like pulp fiction, comics, and movies; second, the structural analysis of written clothing can also effectively pave the way for the inventory of real clothing that sociology will require for its eventual study of the circuits and circulation- rhythms of real fashion. (9)

to sum up, we may now be certain that any utterance provided by the corpus being studied consists of two terms, derived from two communicative class. Sometimes these two terms are explicit (Clothing|world), sometimes one is explicit (Clothing) and the other is implicit (Fashion). But whatever the pair of classes being dealt with, one term is always uttered, and consequently the class to which it belong is actualized: Clothing. this explains why communication always takes place either between clothing and the world or between clothing and Fashion, but never directly between the world and Fashion, or even between worldly clothing and Fashion: even though we have three main categories at our disposal, we are dealing with two communicative ensembles: Set A (Clothing|world) and set B (clothing |Fashion). Thus, the corpus will be exhausted by locating all utterances belonging to set A and all utterances belonging to set B. (23)

Judith Butler points out the performativity of the gender. That is, the citational nature of the identification of sex roles and gender image. The study of dress codes and Heavy Metal traverses different aspects of studies from the dress codes as signs to the function of such signs working as the fixation of the gender stereotype.

replaces the restrictions and limits imposed on people and imbue them with another identity. Since sex, as Judith Butler argues, is a learned cultural construction, a "misrecognized copy," the sexual image is a mere result of social construction and gradual identification. There may not be the "real" men and women in essence, but only the process of becoming either of them. Seeing visual performance of transvestism in this light and given the fact that gender is mere construction and false image, the question may arise to examine the image of masculinity that is punctuated in Metal. What is the intention for players to dress like female? What do they want to convey? What is the significance of the visual performance in music to performers and audiences?

Performance of transvestism in Rock and Metal has different undertones. Metal players would dress like female as if they really wish to challenge the sexual stereotypes. In the history of Rock and Metal, Mick Jagger, Alice Cooper, Twisted Sister and Poison are examples of musicians intentionally dorned in women's clothes and make-ups to cause social shock. Nonetheless, the anti-patriarchal stance in Metal, if any, seems pretty effeminate to a variety of groundbreaking discourses made by sexual activists. Scholars like Deena Weinstein argue that Heavy Metal is anything but masculine--masculine in the heterosexual sense that rather reinforces the dichotomy of male and female instead of assuming sexual rebellion. In other words, what transvestist performance aims at is to shatter the patriarchal order by its performances and dress codes as what Marjorie Garber contends to cause a "categorical crisis" to the existing order. However, the visual performances of Rock and especially Heavy Metal players though seemingly significant from the feminist point of view, may just be used as perfomative strategies that have no progressive undertones. Frankly speaking, as some Metal players do employ visual performance of transvestism to arouse gender consciousness, others may use such type of performance as an ostentatious strategy with the attempt to show disobedient attitude yet which results in eclipsed sexual/gender consideration.

2.1 Drag and cross-dressing in the Metal performance

Visual elements are important to Heavy metal because performers would use items such as spandex and scarves to punctuate the hyper masculinity or androgyny as visual enactments of spectacular transgression. These elements are also one source of power like mythology, violence, madness, and the iconography of horror. "None of these surpasses gender in its potential to inspire anxiety and to ameliorate it" (Walser1987). For Walser, Heavy Metal is:

Inevitably, a discourse shaped by patriarchy…for much of its history metal has

been appreciated and supported primarily by a teenager male audience. But it is crucial to specify not only age and gender but the corresponding political position of this constituency: it is a group generally lacking in social, physical, and economic power but besieged by cultural messages promoting such forms of power, insisting on them the vital attributes of an obligatory masculinity…masculinity is thus socially and psychologically insecure; and its insecurity produces the need for its constant reachievement. (109)

To achieve and negate the anxiety of gender, both Metal musicians and fans develop tactics to model male power and control it within the patriarchal culture; misogyny and the exclusion of anything feminine is one of this enactment. It helps produce and maintain consensus about meaning and male bonding in which the display of masculinity is the ultimate principle. Also, Deena Weinstein suggests that Metal is a genre that is a total sensibility based on sonic patterns but not exhausted by them, while its codes provide the form of the sensibility and aural, visual and verbal dimensions (Weinstein 2000). Seen in this light, performance of transvestism in Metal sometimes becomes a strategy used as a satirical mockery of women, which is a sign of rebellion inherent in Rock's tradition (Walser 1987). The performance alone has the power to destabilize the limit of representation in performance, and it is through androgyny spectacles that metal achieves transgression (112).

Moreover, since male-dominant Metal players enact performance of transvstism, the discussion of it might extend beyond the gender arena and develops into the diverse meanings and various uses by culture. As Deena Weinstein writes (2000), what Heavy Metal takes seriously is power. The music contributes to every delineated meaning in its lyrics. Any lyrical scheme, even despair or suicide, is empowered by the Heavy Metal sound (35). Sex, in Heavy Metal's discourse, is rather sweaty and funny yet without commitments. It is generally not sadistic; instead, it is always exuberant and emblematic of youthful male power, prowess as well as pleasure (36). While people may see androgynous performances as similar and analogous to one another, there exist extreme differences under myriad cultural contexts. To conclude, the visual performance on stage--no matter it is transvetists, angrogynous or misogynous manifestation--is decided by the context and the purpose of performers. To cite Marjorie Garber (1987), "there is also other major transvestism that has been defining, and disconcerting even in the current climate of interest in androgyny. To ignore the role played by would be to risk a radical misunderstanding of the social and cultural implications of cross-dressing, so to restrict cross-dressing to the context of an emerging gay and lesbian identity is to risk ignoring, or setting aside, elements and incidents that seem to belong to quite different lexicons of self-definition and political

and cultural display" (5).

In popular culture like Heavy Metal, the intentional use of transvestism may still cause a "categorical crisis" in Garber's sense. Yet, this crisis that Metal causes may be more pertinent to the dissatisfaction about religion and politics, and the resistance to boredom in everyday life than with gender issues. For Metal, its symbolic spirit is that of Dionysian rebellion which challenges static order in the name of freedom to exercise vital power (Weinstein 2000). As religious critics blame Metal for its anti-religious stance and even blasphemy, they may fail noticing Metal's appropriation of Christian symbols with its Dionysian sensibility into a more rebellious free play. Metal often takes the form of transvaluing--changing the value signs--of the objects to coin a new meaning of cultural signs (238-239). In similar manner, the sexual/visual performance in Metal--whether it's drag, androgyny or even corpse paint--all reveals the creative nature of the genre. Players employ this performative strategy to show the excess of ecstasy and power (238). While the critics of Metal's misogyny hold true, we may still affirm the vitality and freedom of Metal in this respect. During performances, Chthonic, Disaster, Anthelion and my other interviewees would put on corpse paint and other accessories such as chains, bracelets, bangles, leather jacket, whip and even masks. By doing this, they present themselves as powerful, uncompromising and aggressive. The stunning visual images further intensify the music and together to create an immense power that intimates and animates the audience. Sometimes, due to the dim lights in the pub, the black t-shirts and jeans that most players wear would seem to be immersed into the air and what the audience sees is just flying white heads spitting unintelligible noise, which makes the scene even more awkward.

For people who are not familiar with this genre among the audience, this strange style of Death/Black Metal makes them sick and uneasy. For them, they cannot understand the purpose of such a style and the intention of the performers. One anonymous audience interviewee tells me that it is all too awkward and strange. He did not mention anything powerful or aggressive because he cannot understand even the least idea of corpse paint and black suits. For him, the entire show is a disaster and waste of money; he thinks the music is just "ghost-like people singing ghost-like songs," which makes him run away. Even though there are always people showing disgust in the performance, it doesn't stop players from maintaining a terrible outlook. In fact, unexpected surprise is part of the performance because it keeps making fun. Besides, they feel cool and powerful to dress in black, which also enhances the stage appeal. For some strong players like Code of Anthelion, black dresses make him look taller and much more terrifying. Some people go to concerts just because they want to see attractive players. Music is not their concern at all. Nonetheless, despite the

drawbacks of bringing careless audiences, the visual presentation of Death/Black Metal is still important. It characterizes the darkness and gloom the music intends to express.

The substance of the corpse paint is said to be a common material that can be bought in art and beauty shops. Normally, it takes about 15 minutes to complete the entire makeup. Usually members would arrive 20 minutes prior to the performance and prepare in the restrooms. And it takes only10 minutes to wash them away after the show. The style and color may vary, depending on the players' intention and creativity. Some bands think highly of the corpse paint, taking it as an important element of performance. They may even create a uniformity of paint and visual styles like what Chthonic and Anthelion do. Others, like Disaster, would just improvise according to the occasion and sometimes even leave it unnoticed. In fact, members of Disaster have talked about the significance of the corpse paint. They take it as just a means of performative strategy, not a code that they must invariably follow. According to Sector, the guitarist of Disaster, corpse paint for them is:

> This is just a performative strategy; we don't think we have to follow it every time we perform. In fact, we have discussed the meaning of corpse paint and the necessity of wearing it. However, we think that it is just a pattern, a principle. We wear corpse paint because we think it is helpful to express our feelings in music. We think it is not good to stick to it because it means that you are not reflexive. We play black metal because it is the kind of music that we think the most creative so far. Maybe in the future when we find a more creative genre then we will just get rid of it. Therefore, we think the most important matters are your thoughts, your ideas. Music and visual elements are just vehicles of utterances. That's what we think of corpse paint (My interview)[6].

Sector's viewpoint makes it clear that the visual elements are part of the creation of Metal of which meanings vary from person to person. Even in Black Metal, corpse paint means different things under different contexts although they look the same. Hence, like Marjorie Garber's definition of drag and transvestism, the visual elements of Death/Black Metal are defined individually and susceptible to players' creation that connotes various meanings that will change with time and place. What is more noteworthy is that there exists no androgynous presentation in Death/Black Metal performance in the concerts I attended. While in other genres of Rock, female-like performance is visible and even attractive, such possibility is totally ruled out in Death/Black Metal scene since what the music expresses is pure power and violence.

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[6] Interviewed at their studio, May, 2005.

Even though there are female players--for example the lead singer of Taichung's Hercules, she still has to conform to Metal dress codes and tries to deliver a voice as powerful as possible. Due to the musical nature of Death/Black Metal, players' personae on stage have to be very powerful, violent, brutal and intimidating, which would frustrate audience from interacting with them. Nevertheless, when the corpse paints are removed, most of the players are men of the world: they are highly friendly and approachable, which forms a sharp contrast to the aggressive image onstage. In fact, some players like Sector of Disaster and Dani of Chthonic are normal enough that nobody would associate them with the violence of Death/Black Metal. Given the possible contrast on and off stage, whether it means the persona, popularity earned or degrees of pleasure, the issue then arises about the management of such contrasts. While some members feel the struggle is tolerable, others may find it especially difficult to solve. Therefore, players may continue to experience a play of clashes and conflicts even when they're off stage; and this part of performance is also essential to the Metal subculture.

2.2 After ecstasy: Everyday life as alternative Performance

In Metal, concert and live performance are of paramount importance. It's not just that the players' dedication to skills is paid off, but they help players build reputation and enjoy ecstasy. For both players and audience, a live performance is a special occasion to immerse in pleasure and enjoyment. According to Deena Weinstein, the great divide in the concert is between backstage and the frontstage. Like Erving Goffman, Weinstein (2000) uses similar terminology "Frontstage" and "Backstage" to analyze the consisting parts of Metal concert:

Backstage is the world of the media, governed by functional specialization, calculations of financial interests, and instrumental rationality. Frontstage is the realm of the audience, ruled by a sense of community, adherence to the codes of a valued subculture, and expressive-emotional experience. The stage itself is the site of the mediation of these two worlds by the performing artists who binds them together with the music. (134)

Victor Turner (1974) thinks that the social world is a world in becoming, not a world in being, and therefore theories like the study of social structure are irrelevant because the actual human scenes are always changing instead of remaining a static fact. Social dramas take place in the "aharminic" phase of the social process as the interests of the groups and people contradict. There are choices of means and social affiliations as well as stress on loyalty and obligation. The daily interaction may be full of conflicts

that people have to choose among different interests under different constraints (24). Through the sequence of social events, social dramas do have a temporal structure organized through time rather than space. Turner argues that if we look at the social processes as though they are in a motion film and examine the coexisting social relations, we would find that the temporary structures are incomplete and open-ended. According to Turner, social dramas arising out of conflict situations are units of disharmonic processes. There are four stages of social of actions:

1. Breach of regular, norm-governed social relations occurs between persons or groups within the same system of social relations, be it a village, chiefdom, office, factory, political party or ward, church, university department, or any other perduring system or set or field of social interaction. Such a breach is signalized by the public, overt breach or deliberate nonfulfillment of some crucial norm regulating the intercourse of the parties. To flout such a norm is one obvious symbol of dissidence. 2. Following breach of regular, norm-governed social relations, a phase of mounting crisis supervenes, during which, unless the breach can be sealed off quickly within a limited area of social interaction, there is a tendency for the breach to widen and extend until it becomes coextensive with some dominant cleavage in the widest set of relevant social relations to which the conflicting or antagonistic parties belong. 3. This brings us to he third phase, redressive action. In order to limit the spread of crisis, certain adjustive and redressive "mechanisms", (and here I joyfully borrow a metaphor from physics" informal or formal, institutionalized or ad hoc, are swiftly brought into operation by leading or structurally representative members of the disturbed system. These mechanisms vary in type and complexity with such factors as the depth and shared social significance of the breach, the social inclusiveness of the crisis, the nature of the social group within which the breach took place, and the degree of its autonomy with reference to wider or external systems of social relations). They may range from personal advice and informal mediation or arbitration to formal juridical and legal machinery, and, to resolve certain kinds of crisis or legitimate other modes of resolution, to the performance of public ritual. The notion of "escalation" can apply to this phase also: in a complex, industrial society, for example, antagonist might move a dispute up from a court through intervening juridical stages. The final phase I distinguished consists either of the reintegration of the disturbed social group or of the social recognition and legitimization of irreparable schism between the contesting parties-in the case of the Ndembu this often meant that the secession of one section of a village from the rest. (39-41)

Furthermore, as a theater may work as a medium between stage and society, Turner conceptualizes the idea of liminality to elucidate the symbolic function that staged peformance has. Liminanity is ambiguous. It is betwixt and between the positions assigned by law, custom, conventions and ceremonial. They are expressed by a variety of symbols in many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. In fact, if we treat stage performance--no matter it is theatrical or other kinds of performances such as musical concert--as a kind of liminality stage, the performance on stage may function as symbolic presentation of cultural identity, national discourse, historical memory or other registers of individual identities as well as the artists' reflection on these values and identities. Hence, in the broadest sense, the performance on stage is the interstitial passage that can be "filled" or "utilized" with different groups of people with different ideas or ideologies. It can be also be filled by different classes, identities or "voices". As Turner points out, "liminality implies that the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low." Hence "liminality, marginality, and structural inferiority are conditions in which are frequently generated myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art. These cultural forms provide them with a set of templates or models, which are, at one level, periodical reclassifications of reality and man's relationship to society, nature, and culture. But they are more than classifications, since they incite men to action as well as to thought. Each of these productions has a multivocal character, with multiple meanings, and each is capable of moving people at many psychological levels simultaneously." (129)

Turner (1992) further argues that a social drama is initiated from the interruption of the regular, rule-governed social life. This leads to a crisis that splits the community into factions and coalitions. Therefore, redressive means are taken to prevent this from happening. Redressive actions involve ritualized actions, legal or religious that also involve beliefs in retributive of military actions such as warfare, feuding and headhunting. Action on the stage is the source of the deepest understanding of the human condition. Acting from its etymology means both work and play, solemn and ludic, pretence or earnest, mundane trafficking and commerce and what we do or behold in ritual or theater. Also, words like ambiguity are derived from the Latin word to act, from the word ambigere; to wonder, ambi-about around, to do. Action is also in favor of contestation. Action is therefore agonistic. According to Turner, act, agon, and agitate are all derived from the same Indo-European base, ad-, to drive; and there are also the Latin word agree, to do, and the Greek agein, to lead. In the western culture, work and play both have this driving, conflictive character (92). Following Turner, Richard Schechner (1988) argues that theatrical drama is a limited

type of performance because its performance and acting are based on the written script. But words like theater, drama, performance and script all have different meanings and have to be carefully examined for their specificity and efficacy. They are presented as follows:

Drama: the smallest, most intense (heated up) circle. A written text, score, scenario, instruction, plan, or map. The drama can be taken from place to place or time to time independent of the person or people who carry it. These people may be just "messengers," even unable to read the drama, no less comprehend or enact it.

Script: all that can be transmitted from time to time and place to place. the basic code of the events. The script is transmitted person to person, the transmitter is not a mere messenger. The transmitter of the script must know the script and be able to teach it to others. This teaching may be consciousness or through emphathetic, emphatic means.

Theater: the event enacted by a specific group of performers; what the performers actually do during production. The theater is concrete and immediate. Usually, the theater is the manifestation or representation of the drama and/or script.

Performance: the broadest, most ill-defined disc. The whole constellation of events, most of them passing unnoticed, that take place in/among both performers and audience from the time the first spectator enters the field of the performance-the precinct where the theater takes place-to the time the last spectator leaves. (71)

However, although they are different, in fact they enclose, overlap, interpenetrate and simultaneously arouse every channel of communication. Schechner defines the theatrical performance from the Ervin Goffman performers as follows. They are seven magnitudes of performance that Schechner proposes to include different kind of performances from the theatrical one to the Goffman type. According to Schechner, the performance magnitude means not only the size and duration but also extension across cultural boundaries and penetration to the deepest strata of historical, personal and neurological experience. Performativity is everywhere in life, and it only differs in degrees of magnitude of performance. However, there is a continuity of performance magnitudes, from interior brain events to training, the making of signs and scenes, on to public performances. There are seven levels of performance in Schechner's theorization:

1. **Brain event**: the neurological processes linking cortical to subcortical actions; the ergotropic-trophotropic system.

2. **Microbit**: seen only with the help of the slow-motion or stop-action camera.

3. **Bit**: the smallest unit of consciously controllable repeatable bahavior.

4. **Sign**: composed of one or more bits and readable as an emotion, a piece of discrete information.

5. **Scene**: a sequence of one or more signs that make up a whole unit of interaction. Goffman studied these. Narrative structures are visible at these level.

6. **Drama**: a complex, multiplex system of scenes ranging from aesthetic dramas to Balinese cockfights to long cycle plays such as the Ramilis or the Yaqui Easter Passion Play. Geertz and Turner have analyzed these from a narrative point of view.

7. **Macrodrama**: large-scale social actions viewed performatively-what Turner calls "social drama" where whole communities act through their collective crises. (301)

In this light, the visual performance of Heavy Metal on stage could be a symbolic play of cultural objects. The play with male/female stereotypes is used to confuse the audience while creating another sense of curiosity at the same time. Nevertheless, as the performance of sexual roles on stage is highly symbolic and even exaggerated, the social nature of gender and sex is no less performative. On the performance of sex, Judith Butler provides a much more different perspective. The concept of performativity in her context is used to point out the reiterative, compulsory and citational nature of sex and gender. She argues that the category of sex is normative from the start. Therefore, sex not only produces the bodies it governs, but it is also part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs; the regulatory force is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce, demarcate, circulate, and differentiate the bodies it controls. Sex is a regulatory ideal whose materialization is compelled; sex is an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time. The notion of gender performativity must be understood in the concept of this kind of materialization in the sense that the performativity is a deliberate act that works as a reiterative and citational practice which produces the effects that it names. The regulatory norms of sex in a performative fashion are to constitute the materiality of bodies and to materialize the body's sex as well as sexual differences under the heterosexual imperative (Butler 1993). Butler thinks that what constitutes the fixity of the body is the materiality as the productive effect of power. To understand "gender" as the cultural construct, one has to know that "sex" should be understood as the normativity and the materialization of the body from the regulatory norm (4).

Therefore, "sex" is not a static description but one of the norms that qualify the body within the domain of cultural intelligibility.

In Butler's context, performativity is specified in the discourse of gender domain which is not a single act because it is always a reiteration of norms or set of norms that acquires an act-like status in the present. This act is not only theatrical but a discursive practice that produces what it names (10) [4] On the other hand, on the idea of social performance (which he terms the "dramatic interaction"), Goffman (1959) holds that one's activity is significant to others during the interaction he wishes to convey. The performer not only expresses his claimed capacities during the interaction but also does so during a split second in the interaction (41). On idealization, he further argues that an individual would conceal actions that are inconsistent with the standards of the performance. The inappropriate conduct would be indulged in secret if it is satisfying in some way. Performer will conceal or underplay the activities that are inconsistent with the idealized version of him. He would also try to relate to the audience in the following instances. Firstly, individuals often foster the impression that the routine they are presently performing is their only routine or at least the most essential one. As previously suggested, the audience members in their turn often assume that the character projected before them is all there is to the individual who acts out the projection for them. Secondly, performers

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[7] The example used is the biblical rendition of the performative "Let there be light!". Its phenomenon is named into being by virtue of the power of a subject or its will. Appropriated from Jacque Derrida, Butler calls the assumption of sex as "citationality"and that the norm of sex is "cited" as a norm and it derives its power through the citation it compels. Following is the passage from her book:

> Derrida makes clear that this power is not the function on an originating will, but is always derivative: Could a performance utterance succeed if its formulation did not repeat a "coded" or iterable utterance, or in other words, if the formula I pronounce in order to open a meeting, launch a ship or a marriage were not identifiable as conforming with an iterable model, if it were not then identifiable in some way as a "citation"?…in such a typology, the category of intention will not disppear; it will have its place, but from that place it will no longer be bale to govern the entire scene and system of utterance [l'enonciation]. (13)

…Further, if a subject comes to be through a subjection to norms of sex, a subjection which requires an assumption of the norms of sex, can we read that "assumption" as precisely a modality of this kind of citationality? In other words, the norm of sex takes hold to the extent that it is "cited" as such a norm, but it also derives its power through the citations that it compels. And how it sis that we might read the "citing" of norms of sex as the process of approximating or "identifying with" such norms? (13)

tend to foster the impression that their current performance of their routine and their relationship to the their current audience have something special and unique about them (the performer himself is typically unaware of just how routinized his performance really is), and the spontaneous aspects of the situations are stressed (49) For performer, everyday-life impression control is made possible through communication techniques in order to eliminate unfavorable information. However, the theatrical or staged performance requires a thorough script of the spoken content and is decided by stage directions. The performer will know how to manage his voices and gestures of expressions. The performers of everyday life are not "enacted" in advance to know what to do next. Yet the performers of everyday life still express themselves through devices that are dramatized and pre-formed in their repertoire of actions. The individual is divided as a performer who is a fabricator of impressions involved in the human task of staging a performance. Also, as a character, the spirit of a figure during the performance is easier to evoke (73-74).

On the stage, Code is wild, unrestrained and ferocious. He exerts all the energy in trying to spit every word from his heart and soul. He virtually becomes another person whose spirit is filled with violence and power, as he is totally immersed in musical frenzy. Although economic problems and worries of the band's future fetter him, he completely gets rid of burdens during performances. Also, the power of music is strong enough to free him from daily chores. Music helps to broaden the mental capacity for more energy and freedom. Music allows him to reveal his truer self belying the seemingly courteous image. Furthermore, the pursuit of music has attributed to a more optimistic philosophy of life, especially when he wants to be successful. The musical pleasure has also changed the priority of his personal pursuit. In a wish to maintain this exuberance as long as possible, all kinds of musical practices such as rehearsal, gathering with friends and chatting with fans have become central to the life off stage. At least for a certain period in life, the musical success has rendered economic or prestigious pursuit rather unimportant, and is yielded to the pursuit of the musical joy. Freddy also shows this sense of strong endeavor. On the stage, rhythmic power has driven him into frenzy to bang his head as hard as possible. Freddy's frenzy has influenced both the band members and fans. During the performance, Freddy's self-exertion usually inflames the emotion of all the participants. The crowd will shout, scream, swing their body and bang their heads with equal excitement to echo with Freddy's passion. Besides music, the stage provides a chance to present one's inner self. Because the performing stage is a tunnel that can channel one's emotion in order for him to escape from reality, it functions as a threshold of liminality. From Goffman's point of view, the theatrical and the social stage have different characteristics. The stage is like a shuttle to transform the

identities and feelings of performers. To Code and Freddy, the stage allows them to reveal a more sentimental part in them that is more violent and liberated. Therefore, their manifestations on stage are different from the everyday impression and identity off stage.

The staged performance invigorates maximum degree of energy and passion. Fans and players employ music as a source of fabricating another world on their own throughout the entire performance. The power of music lies in the possibility to remain and extend the excitement felt during performances to the everyday life activities. Especially for the players, the exuberance is more intense because performing on stage requires higher degree of concentration and emotional immersion. Performing music enables members to manifest their talents, thus enhancing their self-identity in the real world since the sense of confidence and pride is still well kept in them. The notion of liminality contributes to an understanding of the influence of musical pleasure in the everyday life-world, as well as how players manage to negotiate this pleasure with their mundane experiences. As a part of social field, the performing stage constitutes a heterotopeia in which players are allowed to appear in different identities. However, since different social settings require varying degrees of involvement and impression control as Goffman has argued, the excitement, emotions and energies incited by music may not be clearly observed from other aspects. On the other hand, musical pleasure keeps embodied in players' minds as a major supporting force when they try to follow mundane regulations such as law, company policies or school rules. Hence, performing on stage is like a virtual reality that allows players to experience violence and indulgence without worrying about consequences. In this sense players symbolically conquer the feeling of frustration and anger while they are also able to acquire a better sense of achievement, because being on the stage means to transform oneself into another persona, which also allows them to escape from the everyday drudgery. Musical performance on stage is thus like a medium to balance players' emotional struggles and the principles of the external world.

To sum up, In Turner's words, he explains the meaning of the social drama along with its relation to social conflicts, work and play in everyday life. Taking from Arnold van Gennepp, he thinks that social drama is rooted in everyday life in the conflict form. He thinks that conflicts are inevitable, and work and play have the nature of conflicts. Social drama is a process from the initiation of conflicts to a redressive period, and to the reintegration of the social regulation period. To look at the development and the members' activities from Turner's concept of social drama, one may regard their activities, gathering and social-political appeals as potential conflicts negotiating the rules of the established order. The difficulties and repressions they encounter reflect the trajectory of this "incident".

Moreover, to put the concept of social drama under the heterogeneity idea from Bataille, one may infer that the negotiation and confrontation of heterogeneity with homogeneity are conflictual in nature, since the established order of homogeneity is inclined to deploy repression and even violence. The clash between homogeny and heterogeneity is even more drastic. From Bataille, the redressive and reintegration period in Turner is not necessarily good because it suggest that the incorporation of heterogeneity would justify the normative, homogenous order. Despite the efficacy of the social drama in explaining the nature of conflicts, the attitudes, behavior, thoughts and reflections of the members from an insider's points of view have not given enough concerns from this scope. Nevertheless, on the "performance" off stage and the general social life, Ervin Goffman offers another perspective that may cover the attitude, behavior and reflections of the Extreme Metal career to the members. The "technique" of social performance comprises several parts. It represents some fundamental attitudes that people may employ, and reviews some of the normative justifications that people may use to justify their everyday behavior. Therefore, Goffman's concepts are helpful to studies that employ field study as research method, because if a research needs ideas, thoughts and reflection from insiders, it is necessary to observe the ways members reflect upon the entire social conditions and social status. What Goffman provides is not just an analysis of incidents, but a stance toward the roles of social life that allows people to use various strategies to augment merits or underplay weakness. There might be secrets or anecdotage underlying the appearance. The above-mentioned theorists provide various viewpoints on what performance can be. Performance is a many-fold concept with multiple dimensions. By using the analytical terms similar with Goffman, Weinstein subtlely points out the hidden context behind the stage performance. While players and audience feel temporary freedom and ecstasy in the front stage, their lives off stage may be ruled by calculative mentality and instrumental reason. As she notes, backstage is defined by Goffman as a place--relative to a given performance--where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course (Weinsten, 2000). The concert is a ritual, ritualistic and important site of resistance (Frith 1968). Since the ecstasy and the sense of community in the concert are strong enough in order for people to review the emotional charge and channel their personal relationships through expanded social network, the rhythm of their life has thus been changed. People are imbued with resources and empowered to escape from the boredom of everyday life. Being ritualistic, people continuously seek resolution of life's conflicts in performances, and the ritualistic quality of performance of any kind is nurtured by the repertoire of living experiences.

Hence the everyday life of people, even when it is off stage, should also be

regarded as a performance as Victor Turner and Richard Schechner have indicated. To Turner, the continuous play of conflict and resolution lies in the performative process of rituals for members of community to hold on and survive. To Schechner, theatrical performances are able to actualize alternative consciousness through the process of transformation by the effect changes through the performative act (Chang 2000). The aesthetic form of theater is thus inherent in socio-cultural life in which he calls "social drama" (Turner1987). Therefore, as social drama that occurs on all levels of social organization from state to family rose out from conflict situations (15), the separation between art and life is not in distinct, but a metrical mirror. He concludes, "We learn through experiences not through social drama or stage drama but in the circulatory process of their mutual modification" (17).

As a result, the magnitude of performance is not just about time and space, but also about extensions across various cultural and personal boundaries as well as differences in degrees of magnitude. Aside from theatrical performance, other genres, though not so clearly marked, do not make them any less performative. Hence, everyday life is framed and performed because everyday life is stuffed with interactions that are rule-bound and governed by conventions with networks of reciprocal expectations and obligations. In fact, how one deals with crises in life and how a crisis related to an event is solved and "played out" become a matter of extreme importance (Schechner 1987). In the "backstage" of Metal where people face chores of everyday life and are stripped of anything romantic and Dionysian, their attitudes and struggle would still be performative although performance of this kind may be a lackluster one. From Turner and Schchner, this author wants to further elaborate on the everyday life of Death Metal players about their attitudes, while how they deal with the "mundane" part that is equally essential on their way to Rock.

2.3 Everyday life and scenic involvement

On the stage, performers of Extreme Metal are wild and furious, delivering extremely heavy sounds to overwhelm the audience. At times, the music is so strong that it intoxicates both players and audience, leading them to greater excitement and frenzy. However, such involvement also creates problems. One of the problems, as Keith Kahn-Harris observes, is that members may have difficulties balancing their life after performance. Harris reasons that, since the Extreme Metal scene leads people into greater excitement, the involvement in the scene causes clashes and conflicts with other parts of members' lives, forcing them make difficult compromises between the worlds of work and study (Harris 2000). Harris argues that members of Extreme Metal still need to earn a living and maintain relationships within the non-scenic world, and such a contact with the non-scene world would even destroy further

involvements into the scene because members find it difficult to cater to the logic of mundanity after the transgressive enjoyment in Extreme Metal concerts. The "scene" by Harris means both the spectacle and everyday life combined that consist a subculture. While the model scholars of Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) employ--as Harris notes--focuses mainly on the spectacular and media visibility of a subculture, it runs the danger of eclipsing Extreme Metal because of the obscurity of the genre (110). To Harris, the spectacular (performance, media presentation) part is just the most visible aspect of a scene, and for an obscure genre as Extreme Metal, it's necessary to observe the unspectacular part to see how the members negotiate between the drudgery of everyday life and their dedication to the subculture.

The concept of the scene's logic comes from Will Straw (1991), meaning the ability of the scene's practices to move the scene in certain consistent directions. As Harris explains, the logic of mundanity---whether it is work, study or even writing letters to fans--may threaten the reinvolvement into the scene. Whether they like it or not, to keep the different demands between the scenic and non-scenic elements of everyday life is crucial for members, for to ignore the conflicts they face may fail to account for some important aspects of daily politics and empowerment issues. Among my interviewees, such conflicts that Disaster and Anthelion faced are especially strong because they don't enjoy ample socioeconomic resources, and their career were filled with ups and downs from the very beginning. Members of Disaster are born and raised in normal families in which education and money won't be stress factors as long as they reach basic living standards. Since junior high school, they have decided to play music together and such an idea got fructified in junior college. When Disaster was formed, they were just a combination of college students and workers with no eye-catching specialties except for musical talents. Hence, from the start, their costs in buying instruments and tours were subsidized only by part-time jobs since none of them is qualified to get a full-time one. A few years later, some members in Disaster completed military service and began working. It thus relieves their financial burden, yet the real problems appeared in their way. One is still about money: although some have begun working, the others still relied on part-time jobs and family support. In addition, the extra money that a member earned was used for personal needs, not on the band's routine expenses. The other is the breach among members. As live performances increased, their skill enhanced and reputation accumulated, and hence their musical tastes differed. For a period of time, Disaster stopped performance and practice because of the discrepancies among members, which fermented an internecine intransigence that only an extra side project could decrease the damage. Similarly, the routines in the mundane life cause Anthelion serious problems. Like

Disaster, money would always be crucial since the costs on instruments and tour are prerequisite for musical success. However, unlike Disaster, the other problem that Anthelion faced is not quarrels among members, but how they can be more concentrated on music. Anthelion dreams to build a studio and make recordings in Europe. Being preoccupied with the dream, they work strenuously in creating music and doing live performances. Due to the hard work, Anthelion is now much well known in the island, and is ready to record their debut album in Europe soon. Nonetheless, job and work still fetter much. The money from teaching students is insufficient to cover the cost of the recording; and the administrative jobs they do now are so trivial that they distract their attention on music. Therefore, even success is within hands' reach, the mundane chores just keep them inopportune. The problems that Disaster and Anthelion face are common among Rock bands in Taiwan like financial subsidy, parents' expectation, school lessons, military service and personal relationship. Though trivial, each of them shows how the everyday drudgery may jeopardize the career of Extreme Metal players. However, music also works as a plethora of passion; a quintessence of empowerment. The living repertoire is composed of both the exuberance of performance and the struggles off stage, which reciprocate to render musical attainments and the "social drama" of the subculture. Passion for music, as Tia DeNora says, is an important source of security. Through its patterning of the sonic environment, music can provide a sense of bodily security and an attunement into the world. It is achieved through the regularized relationships between tensions and resolutions, sounds and silence and rhythmic arrangements over time that affords expectancy (DeNora 2004). In the interviews she did, she show that music has tremendous effects on people's life; it may affect people's mood, their sense of the self, and may influence the environment in which they interact with people (46-74; 109-31).

Following DeNora, one may find there is an intricate connection between music and one's social life. Sometimes when a concert was over, this author still saw people flabbergasted about the music that players delivered. Even weeks passed, some friends of mine were still intoxicated in the memory of concert. At times, Death would be so energetic talking about some melody of the music she listened the day before, as if there were no one beside. This author then begins to ponder on something unique about music that is worth remembering; the enduring influence of music that is strong enough to change their daily routine. He wonders: is there an empowerment of music? What are the aspects of such empowerment?

2.4 The Empowerment of Music

Before coming to the discussion of musical empowerment, this author wants to

reiterate some musical experiences that he has with Disaster and Death because they all treat music as an important part in life. This author would begin with the example of Disaster. Because members of Disaster were classmates in junior high school, it's natural for them to foster similar interests. Their conversions about music usually cover the memories of past and personal reflection, as well as fiery conflicts on divided viewpoints. Thus, the discussion on music would be associated with other kinds of remembrances and activities. Music for them is the expression of personal feelings and a catalyst that engenders a warmer social relationship with anyone who comes to the studio. Also, their studio is an important site to host activities and a temporary asylum when they feel sad and need solitude. Sometimes they would make barbeque outside the studio and chat with me with music in the background. The Disaster members and this author would hang out with friends in their studio with the music played to the loudest possible volume. At this moment, Heavy Metal is like an appetizer to inflame the joyous atmosphere. Music is important especially when they are sad. When they have trouble with parents, lovers or colleagues, they resort to music for comfort. They would listen to music all day until someone interrupts. If they don't listen to music, they would play instruments instead. Sometimes they practice seriously; sometimes they play whatever comes to their mind. Out of curiosity, this author has asked of them the meanings of music. Interestingly enough, no one gives the author a definite answer although anyone can tell that music means much for them.

Death is quite a different case. She does not have a band and hasn't played guitar for a long time. Nonetheless, it doesn't stop her from having a weakness for music. In fact, she has even greater passion for music than Disaster members do. The first thing that comes to my mind is her time spent on music. Because she has already worked, it's difficult for her to spend time on guitar or to join a band. She must spend lots of energy on her job. Yet, she spends the rest of her time on music. The first thing she does when she comes home from work is to play music--usually it is Metal. She would then listen to music for 4-5 hours until it's time to sleep. She says listening to music is important for her; it's not just for entertainment purposes. She finds something in Black Metal that is particularly attractive. She does not listen to Metal merely to relieve her anger or sadness. What she appreciates are the sophisticated music and lyrics of it. Her love for Metal is amazing. She may have kept this habit for over 10 years since she was still in college. When Death and this author listened to music together, she usually can recognize the melody of particular instrument and sing along with the lyrics by almost all the recognizable Metal bands. Also, she identifies not just with the anger but the entire mood that the album wants to express. She would appreciate the melody and composition in music. For her, musical content

is equally important with the lyrics. Disaster and Death intrigue me to inquire into the issue of empowerment because music has both social and individual significance for them. This author thinks it's an interesting part in music.

2.5 The Social Empowerment of Music

On the social empowerment of music, Lawrence Grossberg provides a detailed analysis. His key concepts include "affect", "affective plane", "formation" and "affective empowerment." These are all complicated ideas and this author thinks they demand further examination to identify what they mean in his context. At first, affect is a plane of effects, a matter of "actualization", "effectuation" practices. It's an ability to affect and to be affected. It is closely tied to the "feeling" of life. Such "feeling" is a socially constructed domain of cultural effects. The "affect" that Grossberg uses comes from Freud. To Freud, affect refers to psychic energy. Such a psychic energy could be either bound to a specific data or unbound; hence there is the possibility of affect without and idea and ideas without affects (Grossberg 1997). Also, such psychic energy has a dynamic quality as well as an economic perspective that constructs a battleground of conflicting forces and which constructs a machine or space defined by the circulation and distribution of energy--an economy of carthexis (158). Moreover, psychic conflict is never original; it arises anaclitically, leaning upon other instincts or drives. Affect or psychic energy is the existence of tension, of a relationship that is always a difference marked upon larger contradictory field. He wants to demonstrate that there is a history of attempts to theorize economics other than those of value, ideology and libid. (159). Most importantly, affect has the power to make difference. The affective economies empower difference while libidinal economies do not. Hence affects like pleasure and desire operate within a structure, in which it is their own satisfactions that define the operation of the system. Affect is also contentless: it is precisely aimed at constituting not only the possibility of difference, but the terms within which such differences are possible in a particular economy (159). Grossberg then puts the economy of affect into its relation with everyday life. Since affect produces differences, only when we recognize the different economies operating in everyday life can we deal with the specificity of various social practices and the contradictory terrains in it. What affect describes is the historically specific processes in which subject is defined by the intensive qualities through which it passes. Then its movement constitutes the subject nomadically across the fields of affective difference. And, the form of empowerment operates at the affective level that would involve something other than control or meaning. And the possibility of struggle depends on such an affective empowerment (160).

Grossberg finally associates Rock to the specificity of affect because the Rock

formation--audience, music, history and relation with society--has the ability to empower people, and may transform everyday life into a possible site of struggle.

He says Rock has a more ambiguous and ambivalent relation to everyday life given its power and popularity. It can make a powerful ally if it can be "appropriated and controlled," inflected into its own project and being articulated into a new vector of effectivity. It can become a site of struggle. It must, however, be constantly policed and able to ensure that it will continue to move within the lines of the disciplined mobilization of everyday life. The struggle over Rock, hence, is an ongoing but specific contestation within a larger field (Grossberg 1997). Rock and roll for him structures the space within which desire and pleasures are produced. It is in relations of power and politics of pleasure (31). Ultimately, popular culture is a force in political struggles; it is the arena of consent and resistance (7). To Grossberg, Rock is mainly a weapon for struggle. It may be used to counter the ideological domination in the culture industry, and may alter the rhythm and routine that are ordained under capitalism of everyday life. In fact, what Grossberg follows is the reasoning of Adorno who thinks that the culture industry is ideologically problematic, and the possibility of resistance lies in practical and symbolic struggles in popular culture. From Grossberg's point of view, both the lives of Disaster and Death have been altered a bit by the activity of listening to Rock. First of all, they become more sensitive to political matters by absorbing the critiques implied in lyrics. When this author first met members of Disaster, they had already been outspoken and articulate. The guitarist Sector can talk about many social issues. Death is even more forthright. She is very strong and reflexive. She dares to challenge anything she considers unfair, from personal chores to community affairs. Her speech is usually logical and persuasive. Both of them claim the influence of Rock spirit--uncompromising, critical and non-conformism. About their everyday life, this author has showed that the studio of Disaster is the center of their activities. Their daily plans are generally scheduled around the studio. For Death, music becomes her most important recreation. She may forget to throw out garbage or feed cats, but it's impossible for her to forget music. Yet, with the social aspect of empowerment so powerful, this author finds it's insufficient to cover all the phenomena he observed. This author thinks music means something for them other than social effects. In fact, such a reasoning of Rock like Grossberg's might be somewhat problematic because it excludes the everyday listening experience of music since we have may have different ideas toward the same song under different moods and situations. Moreover, even though Rock is marked by anger and dissatisfaction, it does not meant that there is only anger in Rock, and people may like Rock not just because they are angry. There are different kinds of moods in Rock, and the listening experience varies from one person to the other .

As Adam Krims (2000) says, although Grossberg's reasoning emphasizes the liberatory force in expressive culture, such logic may blind us from seeing how the mode of production "sets possibilities and limitations for such discursive practices and may even interact with them in ways that are not often considered" (140). Moreover, the exact everyday listening experience is untouched by such analytical theories. Because for music, even if it is Rock music, melody and sound are the "primary text" upon which we organize our experience and memory. Hence, the aesthetic aspect of Rock music--as both Adam Krims and Allan Moore have noticed--should also be our concern. As Allan Moore argues, our concern has to begin from the sounds. Because we must cognize sounds before we have musical entity to care about and to give value to (Moore 1992). Then, how do we understand the aesthetic level of musical experience? Will it be done by the analysis of melody and composition? Personally, this author thinks he is not eligible to do this because it needs a meticulous analysis of Rock in order to define its musical beauty, like what Allan Moore does in his "Rock: The primary Text". However, this author may offer his observation as a reference to see how my interviewees regard the significance of music.

2.6 Pathways: The individual practice

For Disaster, the most important thing for them is the weekly practice. Whenever there is performance, they need to practice 3-4 times a week to maintain integration among members. At times they would record demos to monitor the progress and to improve the next time. Every now and then they would join a contest like Spring Scream, and they would stay up to practice in order to be perfect. If they are professional artists, this author can understand why they take music seriously. Or, if there are lots of people watching them perform, this author can understand why they spend so much time on it. However, since they are not professional artists, the first assumption is not valid. Furthermore, the average number of people who go to a Metal performance usually would not exceed 100. The energy they spend does not get a proportionate applaud from performance. Most importantly, they would practice even when there is no performance scheduled. It seems to this author that the reason that drives them to practice is not something practical. This author thinks the need to voice dissatisfaction is not enough to endure the constant enactment. There may be something more delicate in the relationship between them and music. In her research on Milton-Keynes, Ruth Finnegan finds that the significance of music to the local people is the "pathway" by the music-making activities. Such a pathway is a kind of lifestyle and schedule; people attend music activities because of the profound rewards they get. They engage in all kinds of music genres--choirs, Jazz or Rock--which they

full-heartedly enact.

The established musical practice thus makes a reordering of social space and time, which involves people into a set of overlapping and crisscrossing social relationship. This habitual route fulfills people's desire for social intercourse with hundreds of people and provides a channel to a socially recognized position in a relatively intimate setting (Finnegan 1989). As a result, by the reality and value the musical practice endows, people identify themselves as worthwhile members of society (306). Finally, Finnegan addresses the importance of music. Because it is the appreciation of music rather than the social or economic benefit that brings people together. She argues that the experience of music is unique to people of Milton Keynes. What makes the unmistakable dedication is the shared assumption among the participants of local music that there is something unparallel in music that has an inimitable meaning (332). There are other rewards that people may get from music, such as leisure, "the effect of habit" or family pressure. Yet the real reward of music that might be sought only in the aesthetic domain is something akin to the spiritual meaning in religion. Hence, the unique aesthetic basis of music is not just a fabrication by the theorists or for social analysis; it is part of its essence that is experienced as music by active creators (332).

This author quotes Finnegan because he found the attitude to music is similar between Disaster, Death and the people of Milton Keynes. As has been previously mentioned, Disaster would practice even when there is no performance scheduled. They would practice in the studio even if it is 2 o'clock in the morning. Sometimes the thesis author would watch them practice and it seems to him that the reason they come to practice is just to play together, not for performance or anything else. The experience of jamming together is surely gratifying enough that is even worth a short (or long) drop out from school or work. Such a pleasure, more of aesthetic level than socioeconomic one, is very important to them. Like the people of Milton Keynes, the pursuit for musical pleasure reorders their time-space configuration and forms a particular habitual route in their life. For music, they would dedicate much money to defend their autonomous taste/appreciation of a specific genre. In this author's eyes, he thinks it is this difference that is really captured in Grossberg's terms. And he thinks it is the musical pleasure, not the anti-establishment sentiment, that transforms the everyday life of people and which moves them out of the lines of the disciplined mobilization. Since it is not intended to enter the details of musical analysis, what this author offers is just a simple elaboration of the pleasure that music brings. Music, as John Blacking says, "is the ordinary daily experience taking place in a world of actual time. The essential quality of music is its power to create another world of virtual time" (Blacking 1973). Such experience of virtual time is done by the change of

rhythm and the progression of sound. With the variation on the theme and the relaxation of the tension in harmony, music evokes imaginations, thoughts and experiences of persons that are either individual or collective. Thus, we are aware of the associations while we listen to music.

Our emotion and mood change with the organic movements in music and are stimulated affectively. For people of Milton Keynes, music provides them with another way of experiencing time. Thus, they may jump out from the clock-dominated time but enter a world in which time and each individual govern the perception of it. They have the freedom to experience and construct a world at their will, and it makes their continual commitment because the musical perception varies from time to time. Involvement in music then has wider significance, being far from a marginal and unstructured activity. It has both psychological and social significance to people's life. Since Extreme Metal has strong temp, time and pace changes, the emotion aroused by the change of melody and the relief of tension is also strong. It thus gives listeners much stronger experience and excitement. Hence, the case in Milton Keynes that musical excitement leads to certain social pathways may also stand true in Extreme Metal's case. For Anthelion, Disaster and Death, the musical content is the most essential part. While it is true that rock is marked by anger, the music is the first element that touches people regardless of what it wishes to convey.. And hence, it is the musical appreciation that initiates the empowerment. As Finnegan has showed, it is music that causes the change in daily routine, and it is the love for music that has the power to make a difference. Interestingly, music itself has the initial force of the "affective empowerment" in Grossberg's context.

Brief summary:

In this chapter, this author discusses the aspects of how visual performance of Heavy Metal could be the potential interest of cross-dressing, visual performance and gender studies. Since the visual performance of transvestism has broader significance as Marjorie Garber argues, the visual presentation of Metal could have diverse interpretations other than a rigid decipherment as a mere display of masculinity. In the second part of the chapter, this author employs the idea of social drama from Victor Turner and Richard Schechner to offer another analytical perspective on their musical practice. He presumes that the entire processes of their musical practice, whether on stage or off-stage, is the integral part of their career, and it is equally important for their musical pursuit. Hence, the "mundane logic" of the world, as Keith Harris argues, is also influential to their practice, ideal and psychology. Finally, this author contrasts Lawrence Grossberg on the idea of musical empowerment. This author does not negate the efficacy of such a terminology; however, the reality of musical

empowerment should focus only on the social movement sense of resistance while eclipsing other aspects of musical pleasure such as the fun in playing instrument, the joy in listening to music or sharing with friends a communal kind of pleasure. In this author's opinion, the empowerment is the combination of all these activities. The argument of empowerment of Rock should cover these aspects.

Chapter Three: Attitude and Behavior-An Inquiry into Deviance

3.0 Interviews

From the very beginning, Extreme Metal had incurred incessant attacks on its sociopathy of anti-Christian and Pagan ideologies. From the suicide of Euronymous of Mayhem to the neo-NAZI Nocturnal Mortum, Extreme Metal had astounded the society. For some people, Extreme Metal, especially Black Metal's anti-religious and racists' manifestation are not just "aesthetics" used for mere shock value; instead, people may regard Black Metal as the real threat to the society, for the behavior of burning churches has gone too far from the ostentatious rebellion of Rock. Therefore, Black Metal would sometimes be faced with abominations and inhibitions both from the authority and society, which lead to a more inflammatory struggle between the two sides. Likewise, the death and gory contents of Death Metal raged the religious figures and politicians in the U.S. In the name of child protection, American politicians launched a large-scale campaign in policing violent contents in media and especially in music. Specifically targeting on Death Metal band Cannibal Corpse, U.S senator Joseph Liberman argues:

> These songs...are helping to create a culture of violence that is increasingly developing our children, desentizing them to consequences and ultimately cheapening the value of human life. [8]
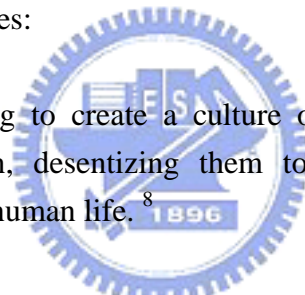
And in a more blatant manner, Carl Rascke attributes the juvenile violence to the influence of Heavy Metal in his book "Painted Black: from Drug Killings to Heavy Metal- the Alarming True Story of How Satanism is Gerrorizing Our Communities", stating that Heavy Metal bands like Slayer, is the direct cause of juvenile suicide and murder, for the criminals of this kind are die-hard fans of these bands. From what has been stated above, it seems that Black/Death Metal members are either killers or criminals, having a special weakness for destruction in some people's eyes. And owing to the obscurity of the genre, it's hard for people to get a panorama of the culture. Hence, some may generalize them into the anti-social, anti-religion and anti-establishment category. However, as such generalizations gradually become consolidated, certain group of people would become the focus of moral crusade that their outlooks, socio-political background or other traits could become the target of attack. Hence, juvenile delinquency, killings and crimes are designated onto specific social group, and anyone who is related to this group is potentially labeled as deviant. Following this line of reasoning, we may ask: do people listen to Black Metal just

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[8] Purcell, Natalie. *Death Metal Music*, p45.

because they are anti-social? Do people like Cannibal Corpse just because they are more likely to kill? What if there are people who are completely normal and rational? What are the motivation and politics behind it?[9]

It is based on this doubt that this part of the study is conducted. Yet, getting access into the circle aside, the bigger problem is that the definition of deviance

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[9] Both Howard Becker and Rene Girard have elucidated on how particular social status and traits in appearance may be more likely to incur deviance impression and even moral accusation. It is said in Becker's "Outsiders" (1966) that:

> The simplest view of deviance is essentially statistical, defining as deviant anything that varies too widely from the average…so stated, the statistical view seems simple –minded, even trivial. Yet it simplifies the problem by doing away with many questions of value that ordinarily arise in discussions of the nature of deviance.   A less simple but much more common view of deviance identifies it as something essentially pathological, revealing the presence of "disease". This view rests, obviously, on a medical analogy…the medical metaphor limits what we can see much as the statistical view does. It accepts the lay judgment of something as deviant and, by use of analogy, locates its source within the individual, thus preventing us from seeing the judgment itself as a crucial part of the phenomenon. Some sociologists also use a model of deviance based on essentially on the medical notions of health and disease. They look at a society, or some part of society, and ask whether there are any processes going on in it that tend to reduce its stability, thus lessening its chance of survival. They label such processes deviant or identify them as symptoms of social disorganization. They discriminate between those features of society which promote stability (and thus are "functional") and those, which disrupt stability (and thus "dysfunction"). Such a view has the great virtue of pointing to areas of possible trouble in a society of which people may not be aware.   Another sociological view is more relativistic. It identifies deviance as the failure to obey group rules. Once we have described the rules a group enforces on its members, we can say with some precision whether or not a person has violated them and is thus, on this view, deviant. (6-8)

Rene Girard (1986) also argues:

> …I now turn to the third stereotype. The crowd' choice of victims may be totally random; but it is not necessarily so. It is even possible that the crimes of which they are accused are real, but that sometimes the persecutors choose their victims because they belong to a class that is particularly susceptible to persecution rather than because of the crimes they have committed. The Jews are among those accused by Guillaume de Machaut of poisoning the rivers. Of all the indications he gives us this is for us the most valuable, the one that most reveals the distortion of persecution. Within the context of other imaginary and real stereotypes, we know that this stereotype must be real. In fact, in modern Western society Jews have frequently been persecuted. (17)

differs from culture to culture; something deemed as deviance in one culture may be completely normal in the other. Hence, the definition of "deviance" may be a problem itself. And an investigation into a deviant culture should also include a diagnosis of the larger public. For deviance, as well as other abnormal activities, is not just mere violation of rules, but also a collective judgment that is applied on those deviant people. Since deviance is a public labeled wrongdoing, the treatment of it is a matter of how society defines and manages the trespassing of social norms. As Howard Becker argues, before any class of people can be labeled as deviant, someone must have the rules that define some behaviors as deviant, and the sanction to the offenders is the operation of the enterprise. Without the enterprise to make rules, "deviance"—which is made from breaking the rule—does not exist (Becker 1963). Also, if deviance causes danger and especially the breaking of taboos, the sanction the society exercises would be more punitive because dangers and taboos are used to protect the solidarity of community and the consensus of the organized world (Douglas 1966). The breach of taboos, then, is the direct challenge to morality and social order that breaks open the moral or behavioral codes that society ordains. In fact, to prevent specific social codes from being broken, the power that a society exerts may not just exist in an obvious and instrumental fashion, but also in a more unstructured and implicated manner. As Mary Douglas notes, disorder by implication is unlimited because no pattern has been realized and hence the patterning is indefinite (117). It is therefore at this "expressive" level that some pollution ideas are used as analogies for expressing a general view of social order (114). Ultimately, the idea of society is a powerful image. By setting limits and defining deviance, it shows its power in maintaining conformity and discipline (141).

In the light of Becker and Douglas, the reality of transgression is not necessarily deviant because the judgment may not be on the nature of the behavior. A normal, innocuous act in one culture would still be culpable if it is in the other. Given the reality that deviance is identified with divided opinions, the actions that are termed as deviant are not the same everywhere but merely changes in form. It does not mean that the social category termed as "crime" or "deviance" then does not exist, but people have to notice why some behaviors would be given a deviant character while others do not receive such a label., for even in a community of Saints, says Durkheim, tiny faults that appear venial will arouse the same scandal as does normal crime in ordinary consciences; the community would judge and punish them as real criminal acts. It may better explain the expressive, unlimited implication of disorder that Douglas raises, for the identification of deviance concerns more about the attitude, sentiment toward some behaviors than it does the mere fact of deviance. Take witch-hunting for example, it is also the fear and dislikes toward witchcraft that incur

more violence toward the accused witches. And, an inquiry of deviance is not just a study of statistical facts, but should also include the examination of specific values in each culture, for the deviance is not just the inherent qualities of the behavior, but also the consequence of public reactions.

These theorists may be helpful to illustrate the core issues in the study. Since Black/Death Metal is general a Western phenomenon, how it is perceived and understood is the first prerequisite for the inquiry. Besides, atrocities like church burning and murder could be the second concern since the turmoil like this would surely cause public phobia in the Taiwanese society. However, it doesn't mean that there won't be any public concern toward the music as such even though no deviance has been done. Rather, like what I have mentioned, it is the public reaction that makes a deviance serious, not the reality itself. Then, we need to know from what grounds the musical practice may draw public fury, like the scandal mentioned in Durkheim and regarded as normal crimes.

To find out their attitude toward the music, interviews have been done to some members of Taiwanese Extreme Metal bands. To this author, interviewing and representing their thoughts are the first level of the investigation because they are the most accessible ways that can be carried out. At a deeper level, these two methods also help us understand the deep structure of the emergence of Extreme Metal in Taiwan, for it is believed that socio-political factors do influence the development of any cultural phenomena, not just this type of music. In doing the study, numerous concerts are attended, big and small, north and south, in order to observe the activities in the scene. Several bands are also available for longer interviews and conversations for the interviewer to find out more details about how they reflect upon their own practice as well as their responses to others. If face-to-face interview is impossible, this author would send questionnaires to them. However, the process was not always favorable, and this method was far from perfect. There were times that the study was obstructed by indifference and disgust so overwhelmingly that it was almost impossible to go on. And, ironically, although the researcher keeps a relatively neutral attitude, he was still sometimes predisposed to associate them with certain stereotypes.

During the interview, the author usually focused on their reception of the musical concepts; how they perceived the elements of Western Extreme Metal and appropriated it into their music, seeking to find out the cultural differences between the two. Basically, the questions would concern band history, musical experience, socio-political backgrounds, the philosophy of life, family condition and personal tastes. Although the primary interests of the study were the attitude toward anti-religion and totalitarianism, it was in fact impossible to raise such questions for

the first interviews. Also, such concepts were totally strange and alien to some bands, since they had not even heard of such ideas. Because of the difficulty in understanding foreign languages, some people even did not understand the origin of Extreme Metal. After the initial stage of the research, Anthelion, Chthonic, Death and Disaster were the most approachable among other interviewees. Just after the first meeting we were able to discuss serious issues. From them this author derived a rough picture of Extreme Metal in Taiwan. About the attitude toward religion, both Death and Disaster had similar responses. For Death, religion is not bad; but she cannot bear the atrocity in conversion and the moral crusade in eradicating heterogeneity. According to her:

> I think religion is basically good. For instance, I like some of the Buddhist teachings. However, I abhor the violence and crimes that are committed by religion. You see, Black Metal is the best example. Because the Christian religion eradicated the local polytheism in Sweden, then Black Metal appeared as a cultural form of retaliation. I think you cannot take it as anti-religion because what it did was just what the Christianity did a thousand years ago. (My interviews)[11]

Death doesn't think religion is bad. In fact, she highly identifies with some religious mottos and religious figures. What she rejects is the evildoings committed in the name of religion for she thinks such things are totally gratuitous and hypocrite. Likewise, members of Disaster are not prejudiced against religion; rather, they think religion is very important for the social order and people. As the guitarist Sector said:

> We are not anti-religion or something. Yes, we are skeptical about many things in the world, especially the deceptive show of politics; but it doesn't make us any less pious than you are. What we want to show is that some people suffer because of religion and politics. Our songs are the expressions of that situation. (My interviews)[12]

To tell the truth, finding that Disaster is not anti-religious at all is one of the rewards in the study because many of their songs are highly sacrilegious. In their song "Black Lamb", they repudiate the serfdom to religion and make mockeries toward blind faith. However, it turns out that the lyrics are just symbolic accusations against the social injustice. None of the Disaster members is engaged in anti-social activities of any

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[10] Interviewed in September, 2005.
[11] Interviewed in May, 2005.
[12] Interviewed in May, 2005.

kind. Two of the members are even Buddhists. At most, they might have dropped out from school or work, yet they are far from being evil. About this question, members of Anthelion are more inadvertent about any possible profanity that their lyrics may imply. They are aware of the history of Black Metal. They also understand that there is some violence committed by Black Metal bands. Actually, they like that kind of attitude to some extent because they admire that stance of anti-establishment. As the vocalist Code says:

> We know that Black Metal is anti-religious. And we know that there was some violence done by band members. But the reason I like Black Metal is mainly because of its music. I like the combination of melody and cacophony in Black Metal, which delivers strong sense of insecurity and dominance at the same time. I hope we can achieve the same sentiment in our music. (My Interviews)[13]

Like Disaster, there are also profane contents in Anthelion's lyrics. In their song "Moon Rise Killing", they depict the image that demons and ghosts arise from hell for a bloody massacre. The ghosts are so infuriated that the killing is totally merciless. In the end, what remains are just beheaded corpses, broken legs, shredded bones and rivers of blood. When further questioned the meaning of these images, Code replied, "These are just the symbols that under some situations people do suffer in the world. They are also the expressions of my own feelings. Some times you just feel so sad or angry that you want to kill--but of course you cannot. So I reveal the inner turbulence through these songs". The only album (EP) of Anthelion is full of such images. And because the image of Code onstage is quite frightening, sometimes none of the audience dares to walk close to the stage. Yet in private, Code is friendly and cordial. He likes to talk to anyone who likes his music. And as he said, he just expresses an emotion that anyone may have. Music for him is the lingua franca that truly speaks people's mind.

    In the study, Death, Disaster and Anthelion are generally neutral toward religion. Although their lyrics seem sacrilegious, they don't have particular likes and dislikes toward it. Nevertheless, there are bands that are especially associated with religion whether in the name of bands or in their actual beliefs; and they are Seraphim, Black Messiah and Sky Burial. Seraphim was formed in 2001, named after the six-winged angel in the Bible. This nomenclature comes from the vocalist's Christian religion. Although other members are not Christians, they do not deny religious connotations because they think it is part of the Metal fantasy. According to guitarist Kessier, his idea toward religion is:

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[13] Interviewed July, 2005.

I don't have special concept toward religion. The reason why we take the name Seraphim is because our vocalist Pay is a Christian; and because we want her in our band, we then accept her opinion. Our lyrics are mostly about heaven, angel, revelation and sometimes people's struggle. But for us, it's all just fantasy. I think music is more important than other issues like politics or anything else. The reason why we are together is because we want to play music together. I think that's what counts most. (My interviews)[14]

Some members in Seraphim are revered musicians in the Taiwanese Rock circle. Members like Kessier and Jax had been successful for over 10 years. Seraphim is their new attempt. Pay, the vocalist, is a soprano who had never listened to Rock music before she joined Seraphim. The combination of female soprano and male guttural voice is the distinct feature of Seraphim in order to voice the inner conflict of good and evil. The revelatory lyrics and themes of salvation are to reflect their beliefs that justice should triumph over evil, and all the conflicts in the world would finally be subdued. Their attitude toward religion is rather positive. Nevertheless, Black Messiah and Sky Burial are more provocative than the bands mentioned above. Their lyrics are more blasphemous as well as their personal beliefs. Yet, it was a pity that interviews are not available due partly to their reluctance. Contacts have been attempted, but only Sky Burial replied. For Black Messiah, it was a total misfortune. Although some members could be known through other methods, it seems only the vocalist was representative enough to speak. Sadly, the vocalist was already in the U.S when the contact was attempted. Even if he came back, it was said that he is difficult to get along with and in no way would he accept the interview.

Sky Burial was formed in Kaohsiung. All the members came from southern Taiwanese cities like Tainan, Kaohsiung and Pin Tung. Their style is the Brutal Black Metal-the style of Mayhem, Darkthrone, Gogoroth and Immortal. Their music is very violent and coarse, with very low-pitched guitar and unpronounced vocals. The very contact with their music is stunning because their music is far from melodious but very intense, and it does not mean to be catchy or pleasing. Besides music, what is also attractive is the image of their EP "Anti-Christ War". Patterned after Darkthrone, the lyrics in "Anti-Christ War" are highly irreligious, casting doubts on the religions of the world and humanity. However, it might not be able to further question their true intention since they didn't accept interview in person, and the item of religious attitude was blank in the questionnaire. The author was only able to talk with some members after the performance. From the lateral observation, they were generally

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[14] Interviewed March, 2005.

pleasant to communicate and were not brittle despite the fact that they could be equally opinionated in private.

Darkthrone "Transylvanian Hunger"   Sky Burial "Anti Christ War"

Also, Black Messiah was likely to draw interests from Black Metal aficionados due to their lyrics and stage properties. They were the only band that utilized goat horns as part of their performance. As the name Black Messiah suggests, their lyrics promoted the abolition of religion and the exaltation of human crimes. They displayed an image of Doom, claiming that the Evil Prince would come again to judge human being. Then, the world would be destroyed and a new black order would be established. The world would be dominated under the supreme principle of sin. Because of the irritating contents, to arrange an interview seems reasonable. Nonetheless, due to the absence of the vocalist and the shifting members, the interview was abortive. Later, in other occasions, this author met the former bassist and former drummer of Black Messiah. Within a short talk, this author found that they were articulate and easy to get along with. For example, the bassist Karou was eloquent especially in the analysis of social issues. He gave an impression that the imagery in the album was not claptrap but it had clandestine implications. Most regrettably, Black Messiah, had dismissed being after 2003, with only a two-year's course. The members I knew were either working as a clerk or studying at graduate schools. Some might be active in the circle, but it's more difficult to contact them unless there are other channels available.

After the interview, the tentative remarks on their attitude toward religion were that they were general not anti-religious. Religion for them is not a negative term. Although they seem to repudiate religion in the albums of Sky Burial and Black Messiah, through conversation it is found that what they object was not religion as a

spiritual guidance—some of them even admit the need for a spiritual guidance—but religion constituted as an institution of human oppression and dominance, such as churches or temples. For example, Death had enumerated the Christian crimes like witch-hunting and the Crusade. For her, such barbarism launched by the clergy devastated far greater than the mere practice of witchery. Still, Sector from Disaster detests illegal wealth obtained in the name of religion. He thinks being religious means a total abstinence from greed and lust. Hence, he actually has a high expectation toward religion. Even though Sky Burial and Black Messiah attack religion with all their strength, their attitude is more human than mere assault. Their attacks on religion are on rational grounds, and the reason they thought that religion should be removed is that it is detrimental to the human development. In their lyrics, religious figures are presented as the Devil that pulverizes the human civilization. One must question: is that kind of attitude really irrational? Furthermore, many of them use fantasy or religion as the embodiment of the actual worlds. What they imagined as heaven or hell is in fact the allegory of social situations. As a result, what may incur more curiosity is their political attitude, and this is usually the next question following religious attitudes during the interviews.

In the attitude toward politics, their responses also differ. In Taiwan, the two parties-KMT (Kuomingtang, the Nationalist Party) and DPP (Democratic Progress Party) grasp most of the resources. KMT upholds the union with China, whose supporters are basically veteran soldiers from the Mainland, middle class and some intellectuals. Because of the failure in the presidential election, the KMT seeks to relinquish dictatorship and reform its bureaucracy. Although it failed in the election, it still enjoys strong influence in the congress and legislative ministry. Unlike KMT, DPP is marked by its grass root consciousness and urge for independence. After its establishment in 1986, DPP acquired populace and won the presidential election in 2000 and 2004. This transition of power is regarded by some as the elevation of the Taiwanese subjectivity, under whose assertion the KMT was rendered an alien tyranny from China and hated by indigenous people. Supporters of DPP consist of labors, workers, social movement groups and some intellectuals. Since the controversial success of Chen Shui-Bian from the DPP, the ideological conflict between the two sides had been so aggravated that issues concerning indigenous identification became more sensitive and inflammable. Supporters of Pan Blue (KMT and its allies) and Pan Green (DPP and its allies) are more incompatible with each other. The questions toward political attitude in the questionnaire spare direct interrogation into political inclinations. Rather, the survey is worded in a rather descriptive manner like "Do you have political beliefs?", "How do evaluate right and wrong in politics?", "How much do you concern politics?", or "Do you think your

song may reveal any political connotation?" Like the religion questions, some people just don't see the need to answer questions like those because they haven't thought about that yet, whereas others do reveal their political attitude, and are willing to speak about their beliefs.

Death thinks that she doesn't believe any political doctrines. What she believes is simple: justice and integrity. For her the line drawn between what is right and what is wrong is very clear. There is no "grey zone" as such to shirk responsibility. For her, political leaders should be incorrupt and uncompromising for they shoulder the livelihood of people. Due to the obstinacies of Chen Shui-Bien, she blasts him for his inability and effrontery although she doesn't like the KMT either. She comments on the president and the DPP government:

> I think the president is irresponsible. He doesn't offer any feasible policies nor does he enhance the welfare of the people. You see the economy declined so much after he stepped up, and he is still in the mood of complacency. I doubt if he really cares about the livelihood of people, or he just cares about his own power or money. I am not inclined toward any political party. To me, the principle is very simple. Be wholehearted or get out. I don' want to see a corrupt government, just like that of DPP now. (My interview)[15]

Death doesn't conceal her disgust toward a corrupt government. Although she dislikes the DPP government, she doesn't like the KMT either. She would get angry if it comes to the corruption and dictatorship committed by the KMT. In fact, she is not a political fanatic. She is not pro-DPP or pro-KMT. She is generally in the middle of the spectrum. For Disaster, political issues are sometimes of their interests. But the opinions differ among their members. However, according to them, their songs do not imply any political concepts. They just express their dissatisfaction toward the status quo, without favoring particular party. As the bassist says:

> We just speak frankly without reserve; no matter it is our mood or disgust toward the society. In fact, we are not targeting on anyone or any entity, we just say whatever we like. Maybe someone would read overtones, good, that's his own business. (My interview)[16]

Songs of Disaster are the collective works of all members. As a result, everyone has to yield more or less in the interest of the whole. There were times when a member or

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[15] Interviewed in March, 2005.
[16] Interviewed in March, 2005.

two would be holding firm in their own view, however; the preferable consequence would be the reconciliation between the extremes. In fact, the guitarist Sector and bassist Blacker are more sensitive to political issues. Nevertheless, they say they won't put candid politics into songs. They rather want Disaster be more socially admonitory than politically salient.

For Anthelion, politics is not their concern. They don't think there is much political connotation in their songs. They think maybe it is important to punctuate the Taiwanese subjectivity consciousness, but they don't lean toward any party. As Code says, what he cares about is music and the musical environment. It is on this ground that some social issues become crucial. Unlike their allies Chthonic, they usually don't express their political attitude. They concentrate on music although they agree that politics could be important as well. Seraphim's idea toward music and politics is more clear-cut. For them, music and politics should be completely separated. According to the bassist Jax:

> I think music should not be messed up with politics. I think music is music, politics is politics, they are two different concepts. I think if you want to play music, then you just concentrate on it. I don't like music with political connotations because that will debilitate music. I know some foreign bands glorify political implications, but that's their own business. For us, music is music, and I think musicians should not involve political ideas into music. (My interview) [17]

Seraphim's attitude is relatively apathetic since they totally reject the involvement of politics. Actually, what has been revealed in their music is mostly fantasy and an imaginary world detached from reality. [10]However, it is unfair to say that they detest politics. It's just that when it comes to music, politics should be removed from their creation. Because the author was not able to interview Sky Burial and Black Messiah, other fans were interviewed to make up the loss. By their requests, pseudo-names are used to keep secrecy.

Jane Wei, 22, female, is a college student and devoted Metal fan. She acknowledges that she doesn't have specific political beliefs. She thinks that music is more important than politics although she likes the political ideas presented by bands like Chthonic and Megadeth. However, her parents are frenzied over politics. They usually have fights when election comes. Yet, she is apathetic toward politics. She thinks the debates on TV are rubbish.

Mark Fan, 25, male, is currently a graduate student. He thinks he is in the "grey

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[17] Interviewed in March, 2005.

zone" between the DPP and the KMT. He supports the Taiwanese subjectivity discourse raised by the DPP but he thinks the KMT is more practical on economy and cross-straight issues. He voted for Chen Shui-Bien in the last election but now he felt regretful. According to him, he is torn between disappointment and his political beliefs. He thinks that music is a vehicle to carry political ideas. It is an important manner to counter hegemony.

Jack Chen, 22, male, is a college student and Metal fan. He thinks that the reason he listens to Metal is because of the cadence in music. Sometimes he would read lyrics but more often he just enjoys the entire sound. He claims that because his English is poor, it doesn't matter whether the lyrics are political or not since he doesn't understand them at all. He thinks he supports the DPP. Although he also felt disappointed, he still belongs to the Pan Green that befriends the DPP.

Danny Hsu, 27, male, is a company clerk and amateur musician. Danny had played guitar for more than 8 years and formed a Rock band when he was in college. Danny also thinks the political ideas are important for metal. He thinks it is the reason why Metal is powerful since it conveys an irresistible rage. He doesn't like the KMT for its corruption and bureaucracy. He support DPP's ideas but he refuses to comment on their policies.

Frank Suh, 28, male, is currently a music teacher who have listened to Rock and Metal for 11years. He contends that he hates the political opinions suggested by lyrics. He thinks that music should be simple. Political connotation is not his concern at all. Ironically, he admits himself as being a fanatic of politics. He watches TV talk show every day and has worked shortly as campaign assistant for a legislator. Given his interest in politics, he still thinks that music should be detached from politics; he cannot bear even the least political content implied by music.

Amy Lee, 25, female, is currently a salesperson in realty business who had been a vocalist in a band when she was in college. She thinks that politics is more important than music for it is always the concern toward society that makes a band great. She thinks that it is musicians' responsibility to reform the society. She is not in favor of any particular party; actually she thinks both the KMT and the DPP are too lousy to mention.

Steve Huang, 29, male, is an engineer and an amateur guitarist. He is totally apathetic toward politics. He says that he only listens to the riffs and melody in CD regardless of lyrical content. He says that sometimes album titles and lyrics are meaningless because the artists may name in a careless manner. He doesn't understand why people want to associate music with politics. He thinks they are totally unrelated.

Momo Chen, 25, female, is a shop clerk at a department store. She had been a

vocalist in a Rock band when she was in college. She thinks politics is more important than music. She likes bands that promote political ideas such as U2 and Rage Against the Machine. She cares about the major issues in media and would discuss them with her family. According to her, all her family members are political enthusiasts although the parties they support are different. Personally, she supports the DPP but she says that she has no choice because there is only one party in Taiwan that boosts the indigenous consciousness.

Adolf Lin, 20, is a music major in college who has listened to progressive Metal for 8 years. He thinks that music is more important than politics. In his opinion, overemphasis on political content would eclipse the appreciation of music. He thinks that he still supports the DPP government although they have aroused many controversies so far.

Eric Liang, 29, is an amateur musician and bassist in a music instrument store who still performs regularly in public. He thinks his political attitude is radical. In fact, he has joined some protests in college, ending up with 2 days' detention at the police station. He is very much satisfied with the DPP government. He strongly believes that it is necessary to take violent measures like revolution to counter hegemony if all rational manners are futile. He is highly concerned with political issues in media, and would write protest letters to the authority concerned. He believes that KMT would fail due to its corruption and inability.

James Huang, male, 32, is a program designer and a Metal fan. Although he cannot play any instruments, he has a large collection of metal CDs and writes CD critics constantly on media like the BBS and Internet web pages. For him, politics is a power game. He thinks that mere moral claims are high-sounding statements that are totally worthless in the political struggle. He thinks the only way to win in politics is by money and sensational statements. He thinks that totalitarianism is the utmost pattern of dominance. Personally, he doesn't think there is anything wrong with totalitarianism because it is politically reasonable.

Joe Wang, female, 25, is an elementary school teacher and a constant concert goer. She thinks her concept of right and wrong is very clear. Therefore, she won't buy into the cliche of politicians. She thinks that politics is bad and immoral although she admits that it is a necessary evil. She inclines toward the KMT. She is disappointed with the DPP government and hence she doesn't want to comment on them.

Mark Liu, male, 26, is an engineer and a guitarist who has been the director of the rock club in college. He thinks that music and politics are mutually compatible. He feels that music should not be excluded from society and therefore it may contain political issues. He doesn't have particular political belief though he prioritizes the

value of justice and morality. Since he doesn't support any party, either the DPP or the KMT is acceptable to him as the political dominance.

HeWen Jian, male, 30, is a research assistant and a bass teacher. He regards himself as a "Deep Blue"- a devoted supporter of KMT. He says that it is the corruption of DPP that turns him to become a believer of the KMT because now the latter is more politically progressive than the former. He thinks politics is important whether in music or in everyday life and therefore he accepts the political content implied by music. He says that he is pretty rational when it comes to politics. He won't be desperate in front of oppression. He believes that justice would finally win over corruption.

Wayne Hsieh, male, 26, is a high school teacher and a guitar player. He thinks his attitude toward politics is neutral. He doesn't favor any party nor does he emphasize the importance of politics. He thinks that as long as he keeps his job, it doesn't matter who is in charge. In his opinion, the struggle between the KMT and the DPP is like a variety show. He takes it as a kind of entertainment.

Gloria Chou, female, 23, is a graduate student. She doesn't like too much politics in songs because that will be such a damper. She likes to discuss political issues with friends but she is not crazy about politics. She doesn't like either the KMT or the DPP. She thinks both of them are the causes of chaos in society. For now, she just hopes for the election in 2008 because she had enough of the mess caused by DPP.

Finally, it needs to address more about Chthonic because they are the most outspoken in proclaiming their political beliefs. From the beginning, Chthonic is undisguised about its political bent—the precedence of Taiwanese subjectivity. From the presidential election in 2000, Anti-Chinese Annexation music festival in 2003, Safeguard Taiwan in 2005 to the Independent Musician Alliance in 2006, Chthonic highlights the priority of Taiwanese subjectivity and the independence consciousness. Apparently, direct expression brought criticism from both sides including those from other musicians in the circle for his political extremism, or from the academic circle for his peculiar viewpoint. However, Freddy still clings obstinately to his ideas. In his eyes, it is natural to value the Taiwanese culture since it is the motherland. He thinks that the Chinese ideology imbued by KMT notwithstanding is the most heinous guilt that should be totally removed. The KMT brainwashing brings forth political apathy of the multitudes and wipes out the diversity in public opinions. It is to revive the public concern for politics that motivates Freddy to bombast his political pulse. To him, civilians as well as musicians should attend to politics in order to shoulder the responsibility of organic intellectuals. According to him, the relationship between music and politics is:

For me, politics and music are closely related. Western musicians would address on various public issues as to show their democratic capacity. For them, expressing political opinions is as natural as revealing favorite football teams or other personal interests. I think it's the essence of democracy that everybody regards politics as his personal matter. In my opinion, being engrossed in politics would just enhance the profundity of our democracy instead of ruining it. It is why I accentuate my political stance. (My interview)[18]

Freddy's political attitude is the most explicit among all the Taiwanese Rock bands. If fact, because of his inclination toward Taiwanese independence, he has been invited by DPP candidates to endorse their policies. All the Chthonic albums so far are about the Taiwanese folklore in which struggles with alien powers are allegorized into the war between gods. Therefore, Chthonic is sometimes regarded as the advocate for the Pan Green politicians. Although other materials from other bands seem radical as well, their attitudes are generally not as cynical as the musical content may suggest. Although some reveal clear political preference, normally it does not hinder them from maintaining a balanced judgment on politics. Even Freddy, the most political of all, claims what he supports is the Taiwanese subjectivity consciousness, not any particular party or candidate; universal values are important for him. As a result, although some of the contents of Black/Death Metal are highly radical and extreme, the audiences in Taiwan don't seem to be that peremptory. They generally respect the political opinions of other people. Only certain number of people appears to be drastic and agitated. For the majority, music is for pleasure and enjoyment and could be separated from politics. Hence, in Taiwan, listening to Black/Death Metal does not necessarily correlate to anti-social activities. Although some do hold extreme views, interviewees in this study maintain balanced on sensitive contents.

Given the fact that Black/Death Metal members are not generally prejudiced toward religious or political extremism, the discussion of deviance should then address the change of social norms with the shift of cultural imagination which forges negative treatments and brands bad impressions. Some of my interviewees have complained that their interests have brought them troubles and critics from others. Freddy, Death, Disaster and the fans all had experiences of being misunderstood and criticized as troublemakers. Although they are not necessarily deemed as sinister, the eyesight they received is virulent enough to tell that they are deviant and problematic. Hence, to view the representation of Metal and people's attitude from a historical perspective, a survey of Rock development in Taiwan would help to measure the intricacy between the music and the society. From the investigation into the relation

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[18] Interviewed in March, 2005.

between music and society, we may see how external factors such as social conditions and political ideology may influence the aesthetic standards and the impressions of music genres.

The history of Taiwanese popular music comprises several stages and each of them is closely bound up with social conditions. The creation and circulation of popular songs are significantly under the sway of cultural policies devised by the ruling power. In the Japanese occupation period, the colonial regime tried to uproot the local cultural heritage by strictly forbidding songs written in Taiwanese. Later in the 1960s, albeit the sovereignty had been restored to the KMT government, the smother had not been removed but merely transformed into another form. When Rock was introduced to Taiwan in the mid 1960s as a fad, centralized state power imbued with ultra-patriotism had already culminated in order to "decontaminate" the cultural field (Chen 2003).

In education, to counter the Chinese communism and strengthen the ruling legitimacy, the KMT government launched the "Chinese Renaissance Movement" to maintain ideological solidarity and to clamp down the control of cultural space. With the glorification of Chinese orthodox culture, the KMT government concocted a common origin of people to effactually eradicate the indigenous identification. By fabricating a national-historical myth, the KMT government successfully recreated the national imagination and cultural paradigms that paved way for the "collective consciousness" in the cultural space (37). Moreover, in the media, insofar as to accomplish the ideological domination, the KMT dictated Mandarin Chinese as the only official language and promulgated that only songs written in Mandarin Chinese were allowed to be broadcast in public, a practice which silenced the indigenous people and effaced their cultural heritage recorded in Taiwanese. Under this context, the KMT government took one hegemonic step further in 1971 to censor all materials (especially in popular songs) not catalytic to patriotism in the name of "cleansing materials that might hobble the counterstrike morale." This "Popular Song Purification Movement" banned many songs that were regarded as vulgar, decadent, pervert or pro-Communist by the Bureau of Information so as to besom dubitable dissidents that were inconsistent with the ruling ideology. Underlying the cultural purification movement was the KMT government's display of absolute power. In cultural as well as political, economical and social field, KMT coerced pedagogies to prioritize its autocracy. Under the strict censorship, musicians of popular music were working only within the confine of politics. Alternative styles were either suppressed or banned by the authority concerned. It was not until the Folk Song era that the energy of Rock saw prospect. From 1970 to early 1980s, the KMT government suffered several drawbacks in diplomatic relationship. Retreat from the U.N.,

sovereignty dispute over the Diao-Yu island with Japan and the termination of diplomacy with the U.S. were fatal blows from the international society that threaten the existence of the KMT government.

Consolidating its power, the KMT government mobilized patriotism to call for the national/indigenous identification. In the wake of the strained political situation, intellectuals and university students began to express their concerns for national affairs through songs of their own creations. After the "Modern Folksong Concert" in which Yang-Xian issued eight of his creations, the folk song style characterized as self-written and society-prone has prevailed the field of popular music. According to Chang Chao-Wei (Chang 1994), the folk songs fell into three major styles: the first is aimed at the revitalization of the traditional Chinese music, arousing nostalgia toward the heritage of ancient China; the second appeals to grass-root concerns for workers, farmers, peasants and other underprivileged people, claming that music should be the product by the mass because it would then utter the voice of people. In fact, the second type, the "Summer Tide"(夏潮) course was the leftist of all. Its identification with workers and farmers was in tune with the Communist ideology and has subsequently drawn them much inspection from the KMT government. The third was the "campus system" which promoted the unimpeachable image of students and intellectuals to advertise the artless, original music of the youth. It was because the Folk Song movement had met the propaganda needs of the KMT government that the control eventually loosened to allow different opinions other than patriotism in the previous period to appear. Yet, as folk song singers thought their urge for indigenous consciousness was indiscriminately equal to that held by Western protest artists, the censorship had never slackened. Actually, through organizations like the China Youth Corps, KMT's absorption of resources from the youth only furthered. It turned the youth into the guardians of the KMT regime and the ruling ideology had being carefully inserted into artistic creations (Chen 2003).

Outside popular music, the possibility that Rock music might work as an alternative lifestyle was completely eliminated. In as early as the 1960s, countless attacks against the media had blamed the lifestyle of Rock at that time--the Hippie movement--as epicurean and morally spoiled. Editorials on newspapers criticized youngsters dressed like Hippies as rascals and wastrels of the nation, scolding the peace movement and sexual liberation as ridiculous and totally shameless. On the streets, the police raided youngsters in outlandish dresses to tidy up their appearance, and they would not release them until their hair was completely cut short. For many years, the Hippies and other types of Rock lifestyle were labeled as immoral and deviant that impacted the pristine image the regime had molded. To dominate the youth, the alternative lifestyle that Rock offered was a danger to the ruling KMT

because it was too vulgar and decadent by their standards. It was on this ground that the power it exerted was punitive. If deviance is the result by the social norms, then the above condition had helped shape the contour of the adverse attitude toward Rock and Metal, since in the very beginning the cultural imagination of Rock in Taiwan was detached from other essential ingredients such as counter-culture movement and subjective freedom. It's no wonder that the image of Heavy Metal would seem to people if the radicalism and creativity of Rock had long been concealed. After the Folk Song era, the socio-political condition in Taiwan underwent a more drastic change. From the early 1980s to the mid 1990s, the national-cultural Chinese narrative had been shattered by the discourses from rising oppositional movement and social activists. Since 1979, the oppositional party activists known as the "Dang Wai" (The External Party) had organized innumerable protests on the streets and in the Legislative Hall to contest the KMT hegemony. Bolstering the Taiwanese consciousness to tackle the China myth, the "Dang Wai" activists successfully burst open the restraints in the public sphere, formulating previously repressed issues like national identity, historical memory, freedom of speech and political participation into the social space (Chang 1998). The crescendo of the antagonistic force consummated in 1986 when the official opposition party DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) was established shortly before the removal of Martial Law in 1987, signaling a farewell to the era in which authoritarian ideology dominated the social space. It meant that, as political taboos being broken and discursive boundaries being transgressed, a civil society in which people sought for democracy and diverse lifestyles had gradually came into being (Hsiao1989).

3.1 Cultural Formation and Musical Grotesqueness

In popular music, as the political ideology gave way to the commodity logic of the fledging capitalist market, the impetus for music creation was far stronger. On the one hand, the economic boom boosted people's entertainment consumption, which flourished both artists' aspiration and sales of records. On the other hand, the newborn civil vitality was articulated in diverse experiments on musical themes and styles that made the representation of music more daring than the previous period. As Chang Chiao-Wei has pointed out, the Folk Era marks the beginning of the industrialization of the popular music in Taiwan. By excavating potential singers and advertising their records, the record companies were more experienced in commercial production and have successfully expanded the consumers into young adults and teenagers (Chang1994). The defect of the commercialized Folk Songs is that the record companies uplifted their impressions by utilizing the pristine image of young students. Furthermore, in order to issue records and to hold concerts, folk singers have to

compromise with the commercial method of operation. They have to appear as unadorned and sincere in media photography and performances, or succumb to the internal censorship of the company for contents that are inappropriate for marketing (Hsu1990; Chang1994). Finally, the singers' autonomy in music has yielded to the interests of the companies. They were finally assimilated by the music industry as quasi-pop idols (Miao1990; Liu1997; Lee2000). Despite all the ill effects, the greatest contribution of the commercialized Folk Songs is the industrialization of the music business with the expansion of potential consumers. In the past, youngsters and teenagers are not major consumers of popular songs because it's hard for them to echo with the political contents. Nonetheless, identifying with the personal feeling revealed by folk singers, youngsters and teenagers are more willing to purchase popular music as folk songs become more popular in the market. Moreover, although the commercial operation inhibits the creativity of the folk song singers, it helps to develop a new method of music production and distribution. With the overall improvement in domestic economy, the commercial method becomes the major means in music production. In ideology, the campus Folk Songs mediates the highbrow "Summer Tide" folk song style with the decadent commercial popular music, appealing to the public as both pristine and popular. Under commercial operation, it configures a new style of popular songs that on the one hand develops the market and at the same time legitimizes its style and image (Chang 1994).

It signals a great shift from the political, intellectual high culture to the formation of the popular one. The campus folk songs are just popular culture products that claim nothing really political or intellectual. However, its success means the cultural formation of music has begun to change in ideology, style and production mode. It heralds in the industrial age in the 80s and the hyper-capitalist production in the 90s (168). Most importantly, the change of cultural formation brings forth the alteration in aesthetic standard in music, and the music produced is more polyphonic than those in the previous periods. By absorbing the singers, songwriters and producers in the Folk Song era, some companies are able to establish its style. For example, "Rock Records" is characterized by the daring attempt in excavating alternative music that assists many talented local artists. Its artist Luo Da-Yu becomes the famous protest figure in accusing social injustice and political oppression. In fact, Luo's political blast signifies the withdrawal of the grand narrative in the cultural space and the rise of market power. With the promotion of the record company and media, Luo acquires acclaims from the public, intellectuals, cultural activists and opposition movement members. Also, emphasis on producer production and artist creation becomes the major method of music production in the 80s. The "New Music" appeared in this era is more diversiform as far as styles, lyrical content, tempo, rhythm, imagery and

language are concerned. It's the deliverance of artists' talents and the differentiated marketing strategies that contribute to this kaleidoscope of music industry. Also, both the record companies and audience are likely to embrace some controversial contents that may be politically satirical, cynical, over-sentimental and even sexually explicit (Fang 1995). The circumstances allow the subversion of established aesthetics and hence they are the terrifying, ridiculous presentation that might be termed as "grotesque" sojourns occasionally in the music market; and it is in this condition that Rock and especially Heavy Metal be appeared as alternative kind of "New Music" (59).

On the other hand, the industrialization of the record companies was revealed in its commercial operation. By absorbing the singers, songwriters and producers in the Folk Song era, some companies are able to establish its style. For example, "Rock Records" is characterized by the daring attempt in excavating alternative music that assists many talented local artists. Its artist Luo Da-Yu becomes the famous protest figure in accusing social injustice and political oppression. Luo's political excoriation signifies the withdrawal of the political grand narrative in the cultural space giving way to the scrambling for propaganda and profits. With the promotion of the record company and media, the public, intellectuals, cultural activists and opposition movement members applauded Luo as a conscientious objector. Even in the depose movement toward President Chen Shui-Bien in 2006, Luo is still influential in agitating waves of disputes in the public sphere. His musical success is the synthesis of the producer-oriented production and artist extemporization that becomes the major production tactic in the 80s. Also, UFO records, another influential company and the main competitor of Rock, utilized differentiated marketing strategies and media advertisement to promote lots of pop idols in the market. With the outsourcing production being more and more frequent on TV, the record companies are able to promote their artists between program intervals as a form of advertisement. For TV stations, it doesn't matter whether the advertisement is about objects or artists as long as they acquire interests; but for the record companies, it means the increase in promotion budget and the artists have to be tailor-made in image and music in order to fit the media performance. With the advancement of recording and mixing technology, the companies felt easier to turn musical creation into commodities.

The musical value and monetary value are therefore equated with the sales that become the measure of "good" pop music. The commercial music world is then organized around sorts of musical events that offer a kind of routinized transcendence, which sell "fun" (Frith 1993). By integrating music production, artist lookmanship, marketing strategies and media advertisement, UFO successfully maximizes its interest from the market shared. The consequence is the rising number of project

personnel in each company. Besides music production, these people play an important role in media presentation including TV, radio, magazine and public advertisement. The direction of the project determines the image, song style, impression and finally the overall success of the artists (Chen1992; Wang 1999). This condition is consistent with Frith's point that the success of records does not merely come from the music content but also the effort of the production team and advertisement crew. The music is the final result of constant negotiation and compromise (Frith 1992, Negus 1996). Therefore, record labels have to orient the niche of the music product as to sell records; namely, how to market an artist becomes much more important than the music itself. A unity of technological-industrial-commercial operation guarantees huge interests. Nevertheless, the greatest defect such strategy caused is that music becomes the peripheral product of the artists since marketing matters more than music. The focus of music production is misled to the impertinent image, outlook, scandals, and posters yet at same time such misplaced focus worsens the quality of music as well. In the end, the motive for audience to purchase tapes and CDs is because the artist is handsome or beautiful while no one really cares about the music (Wong1996; Yuan 1998). Under such consumerism, the popular taste becomes more banal and philistine, and music more homogenized into disposable craps (Lee1996). The industrialized music commodity is like what Herbert Marcuse writes in his "One Dimensional Man" that the technical apparatus of production and distribution functions not as the sum-total of mere instruments which can be isolated from their social and political effects, but rather as a system which determines *a priori* the product of the apparatus as well as the operations of servicing and extending it. And, in this society, the productive apparatus tends to become totalitarian to the extent to which it determines not only the socially needed occupations, skills, and attitudes, but also individual needs and aspirations (Marcuse1964).

As the star system and the mass consumption become the common practice, the resource that companies spared to alternative music is much more compressed providing that catchy melody with brainwashing advertisement brings huge interests. Its influence towards Rock is that the huge market of young consumers grants Rock some legitimacy by the public; yet, under the claptrap production, the acknowledgement is too shallow to contemplate upon the significance of the music rather than stereotypical showmanship. The social capacity at this time is insufficient to match the level of seriousness that Rock bands intend to articulate in music or lyrics. As Fang Chao-Rue says, Rock in Taiwan at this time was quite awkward. Although the popular music in the 80s is thriving, the commercial logic had controlled and ruined the creativity of Rock. Rock in this period is regarded as potential marketing fad with the artists' autonomy neglected. From Chu-Chu in the 80s to

Assassin in the 90s, none of them was influential enough to arouse social concerns instead of waving worn-out consumerism that quenches the artists' passion. Fang argues that Rock in the 80s is in a dilemma; in a way, the bands need to issue albums to fulfill themselves; on the other hand, the sales of Rock bands had never prospered: the subjection to the commercial mold just suppressed their creativity. Getting no resources from the market, they then turn underground or switch to independent production. The critical content in market would go begging at last. Although Rock is transmitted from the Western society, the local environment is not resourceful enough for all kinds of style to survive.

Democratization of Rock artists then portends the invisibility of Heavy Metal's subsequent development. Fang then asks: "Is there Rock and Roll in Taiwan? And how does the profundity of Rock become more developed in the local context?" (Fang1992). As Fang's inquiry focuses mainly on the 80s, however, the mushrooming Rock bands have answered her research in the 90s due to several changes in the popular market and cultural environment that permitted the emergence of alternative aesthetics. The next change had been brought by the invasion of international major labels, which signaled the full capitalization of the reconstruction of local music market. Although the record companies have deployed star system and mass production in music, they still encourage the creation of minor genres. However, under the capitalist operation of the major labels, musical experiments have given way to a more thorough enforcement of mass production and homogenization. Compared with the situation in the 80s, the challenges that local labels faced were not mere competition, but the crisis of existence since they were too vulnerable to the enormous financial strength of the international companies. In fact, the international labels had merged with many local labels, which was their first step to monopolize the market. To survive, some companies and artists stressed their local feature, and focus specifically on the musical genres that were different from the major popular music. Then, terms such as "independent music" and "underground music" began to emerge since the mid-90s. Such terms do no only refer to a specific mode in economic operation but also a cultural concept (Lin 2005). Being independent means artists had to manage the entire production process, which conferred upon artists an assertion of resistant in relation to the commercial method. Also, the "independent" stance that they brandished fortuitously and which they have articulated with the highly diversified market for artists may still succeed if they catch the niche. It was under this particular operation that Rock artists and their music may continue to prosper.

As Chen Hui-Ting contends, the division between "mainstream" and "underground" has to be further clarified since such vocabularies are highly ambiguous in the common practice in the realm of Taiwanese popular music (Chen

2004). According to her, terms like "underground music", "underground film" and "underground press" emerged in succession after 1950. The terms, as their names suggest, are either experimental or distinguished materials that are especially favored by the intellectuals. In 1994, on "Non-Classical" magazine, Wu Chen-Chung translated the term "underground" from the English "Rock Speaks: The Dictionary of Rock Terms" as "a counter culture that specifically belongs to the youth which rejects the existing values and commodity logic, indicating an alternative discursive style that music has in the late 1960s' Hippie movement" (Wu 1994). It then since became the most precise definition of the term "underground" (Chang 1996). Also, Irene Ho, another famous popular music critic, defined underground music as "a kind of music that is not illegal but which keeps certain distance from the mainstream" (Ho 1986); "the idea of the underground art is a kind of music that is apart from the mainstream in musical structure and theme" (Ho1989; Chang1996). Combing Wu and Ho, Chen Hui-Ting further argues that the definition of the underground music has to include its production/circulation, artists' community and aesthetic inheritance.

Due to the mutual orientation between the commercial mainstream and the underground, the division between mainstream and underground is no more operative because more and more "underground" artists had been unearthed and succeeded in the commercial market. The commercial/underground is not in an oppositional dichotomy, but in a network of unceasing interaction that involves music development, artist management, rational calculation, media cooperation, market investigation and audience reception. Given the fact that the major companies as pathfinders capitalize independent labels, the companies may as well operate the business and deploy their artists in a commercial way (marketing, advertisement, product segmentation, publicize artist) only if they are small-scaled and more effective. Such a relationship is more like co-optation and absorption instead of confrontation. Therefore, to cater to the changing conditions in the 90s, Chen Hui-Ting contends that the term "underground bands" and "underground music" should be altered into "creative bands" and "independent music" to feature their correlation (Chen 2004). Yet, Metal seems to exist under the radar of Rock fans. Even when Rock becomes more popular among audience in the 90s, there are scarcely Metal bands that circulate in the market. Among my interviewees, they still find it difficult to communicate with friends about their musical interests. The obstruction is not just the tangible one about the access to Metal and Rock, since the resources have been much more available in the global age. The boundary drawn to preclude Metal involves more issues germane to musical qualities in imagery, sound, tempo and melody. In my observation, the reason for some Rock genres to appear more acceptive is because they may conform to a specific listening preference along the long course of development of popular music. Such

listening preference is formed historically and culturally under social circumstances to fixate certain acoustic formations. Compared with the preferred acoustic formation, Metal is still too fast, too loud and too noisy in the eyes of other Rock fans. The preference to specific acoustic formation reflects the realization and the reception of Rock as well as the imagination of how Rock should be musically organized. Since many themes of Metal are neither about love nor about the improvement of the unity as characterized by other popular music genres, it is not easy for the public to reorient preference. While other forms of Rock (such as Brit-Pop, Grunge, and Hard Rock) may still be brandished as an anti-fashion fad, Metal's chaotic and Dionysian elements make it difficult for general audience to digest the musical and lyrical complexity. In this condition, Metal is regarded as a "noise" in the Rock circle. Nevertheless, the reception of musical convention, as Leonard Meyer argues, is neither absolutely "pure" nor autonomous. The reception of musical norms is always a socio-cultural process. By the constant deployment, particular music configurations (progression of chords, rhythmic structure, and melody) become norms to fixate the musical structure and the tastes of people.

3.2 Institutions and Repulsion

Musical sounds may serve as a means of establishing cultural, musical, and political boundaries, and the production of music is the point at which such work takes place (Jones 1993). The regulation of tempo, rhythm, melody, and procession concerns the formation of social groups and cultural practices (Frith 1984). While the acceptive configuration delivers boundaries, order and security, the departure from that causes transgression, uneasiness and astonishment. The cultural preference to particular acoustic formation may be practiced both materially and symbolically. Restated, the cultural, musical and political boundaries may form a kind of "institution" that simultaneously sets up borderlines and excludes alternatives. Institution as such may bestow sameness and even a structure of authority or precedence over particular patterns. In the field of art, these patterns may become conventions that dictate the form in which materials and abstractions will be combined. They also regulate the relations between artists and audience, specifying the rights and obligations of both (Goffman 1973). Moreover, the institutions also produce the belief in the value of the work. In music, in discussing how institutions influence artistic taste and operation, music scholar Georgina Born offers an insightful analysis on the institutional violence in her research of IRCAM of France. By appropriating the splitting effect in Kleinian psychoanalysis, she argues that it is the mental mechanism that causes the exclusion of modernism in the IRCAM ethos.

In fact, to further explain this inner mechanism, Klein uses the idea of projection

to further analyze the phenomenon. According to Klein, painful and unpleasant sensations or feeling are by this device relegated automatically outside oneself; one may assume that s/he belongs to elsewhere, not in oneself. We disown and repudiate them as emanating from ourselves; in the ungrammatical but psychologically accurate phrase, we blame them *on* to someone else (Klein 1964). People may divide others into "good" and "bad"--some we like and love, others we dislike or hate; we try thus to isolate and *localize* these feelings and keep them from interfering with each other. This outlet also enables us to get *pleasure* by gratifying our aggressive feelings without incurring any corresponding damage to ourselves. So we provide ourselves with objects that can be safely projected as the targets of our aggressions and hate, just as we provide ourselves with compartments and receptacles in our house which can safely receive the offensive or injurious discharges of our bodies. Both of them are typical ways--one psychological, the other physical--by which we strive to preserve to some degree the lives, health and sanity of ourselves and also of those we love and on whom we depend for our existence and our pleasure (Klein 1964). In the attempt to preserve the subjective pleasures, others, then, becomes the scapegoat of our own aggression and dissatisfaction in which the designation would be totally arbitrary that requires no physical proof of guilt (please consider simplifying this sentence). As we understood the mechanism that people may mistake others as bad and guilty, in a larger context, we would still be influenced by environmental factors throughout our life. To expand the scope to historical factors, social influence should be also included to see how the subjective physiological reaction is oriented by the social factors.

3.3 The "Grotesque"

According to Geophrey Harpham, the sense of the grotesque arises with the perception that something is illegitimately felt in something else. Such fusions generate the reaction described clinically by Freud, who noted that when the elements of the unconsciousness "pierce" into consciousness, we become aware of a distinct feeling of *repulsion* (Harpham 1982: 11). The grotesque could be defined as both the strangeness, deviation in form as well as psychological confusion that grotesqueness causes. For example, Hironymous Bosch' paintings could be taken as one of the grotesqueries for the distorted, awkward objects, and variegated levels of the "uncanny" sense it evokes. In Bosch, grotesqueness is characterized by technique such as disparity, enormity, exaggeration and deformity. Also, the art style known as Gothic is also highly related to the grotesque for the spookiness and darkness aroused are equally ambiguous. What is more, as Harpham argues, the definition of the grotesque depends not solely on the formal properties but it also envelopes factors of

assumptions and expectations in creating the sense of the grotesque. It is our interpretation of the form that matters. Namely, it is the social acceptance, adaptation or even pedagogy that determines the definition of the grotesque objects. As the formal configuration provides the material base for the grotesque denomination, it is also the social and cultural ambit that affects the association between particular physiological stimuli and the acquiescent recognition of something that could be called grotesque. In reverse, one may question the socio-historical progress that makes some aesthetic experience acceptable and hence legitimate art forms based on formulations, such as biological principle of agreeability, or the materially ideal according to physics or math. While one agrees that beyond the social influence human beings do have biological limits in sensory perception, what this author tries to propose is that the social aspect is very crucial in identifying agreeable/disagreeable registers of aesthetic experience in the efficacy of legitimization/exclusion operation. Seemingly extraneous, the socio-cultural factors such as historical influence, law or even political power determines what we may regard as the most natural experience. With this in mind, if one believes that the artistic conventions are not immobile but somewhat historically contingent, then the grotesque objects are potentially subversive and even revolutionary that they may shatter the conventional definition of good/bad and offer a more multiple aesthetic experience. Then, what is the grotesqueness in music as far as these properties are concerned?

The first focus of the grotesque in music may be on the deviation from conventions and forms. Yet for people who maintain that musical meaning is purely autonomous and that their coherent structure may bring pleasure or bear moral value, the deviation is likely to incur negative moral judgment and its inconsistent or cacophonic qualities may become the material bases for moral accusation. As the coherent, harmonic structure brings pleasure and may enhance moral sense, the negative judgment on the incoherent ones has been implied immediately yet with the same propensity as an antithesis that does not require further suggestion. The "musically grotesque" is therefore contrary to the "musically beautiful" as proposed by Eduard Hanslick. In Hanslick's eyes, the beauty in music consists in beautiful forms especially in melody and with a symmetrical structure. For him, why people describe certain music as fresh or melancholic is because of the quality of the music itself, not anything that is fresh or melancholic in the world beyond music. The musical beauty is reached by the unity and coherence of harmony, tonal arrangement and rhythm. The musically bad, the "pathological way" of appreciating music, is being emotionally agitated by musical sounds. The structure of the bad music thus lacks appropriate harmony and melody; it is at best just vibrations of sounds in nature but cannot be qualified as musical materials (Hanslick 1854:116-118). Hanslick

exemplifies an attitude toward music that stresses the musical work as autonomous entity detached from the extramusical world, and a structure that can be studied in an objective manner.

However, maybe it is insufficient to say that music is totally autonomous because in this sense one cannot explain why people would identify with particular piece of music whose structure or melody is rather simple (the examples would be national anthems and lullabies). Music may bear at least a minimum expressiveness that conveys imagination and emotion. Music is expressive by virtue of its capacity that elicits feelings in listeners. It also portrays or recalls expressive human behaviors within which human beings may express exuberance, anguish, anger and serenity through music.[19] Certain experiences would be also be enhanced by tempo, rhythm, voice-leading or harmonic relations in musical sounds. Moreover, composers would utilize innate expressiveness of music to augment whatever the effects they intend. In this way, the preference or abhorrence of music includes our feelings and emotional reactions. Conventions and institutions may also work on the psychological level. The definition of noise, the musically beautiful or the musically grotesque engenders both the objective structure of music and one's subjective appreciation. As a harmonic piece of music is described as euphoric, jubilant, and serene cheerful, the noisy piece would be morose, dejected, painful and repulsive.

As the perception of music is also culturally defined, a gap between the mere physiological reaction and the collective judgment on something that is believed to be indisputably bad still remained. The suture as such relates more to the social influence on the perception of individuals, as well as the degree of how much people are accustomed to the social value. In this respect, Leonard Meyer offers a detailed analysis. He argues that the meanings of music may be appropriated by the cultural forces to designate other meanings and affective experiences even they stimulate nothing but motor, physiological responses. The socio-cultural forces could bestow the musical sound with particular meanings for people to respond as collectively

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[19] This author's idea echoes with Peter Kivy's argument of musical expressiveness:

> That sound stimuli have an effect on a human being's affective state is beyond question. It also beyond question that when sound is in the form of music, it possesses at least some of whatever stimulative potency it inherently has, or has acquired and what is inherent or acquired potency is, is of course a question for the psychologist of perception, among others, to answer. (51)

Please see Kivy, Peter. *Sound Sentiment: An Essay on the Musical Emotions*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989.

defined other than individual interpretations. After constant deployment, the culturally defined meanings and responses would become so natural as if people would believe they were innately ingrained in the style and physical response in them. The point in Meyer is that what one believes to be unquestionably natural would still be socially constructed. As he says, when the specific pattern of music and types of pleasure are fixated, they would become a natural reaction. The physical pleasure that is aroused by the stylistic formation further strengthens one's belief that the musical conventions are natural instead of the efforts to excavate the historical factors. The process of stylistic development is filled with changes and conflicts that vie for the final regulation among various experiments. Conventions and norms are then not taken as innately acceptive but historically contingent, which includes constant cognitive and affective readjustment of subjects. Meyer (1956) argues:

> The argument is that any kind of music will serve as a group or society provided the music is stylistically distinguishable from all others; there is noting internal to music, in other words, which predisposes it impart one kind of significance above all others. In contrast, it is also possible to argue that the internal qualities of a musical style are of themselves significant. This is not necessarily to assume that the significance of music is located in some form of "asocial", "ultimate" reality, however. It can be asserted that because people create music, they reproduce in the basic qualities of their music the basic qualities of their own thought process. If it is accepted that people's thought process are socially mediated, then it could be said that the basic qualities of different styles of music are likewise socially mediated and so socially significant. (12)

Concerning the stylistic development, he also writes that:

> Styles and style systems are not permanent, fixed, and rigid. Within cultures which do not impose strong social sanctions upon art, changes in style have been the rule rather than the exception. One style gradually replaces another, attains its own particular fruition, declines and is replaced by another style. The process is gradual and, since not all aspects of the system are necessarily changed, it is often impossible to mark off the historical limits of a style. We must be content to point out its ultimate fruition and its general limits. This has also been the case, though less frequently, with the style system. (64)

In this way, Metal (especially Black and Death Metal) would be the most plausible candidate to deserve the name of the musically grotesque, because the disparity and deformity in painting find the expressive equivalents in the enormous volume and unconventional progression of tempo in Heavy Metal. By the use of tritone, Metal

also evokes the spooky feeling and sense of horror in listeners' minds. Nevertheless, what remains critical is how people receive the stylistic deviation and grotesque objects. Besides individual preference, the larger social context is more crucial in defining the grotesque stimuli. This then raises the issue of musical meanings, emotional designation, and contemporary definition of good and bad that remains crucial in the discussion of deviance formation.

3.4 Deviance judgment in an evaluative context

The grotesque property, deviation or unusual deployment of skills all prepares the material basis for moral disparage. Yet, without a counterpart that establishes an order by rejecting the Other, the exclusion would not be that strong. Also, since the counterpart value is always situated in specific context, it seems feasible to spot the hidden link between the ethos of a period and its moral requirement on the individuals. In Taiwan, as Rock has gone through different stages and developments, the focus of the deviance impression of Metal generally converges on two aspects-standard of personal success and inheritance of popular music discourses. Hidden in the elevation of Chinese tradition is the over-enthusiasm in pursuing degrees of higher education that is considered to be a shortcut to enter literati and officialdom in feudal China. According to classic Confucianism, learned scholarships equal to moral decency and are regarded as pillars of bureaucracy and aristocracy. There is a correspondence between knowledge, morality and future success. Furthermore, on a more practical basis, the general education system (launched from 1940) is part of the larger modernization project that is highly utilitarian by nature and which aims at providing technocrats for the economy growth while neglecting the spiritual and cultural enhancement (Huang 2003). Education system in the beginning was to improve literacy in the post-war period. The major achievement was the elimination of junior high school entrance test. However, without an overall assessment, the elimination of test only accumulated the pressure that radicalizes the competition before college. Besides promoting diplomatism, the compulsory education was not successful in elevating intellect or erudition. Over decades of development with economy being the centerpiece of our modernization project, school mostly functions as a human resource factory that "produces" usable power for bureaucratic positions; hence, both the authority concerned and parents regard education as a kind of investment that can garner interests in the near future.

Combined with the belief that levels of knowledge carry symbolic moral and mundane values, the teachers and parents are more justified in pushing children with the diploma myth. Since only those who have college or higher degrees can acquire decent jobs such as manager, lawyer, doctor and government official, it is no wonder

that the diploma pursuit is an overriding goal for almost all the parents, teachers and students (Huang 2003). Nonetheless, under the relentless attacks on exams, corporeal punishment and cram schooling, students still study for fame and money instead of interests. Morality classes are usually replaced by math and English exams. The defect is the reproduction of another class consciousness made by diplomatism. Together with the Chinese belief toward scholarship, a new social stratification is created in education under which students who fail academically are stigmatized as morally careless. Those who choose vocational trainings too early instead of studying often suffer from discrimination because they are deemed as potentially inferior in the future. A dichotomy is built under which the antithesis is that low grades equal to low integrity.[8] Even with the Education Reformation Project implemented in the early 90s, the condition has not improved. For the very core of such diplomatism is the myth that knowledge guarantees interests, and any improvement method regardless of this mentality is doomed to fail, no matter how revolutionary it is. Sadly enough, the change of socio-political condition has not shattered this bigotry. Since the early 1990s, the renewal stage of capitalist development only strengthened the utilitarian rationale that did serious damages to the educational system. The formulation from education authorities has changed, but the entire picture does not.   This is similar to what Randall Collins (1979) describes in his "*Credential Society*":

> With near-universal high school completion and one-half the youth cohort attending college, these formerly valued goals lost much of their appeal. They no longer guaranteed a respectable job, at the high school level, or an elite one at the college level…none of them came to grips with the underlying issue: the fact that education is part of a system of cultural stratification and that the reason most students are in school is that they (or their parents on their behalf) want a decent job. This means that the reasons for going to school are extraneous to whatever goes on in the classroom.

New types of credentials are proposed because the public has lost confidence in the value of the old types (191). The Credential Society reveals a problem that since diploma becomes the only standard in getting jobs, other kinds of jobs that do not necessary require diploma are more depreciated. Also, in order to evade misfortune, students must struggle to get a degree yet it causes another problem called "diploma inflation" because of the overcrowded people on particular levels of job. It then causes an embarrassing situation that although high degrees do not necessarily guarantee good jobs, people are forced to struggle because other jobs are more disappointing in money and self-esteem. What is at risk is the decline of education since no one cares about knowledge but a mere piece of paper. Finally, since getting

diploma becomes the only target in schooling, those who choose the other routes are neglected. In this study, concerning the issue of deviance, playing music or choosing to be a musician is among the "outcasts" because university degree is not a necessary threshold. Under the general atmosphere that those who don't study are potentially problematic, to label them as possible deviant is the reasonable act by this logic. And this is exactly what some of my interviewees have encountered in their daily life[10]. The belief that only those who acquire significant degrees are respectable is one of the crucial factors that drive this "deviance amplification" as mentioned by Becker. In a similar way, professor Born has already pointed out that the mentality of rejecting the "bad objects" is a psychological mechanism to preserve pleasure and may formulate the subjective view of the world. Seemingly legitimate, such formulations may be inoperative vacuum because they are alibis for selfish pleasure principle. It could be said that the presupposition toward the Metal players (especially those who are still teenagers) conforms to this tenet. Especially for people who believe in the diplomatism, as one has already known the void nature of such blames, the more people reprimand, the more they appear parochial by refusing to appreciate various levels of success and personal talents. The second factor is the specificity of theoretical inheritance and limited epistemological perspectives in the reception of Rock in academy and among intellectuals. It may be another reason that heavy metal keeps on bearing the deviance stigma while players of other genres may gradually acquit from the charge.

The "mainstream" theoretical frameworks that are used to analyze Rock and its culture in Taiwan are those established by distinguished scholars in Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham University, U.K. such as Dick Hebdidge, Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, Paul Willis, etc. Rooted in the post-war environ, the scholars of CCCS provide significant explorations into the post-war youth in U.K like the Teddy Boys and skinheads. They also investigate into modes and lifestyles of the working class youth. Employing Antonio Gramsci's hegemony concept as their theoretical backbone, the CCCS scholars theorize a systematic analysis on the resistance potential lying behind the lifestyles, taste choices, music genres and other kinds of preferences. Significant though, the epistemology and methodology that CCCS scholars employ are not perfect. For instance, the idea of "youth" in their context is highly material based and thus restricted, for youth is not an age group, but may be an ideological category transformed by symbolic value of style and other popular cultural resources (Bennett and Harris 2000:10). There are some defects that CCCS scholars fail to notice:

> As Muggleton (2000) notes, such a premise rests on the essentialist notion that
> members of subcultures were indeed exclusively, or even predominantly,

working class, this being theoretical conjecture rather than proven fact. Moreover, even if we are to accept that post-war youth consumerism was driven initially by working-class youth, it is still difficult to accept the CCCS's argument that consumer goods were used uniformly in strategies of resistance. (Bennett and Harris 2000:7)

As Bennett and Harris argues, one of the defects is that the everyday consumption is not necessarily freedom itself because the choices given in the market may still be the products under cultural industry, and the identities acquired from one particular subculture do not always refrain from authoritarian controls.

Sarah Thornton (1995) offers another point of critique:

Each reference to the 'mainstream' in Subculture points in a different direction, but if one added them up, the resultant group would be some versions of the 'burgeoisie' whose function within Hebdidge's history is, of course, to be shocked. While this framework complements his repeated characterization of subcultural youth as 'predominantly working-class', it hardly does justice to the bulk of young people who are left out of the picture. Hebdige 's multiple opposition of avant-garde-versus-bourgeois, subordinate-versus-dominant, subculture-versus-,mainstream is an orderly ideal which crumbles when applied to historically specific groups of youth. (93)

Thornton criticizes that the theoretical assumption of subculture study of CCCS scholars (such as Dick Hebdidge) is rather an analytical brainchild than empirical investigation. Thornton argues that although it is inevitable to get entangled in issues of cultural values and hierarchy, we should still remain reflexive methodologically and theoretically to present the complex stratification and logic of youth culture. The rise of teenagers as a consumer group after the Second World War makes Rock a research target. Because teenagers are more economically independent, the wider range of consumer products offers a chance to build their own lifestyle. It is on this basis that scholars of CCCS believe the youth subculture is a potential site of struggle since working-class teenagers may reflect upon their thoughts and ideas by attending subcultural activities as their way to response to the socio-economic conditions and to bear the stance of resistance. That is why Rock would draw the continual attention from scholars because music may resort to collective feelings of people; listening to music with companions and friends is helpful to build a community and may create a sense of belongingness. For this reason, the conjunction that the CCCS's framework becomes the prevailing model in Rock analysis is not at all surprising. Resting on the fundaments like resistance, agency, struggle and authenticity (also a part of anti-bourgeois, anti-commercialism stance), the model set by CCCS scholars remains

influential to date. The articulation to the CCCS theoretical framework is not coincidental for local intelligentsia. As has already been mentioned, the beginning stage of Rock development coincided with a time of serious ideological censorship. The content of Rock songs and performance is a taboo to the political and moral norms of the time. Hence, the promoters of Rock music, such as DJs or intellectuals, are careful in negotiating with the larger context. Later, during the stage of diplomatic struggle, the us-versus-them, oppressed-versus-oppressor logic is especially well-received by intelligentsia. With its highlight of authenticity (acoustic sound or originality) in music, both the Folk Song artists and critics are complacent with such schemes. What should be added is that because the local society was still under political and economic development, the socio-economic analyses offered by theories were applicable enough to guide the direction of local discourse. Moreover, since Heavy Metal has not been differentiated from other kinds of music as a visible genre but remains to be one of the obscure, even forbidden subdivisions of Rock, theories of Rock following the subculture model were inspiring to satisfy the intellectual inquiry of fans.[11] Nonetheless, as social condition and music genres continue to develop, the appropriation of the CCCS model has faced with theoretical deficiency as mentioned above. The problems either come from the epistemological falsehood or its preference to particular group of people. In the local arena, the boost of consumerism and commercial popular music market aiming at young adults started nearly 20 years ago. However, it does not mean that the efficacy of the CCCS model would still be valid for another 15 to 20 years. Reversely, the reality that should be noticed is that the unbalanced model of CCCS has somewhat obscured other choices into a more comprehensive inquiry into musical genres. And, the problems such as negligence of the variety of the people in subcultural activities and the partial predilection of the middle class white youth activities in theorization (Bennett 2004:48) would become a potential misfortune to the local scholarship.

By exaggerating the issues highlighted by the CCCS model, most theses produced in the latest 20 years seem to follow the similar epistemology. Resistance, struggle, everyday strategy, Punk, and alternative music are common keywords throughout the search of academic articles. At the expense of other genres or epistemologies, the academic circle is running the risk of getting homogeny. The implication of the working hypothesis is the depreciation and even the rejection of other genres. Among the interplay between reality and knowledge, Heavy Metal is the "Other" that is absent in the "constellation of factors" comprising the local reference of Rock. This is to inquire after sociology of knowledge on the groundwork of Karl Manheim and Peter Burger. According to Manheim, the tasks of sociology of knowledge are to designate the specific combination of certain factors at a given

moment; to relate not only one thought or idea but a whole system of ideas to an underlying social reality (Manheim 1959:42). This is to see the "social habit of thinkers that determine a whole system of opinions and theories which appear to him as unquestionably true or self-evident" (Popper 1962). This also helps to clarify the process of how knowledge is transmitted and developed, and it is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality (Burger 1966). At this point, the notion that both the insights and defects of the CCCS model are widely transmitted as undisputed framework is out of question. What is of primary problem is that the discursive effects of the framework are more at stake. In Foucault's context, the truth is related to certain social construction and power relations. Especially in the field of art, scholarly preference from institution is decisive in determining the values of certain genres because academic circle usually enjoys widespread credibility. From this point of view, the academic endorsement would expand the strength of certain genres in the struggle over the symbolic value of art, and it is helpful to augment the sale price in the art market. The academic influence is described by Pierre Boudieu (1993) as academic gaze that:

> Since advocates toward autonomy were brought about as different moments in both universe, in conjunction with different economic and morphological changes with reference to different powers, such as Academy and market, writers were able to take advantage of the artists' achievements, and vice versa, in order to increase their independence…From the characterization of the academic institution, which holds the monopoly of the production of painters and of the evaluation of their products, one can deduce properties of academic painting: academic art is a scholastic art which undoubtedly represents the historical quintessence of the typical productions of 'homo academicus'. (239-243)

It might be thought that although the local intellectuals do not reject Heavy Metal, the hypothesis behind the theoretical framework has grown the seed of potential exclusion. This negligence should not be directly responsible for the deviance stigmatization of Heavy Metal; however, it might be more or less causally related for making up the larger enterprise. Therefore, as Simon Frith has argued, there is no such thing as bad music. Music becomes bad only in an evaluative context as part of an argument to persuade someone else of its truth or to have an effect on actions and beliefs (Frith 2004). The boundaries around "good music" are drawn not by what they include, but by what they exclude and how they mark off terrains of Otherness (Oakes 2004). The "good music" is defined by the absence of "bad music" with prevailing formulations that situate good/bad distinctions in a given setting (Frith, 2004). The instructiveness of the "bad music" then reflects the rules of construction and the limit

of it. As Jason Lee Oakes mentions, it shows different points of articulation between the idealized poles and it also exposes the ways in which classified categories are enacted (81). In Taiwan, the significance of Metal (especially Black Metal and Death Metal) is that it may challenge the functional logic of commercial music and hence the propaganda that uses Rock as a marketing slogan.[5] In advertisement, commercial Rock bands such as Mayday claims itself as possessing the real Rock spirit. Yet, Metal disrupts the general conception of Rock. By employing churning riffs and blast drumming as well as performance styles and visual expression, it outweighs the commercial music aesthetically and offers more autonomy in skills and listening choices. On this understanding, as bad music (Metal, or other kinds of noisy music) being the target of constant exclusion and moral crusade from social judgment, it is reasonable to assume that there would be people disdaining the present system and favoring the unwanted bad ones, making experiments to deviate from the current norms either for social or technical reasons. Moreover, as we agree one hundred percent that Rock music is laden with significances as those scholars and intellectuals emphasize, it's not the same that we agree with them on executing discursive hegemony onto the genre they don't like while authenticizing their favorites. It is also an institutional violence imposed by the commercial market, which is satirical to the "progressive" stance they glorify.

In conclusion, this author would cite Georg Cangulheim to refer to the creative potential in deviance, noise and grotesque for they not merely reveal the limits but at the same time assume a new perspective. In this way, stigma should not be felt shamefully, but may bear with relative ease:

"Life is in fact a normative activity. Normative, in philosophy, means every judgment which evaluates or qualifies a fact in relation to a norm, but this mode of judgment of judgment is essentially subordinate to that which establishes norm. Normative, in the fullest sense of the word, is that which establishes norms. (Canguilhem 1993: 126-7)

Brief summary:

In this chapter, this author discusses the idea of deviance. To begin with, deviance itself is a context-specific term that differs from culture to culture. Therefore, the idea of deviance should be problematized in the first place to clarify the problematic. And since Extreme Metal is controversial to some extent, this author focuses on the deviance discussion as an access to the discussion of the members' behavior and thoughts. Then, this author goes further to the history of Rock in Taiwan

and the discourse formation in culture to discuss the interrelation between music and the social context. This author finds that the social change is highly influential to the discourse of Rock in Taiwan. This author tries to clarify the threads, and to offer his own interpretation on how the deviance impression of Rock and Metal players was formulated according to the observation.

Popular Artists in the 80s

Year	Artist	Album	Company	Theme	Style	Tempo	Image
1982	Pan Yui-Yun	A Fair Weather Everyday	Rock Records	Love, Praise of nature	Slow Rock, Blues	Between 60Bpm to 75Bpm	Talented And artistic female singer
1982	Lin Hui-Pin	Rememeberance of the past	Kolin Records	Love	Slow Rock, Waltz, Blues	Between 60Bpm to 80Bpm	Innocent, Virgin-like female singer
1983	Luo Da-Yu	Archaisms	Rock Records	Political Criticis	Slow Rock	Between 60-80Bpm	Conscient--ious Objector
1983	Su-Rei	The Same Moonlight	Rock Records	Nostalgia, Love	Rock, Slow Rock	60-70Bpm	Energetic talented female vocal
1983	Huang Ying-Ying	Crying Sand	Rock Records	Love, Melancholy	Slow Rock, Waltz	Between 57 to 70 Bpm	Confident, modern female figure
1983	Chen-Yi	Here the Rain comes	Rock Records	Love, Mourning, Melancholy	Slow Rock, Folk	Between 60-70 Bpm	Innocent, Student-like female singer
1984	Lee Hsu-Chuan (David Lee)	The Return	Rock Records	Love, Nostalgia	Slow Rock, Fusion	Between 60-80 Bpm	Energetic and active male singer
1984	Tsai-Chin	Remember This Love	Rock Records	Love	Slow Rock, Folk,	Between 55-70Bpm	Talented Sincere Diva

							Waltz		
1985	Chen-Shan	Crowded Paradise	Rock Records	Love	Slow Rock, Folk	Between 60-75Bpm	Indigenous Artist
1985	Various Artists	Tomorrow Will be Better	Rock Records	Hope	Slow Rock	55Bpm	Image of Unification among artists
1986	Lee Chung-Shen	The fairy in Life	Rock Records	Love	Slow Rock, Folk	Between 55-70Bpm	Talented music genius
1987	Chou Hua-Chien	Direction of Heart	Rock Records	Love	Slow Rock	60-70 Bpm	Romantic, talented male singer
1987	Chi-Chin	Wolf	Rock Records	Repentance of Love	Rock, Slow Rock	60-75Bpm	Vagabond, prodigal male singer
1987	The Tiger Team	Green Apple Paradise	UFO Records	Expectation of First Love	Dance, Slow Rock	65-86Bpm	Energetic young idols
1988	Wang-Jie	Nothing do I have	Rock Records	Melancholy of love	Slow Rock	60-75Bpm	Vagabond, frustrated male singer
1989	Wu Si-Kai	Love to the max	Rock records	Patriotic romanticism	Slow Rock, Waltz	70-86Bpm	Optimistic, friendly male singer

Source: From the Research

Rock Bands in the 80s

Bands	Established	Album	Style	Theme
Chu-Chu	1982	Just Tonight	Slow Rock, Soft Rock	Love and Praise of youth
Red Ants	1983	Red Ants, Lazy Cat	Soft Rock	Praise of youth
Ambush	1983	Ambush	Soft	Reflection

			Rock	of Life
Magic Eyes	1983	Fiery warehouse	Hard Rock	Love, Reflection of life
Youth	1984	Youth	Rock	Reflection of life
Diplomacy	1984	Diplomacy	Rock and Fusion	Love, Reflection of life
Assassin	1986	Assassin	Heavy Metal	Reflection of life
Red Cross	1988	Red Cross	Rock, Heavy Metal	Love, Reflection of Life
Double X	1988		Rock, Heavy Metal	Reality of life, Personal expression
Metal Kid	1988		Hard Rock, Heavy Metal	Reflection of life
Oriental Express	1988	Battle Fire	Hard Rock	Praise of Youth

Source: Fang Chiao-Rue(1995) and the research

Rock Bands in the 90s

Bands	Established	Style	Album	Theme
Nice Vice	1990	Hard Rock, Heavy Metal		
Groupie	1990	Hard Rock, Heavy Metal	Groupie	Reflection of life, Social Criticism
Wasted Metals	1992	Hard Rock, Heavy Metal	Chao Chi-Bie and the Wasted Metals	Love, Reflection of life
Wu-Bai and	1994	Hard Rock	It's a blessing	Love and

China Blue			to love others	Blues
Thin Rice	1995	Rock		Reflection of life
Quarterback	1995	Rock	Quarterback	Love, Reflection of life
Ladybug	1995	Punk		Social Criticism, Reflection of life
Chthonic	1996	Symphonic Black Metal	Inheritance of Ancestor, Relentless Recurrence, Seediqbale	Political, Historical protest
Forbidden Place	1996	Black/Death Metal	Forbidden Place	Religious sarcasm
Tolaku	1996	Rock		Love
Chairman	1996	Rock		Love
Mayday	1997	Rock	Mayday	Love, Reflection of life
Menthol Leaf	1998	Slow Rock		Love, Reflection of Life
Curse	1999	Black/Death Metal		Political, Religious sarcasm
Chiao-Kung (Work Together)	1999	Folk Rock	Let's sing the folk song	Love for the hometown
The Private	1999	80s' Heavy Metal	Remembrance	Reflection of life
Tizzy Bac	1999	Slow Rock, Popular	Who Knows the drummer's toil	Love, Reflection of Life

Source: From the research

Black, Death, Speed and Thrash Metal bands after 2000

Band	Established	Style	Album or EP
Manum	2000	Brutal Death Metal	Manum
Seraphim	2002	Melodic Power Metal	Equal spirit, Ai
Anthelion	2002	Symphonic Black Metal	Blood-Stained Anthelion
Sky Burial	2002	Black Metal	Anti-Christ War
Black Messiah	2002	Black Metal	
Forgiven	2002	Speed/Thrash Metal	
Disaster	2002	Black Metal	Demo
Hercules	2002	Speed/Power Metal	Hercules
Heavenly Cursed	2002	Gothic	Heavenly Cursed
The Seventh Opus	2001	Speed Metal	
Infernal Chaos	2003	Thrash Metal	Infernal Chaos
Eternal	2003	Speed Metal	
Shredded	2003	Thrash Metal	
Dreaming Divine	2002	Speed Metal	
Hades	2005	Gothic/Melodic Black Metal	

Chapter Four: Going out and Looking in — Appropriation and Representation of Music

The issues of musical appropriation involve the exploitation of third world artists through first world copyrights and authorship, and the exclusion and oppression of racial identities. Hence, appropriation itself serves to reinforce the unfair balance of power in Western monetary system. This exacerbates racial prejudices, since dislocated genres losing their localized referentiality through communication and cultural exchange (Gilroy 1993). In this respect, the issue of musical appropriation relates not only to the low wages paid to native musicians for their efforts (Guilbault 1998), but the ethical concerns about cultural representation (translation), ethnicity, nationality and racialized domination because the technology and global interaction have facilitated musical hybridization. The resulting heterogeneity demonstrates that the racial authenticity of music may be rather invariant and essentialist (Lipsitz 1998). However, the dislocated hybridity facilitated by musical appropriation may enable escape from colonial domination, and allow the rearticulation of cultural practices by reconstructing and negotiating cultural identities. Such reappropriation involves mixing various aesthetic features, while subverting the dominant representation of marginal minorities (Born and Hedmonslagh, 2002). Music can thus help marginalized people, through disguise, to strengthen and augment identities that cannot be explicitly expressed. Musical appropriation is utilized as a cover to explore identities, enabling them to "become 'more themselves' by appearing to be something other than themselves". Such "strategic anti-essentialism" offered by musical appropriation provides a disguise and a survival strategy for marginalized people (Lipsitz 1998). Therefore investigations into musical appropriation should address carefully the forces that shape musical communication in the contemporary experience. Whether appropriation is problematic or emancipatory depends not only on the subjective interpretation of musical materials, but additionally on the advent of technology or scales of human interaction, such as the Internet and process of globalization. Musical communication is inter-subjective, i.e. the varied interpretations located in sites, flows, phases and circulation patterns depend on the situations of producers and consumers (Feld 1994), the intensification of human interaction may intensify musical appropriation, which would also induce escalated concerns over the dislocating and relocating effects of that such interaction brings.

The contemporary musical experience occurs in a magnified time-space setting. Therefore, assessing the stake of appropriation in a cultural flow of simultaneous disjuncture and difference involves considering the dynamic impact of the cultural process before making a judgment. Arjun Arppadurai proposed a model in which the

homogeny and heterogeneity of globalization are embedded in five "scapes", each interwined and influential. Accordingly, Extreme Metal can be examined by determining how the "scapes" and "scenes" of Extreme Metal are disseminated into myriad contexts of local representation before measuring the rerouted hybrid (Geertz 1997). However, given the dialectical nature of musical interpretation, this study describes the appropriative strategies of Extreme Metal groups, and how they respond technically and psychologically to the global flow of musical culture. A basic analysis of the forms of music, as well as how they use music as specific intension, is given below. The themes, lyrics, alliance and instrumentation reveal the underlying factors structuring the unique syncretism of Extreme Metal in Taiwan. These influences demonstrate not only how its musical direction is formed, but also reveals its articulation with the global flow of musical decentralization.

4.1 Themes, aesthetics and intended connotation

The bands herein studied have different themes. These themes include socio-political innuendos; metaphorical inner feelings; pure aesthetical experiment, and music as a combination of all these themes. At the technical level, the musical aesthetic is formed by mimicking the Western model in instrumentation, ornaments and performance style. This aesthetic contains little creativity, but instead simply involves imitating of particular Western bands. It initially indicates demonstrates the structural dilemma in a musician's career. This starts with the imitation phase, where a musician mainly performs cover songs. If the imitation phase continues for too long, then it can erode the musician's creative edge. Since audiences generally cheer only at familiar catchy melodies, players are less inclined to improvise especially when faced with pressure to make enough money to live.

Accordingly, self-created music is employed either as the manifestation of personal talents by rejecting clichéd patterns, or as a method of self-assertion and empowerment through an non-conformist identity in contrast to popular culture. Although most Taiwanese Extreme Metal music is considered as cacophonic for fans accustomed to local popular music, its artists break from the commercial music patterns by adopting ambiguous, deviational modes of practice, and orient themselves from the "independent music" trajectory began in around 1997. Players see the appropriation in terms of improvements in musical techniques, building social relations and articulate social issues. The audience views the music as reflecting particular musical syncretism of Taiwan.

4.2 The religious-political representation of Chthonic

Chthonic have consciously created music based on Taiwanese folklore and

historical events ever since their first album. Their musical style derives mainly from their love of Taiwanese culture, as well as the political awareness of the vocalist Freddy Lin. Lin is unabashed in promoting Taiwanese consciousness, both in his music and in political participation, and his music is inspired by Taiwanese folklore and myth. Chthonic's albums invoke a specific atmosphere of beauty, sadness and gloom. Chthonic's music has three major characteristics:

a.

b. The combination of Taiwanese folklore and poetic lyrics

Chthonic's themes are taken from Taiwanese ancient stories or historical events. These range from immigration by ancestors, famous ghost stories (as in the Relentless Recurrence album) and aboriginal resistance against Japanese colonizers. The first album is about the austerity of the lives of immigrants of previous generations, and their struggles with geographical hardship, survival obstacles and identity conflicts. The album is meant to eulogize the inflexibility of ancestors, as well as the symbolic reconstruction of Taiwanese identity that is distinct from the Chinese. The lyrics glorify a subaltern identity based on the resistance to China embodied by gods. The lyrics thus describe the process of constructing a nation growing out of nothing to prosperity, revealing the transformation of identity struggle in the realm of politics. The second album, "Relentless Recurrence," is based on a famous Taiwanese ghost story about a female ghost coming back to this world to seek revenge for the murders of her and her son. The female voice is first employed as the harmony to sing with Freddy. It then evolves into an independent and indispensable counterpart in vocal presentation expressing the woman's intolerable hatred alongside the main vocalist. The female voice represents the ghost, whose voice not only reinforces musical texuality, but also enhances the spooky atmosphere created by the lyrics.   The third and the most internationalized album, "Seediqbale", describes the valor of aboriginal people defying the Japanese invasion of Taiwan during the Second World War. The incident is the most famous aboriginal legend representing national identity, and is known to most Taiwanese people. The insurrection end tragically following a bloody battle in which warriors fought to the death, and the Japanese colonizers executed members of their families.

Chthonic's lyrics have a poetic form that strengthens the sad, gloomy mood expressed by the music. To create this poetry, they are written in classical Chinese. Thus, every word carries strong meanings, and the combination of words generates further levels of meaning, which are rather difficult to translate into English. Because Chinese language expresses particular lyrical beauty both in syllables and verses, it is carefully combined with music to delineate every transition of verses in the plots.

c. Frequent application of contraposition and keyboard

All of Chthonic's compositions adopt contraposition. An album's theme becomes stronger in multiple layers of music as the plot of the album thickens. The keyboard has played a significant role since the album "Relentless", reaching its highest freedom in improvisation and "conversation" with other instruments in "Seediqbale". Freddy has stated that the piano has always been his favorite instrument. Works of masters such as Mozart, Bach and Chopin influence his music, leading him to insert piano expressions into his creation. The contraposition conveyed by keyboards maximizes the sadness or pugnacious atmosphere in songs.

c. Aggrandized war, glorified subaltern

Aggrandized war and glorified subaltern form the basis of every Chthonic album to date. The dichotomy between the "sacred" and subaltern accentuates the assertive subjectivity overtones. In the first album, the subalterns are the ancestors suffering from physical hardship and psychological abandonment; the war is between the aboriginal gods and Chinese gods (Buddhas, underworld guardians) as symbols of identity and ideological struggles. The subaltern in the second album is the ghost of the murdered woman, who goes to the afterworld to exact revenge. The war is between the Chinese gods and the ghost, and ends with her overarching victory. By making the ghost heroic, the song makes the tragedy of her final destruction seem angelic. The subaltern in the "Seediqbale" album is formed of the aboriginal people, who are oppressed by the Japanese soldiers. The war depicted in this album is the attack on aboriginal warriors that claimed thousands of lives of Japanese soldiers, including the brother of the Japanese emperor of the time. The war and revenge are emphasized by double-bass drumming and guitar-tapping, highlighted with heavy contraposition among instruments. Notably, the themes of albums are not simply abstract revelation of feelings, but also the exposition of Chthonic's political viewpoint. Freddy Lin's music reveals his political beliefs. The thematic opponents in the album are colonizers from history; in the Taiwan context, they are normally refers to Japan (a past colonizer), the KMT government (an alien exploiter) and China (the would-be colonizer). The war between gods is a satirical reversal, since the gods in the song are demonized for their injustice and domination. Conversely, the female ghost and the aboriginal gods are glorified as gods in honor of their power and bravery. Chthonic's discursive strategy reverses the periphery-center hierarchy, such that the gods, are devoured by ghosts and local spirits, and thus conquered by the margin.

More broadly, this theme reflects the larger political climate in which the local, Taiwanese consciousness has been uplifted to an unprecedented level, challenging the centrality of Chinese orthodoxy as maintained by the KMT government in the cultural

arena. However, the war of the gods can also be read as the struggle of ideological orthodoxy in politics, as KMT gradually moved toward local separatism in Lee Ten-Hui's term, and finally lost the presidency to the DPP. Furthermore, Freddy's numerous activities [20]further strengthens his articulation with music and politics. The only possible side effect of his strong zealotry in politics is the media's tendency to emphasize these political activities over his music. The group's sympathy for Taiwanese independence often creates a connection with the DPP politics. While Chthonic does not usually typically side with particularly politicians or policies, the attention received by the group receives in politics sometimes inhibits the group's success. Chthonic's success is due to its novel marketing strategy, as well as its articulation of political issues. The group is unique in its responsiveness to the global flow of commercialism and cultural localization. Freddy applies his business talent (he majors in business administration in college) into Chthonic's operation. Chthonic is not only a pioneer in Extreme Metal musical practice, but is also influential in music generally. The group's strategy has several features.

1. Establishment of a private company to maintain its creative freedom. Freddy Lin established TRA (Taiwan Rock Alliance) in 1998 as a major operator of all Chthonic activities and other events. TRA is in charge of all production venues of Chthonic, including demo and album production, and co-sponsorship in its political activities. He initially established Fredmosa records to handle the band's music distribution business. The "Relentless" and "Seediqbale" albums were released respectively by Crystal records and TRA music through close cooperation with the TRA. By placing an independent company in charge of production and distribution, Chthonic has maximized its fulfillment of musical intention. Moreover, by maintaining control of distribution, the group can negotiate easily with foreign labels and artists. A shift between artistic and commercial identities can increase the latitude in building a desired project.

2. A place for performance to promote all the venues and practices. Besides setting up TRA, Freddy also heeds the importance of a location for musical performance. Accordingly, he established Zeitgeist (a pub in Taipei) in 1999 for exclusively Metal performances. Zeitgeist not only gives Chthonic opportunities for self-promotion, but also gives other Metal bands a stage for rehearsal and exercise. By running a venue for performing, Freddy gradually built up its own audience, while also expanding his resource network. The venue thus laid a solid foundation to Chthonic's latter success, by introducing new die-hard fans supporting their albums and performances, and guaranteeing an increasing independence of their practice in

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[20] The activities had being mentioned in the previous chapter. They are "Anti-Chinese merger", "Safeguard Taiwan".etc.

return. Chthonic has successfully built subcultural assets through these strategies and momentum.   3. Complete, progressive plans in creation and rehearsal. Chthonic maintains a steady plan for writing songs and production, linked with its marketing mechanism. The songs are the collective works of all the members, but Freddy determines the direction of the album and the post-production in recording and distribution. Chthonic is strongly aware of the significance of self-advertisement and image control. The group uses integrated marketing strategies such as Internet, flyers, TV, radios programs and other "bundled" activities. Chthonic's global reach makes it one of only two bands in Taiwan that have recorded overseas (the other is Seraphim). Although the recording trip was difficult to arrange, the resulting improvement in quality and international reputation have set standards in technique and operation for other Metal bands (such as Anthelion and Disaster) that intend to enter the global scene. Players would passively yet eagerly introduce the global "scene" into the local arena during the initial stage of development of the Extreme Metal. However, since Chthonic, the locals have started to bring the local scene to the front of the world stage, thus contributing to the genre's global cohesion. In this regard, Chthonic is a very important in forming the first impression of Taiwanese Extreme Metal. Chthonic's method has become the dominant paradigm for many bands playing Metal and Rock.

4. Involvement in political and other public issues. Freddy Lin has attended and held several musical activities that are rather political. He considers music as a part of politics and a potential tool for political campaign He employs music to promote Taiwanese national consciousness and rejection of colonization. He states:

> I think the concern for politics is the basic democratic capacity for modern citizens. It is natural to express one's political ideas because it is part of the freedom of speech. Therefore, I think that musicians should also be concerned about public issues, since they are musicians as well as citizens. Therefore, I don't see why musicians cannot have political beliefs or supporting political activities. It is natural for me. Of course, just as I can hold activities to support my personal beliefs, others can also do the same. I don't want to suppress freedom of others in expression. I just want to show that it is natural to be concerned about political affairs. And my action is the practice of my belief.

The positive side of Chthonic's political practice is that the group successfully raises concern over some public issues such as media publitization, missile testing by China and the latest transitional justice movement. Since these are divisive political party issues, they also bring high media visibility to Freddy and Chthonic. The drawback is

the overt politicization of music, as previously mentioned. While Freddy emphasizes the relationship between music and politics, other players in Rock and Metal circle do not do so. They feel that politics "pollutes" music. Some musicians believe that music should be immune from political matters, and are strongly doubtful of Freddy Lin's political analysis. Chthonic's overt political involvement leads to the perception that as it supports a particular party. However, this perception is inaccurate. The group members believe in certain values, such as democracy and freedom. The close relationship between the group's belief and that of the DPP has been highlighted in political propaganda, making it more of a trouble than a blessing to Chthonic.

5. Agile response to the globalization of music-the internalization of musical production began with the recording of the "Relentless" album. Chthonic's trip to Sweden for recording and postproduction helped the group gain resources in the network for the production of the "Seediqbale" album. The group's trajectory has moved it from the Taiwan locale towards the global scene since the release of the "Relentless" album in 2004. By performing in the Milwaukee Metalfest, the group has embarked on a different route from other bands of its genre. However, Chhtonic's foreign presence has also introduces foreign resources that help to enrich the circle. They then know better than other bands in the circle to achieve success in music and performance. These factors prepare the base for the success of "Seediqbale", which brought the group major international success. For instance, the group was invited to play in Wacken in Germany; performed at Ozzfest, and gave numerous magazine and radio interviews in U.K, the U.S and Japan. Cthonic's history provides an example of how a local band has utilized locality as a musical and symbolic resource in articulating the global scene when the genre is being disseminated by local particularities. Chthonic responds carefully to the global dissemination of the genre mentioned by Keith Harris (Harris 2000). The group was aware of the importance of marketing and information-two major traits of globalization as early as 1998, only 2 years after its establishment. Chthonic is heavily commercialized in its marketing and advertisement strategy, despite its image as an "independent artist" or "Black Metal artist". It was the first independent Metal band to film a music video, and the first to issue a "very best of" album. Conversely, the group's interest in Taiwanese culture and history articulates with the demands for the local content of globalized culture. Chthonic has successfully developed over the long term. These factors have made Chthonic the most successful Black Metal band in Taiwan.

4.3 Anthelion-Marching out: music as other selves

Anthelion's music has the same gloominess and beauty as Chthonic, but is faster, and has a heavier timbre. Although initially taken as Chthonic's cover band the time

they were founded, Anthelion's impressive stage scenario and eruption of energy has earned it many die-hard fans. Anthelion regards Symphonic Black Metal as like a release of emotion from the tunnel of everyday drudgery. The band's compositions are derived from daily life experience, studio practice and imitation from virtuosos. Unlike Chthonic, which regards Black Metal as a vehicle for political expression, Anthelion regards music as the embodied passion that speaks their inner feelings. According to Code, music is the spiritual food of everyday life, and the need for music is as natural as the need for water and air. The lyrics and rhythms represent the reanimated spirit, providing an outlet for digression and dialogue with his inner ego. Similar to Chthonic, Anthelion's lyrics are highly poetic, and written in a classical Chinese format that contains the richest meaning only in Chinese. However, on close reading, the lyrics provide different fissures of mood and sensation, in contrast to Chthonic's bitter resentment. Although Anthelion's lyrics also depict wars and killing, they represent internal struggles instead of political conflicts as in Chthonic. Anthelion members have not discussed the mood reflected through their lyrics is not informed by. However the moods include reflection from philosophy of life, vicissitude, and purely imagination of an embattled agony.

Anthelion follows a similar career strategy to Chthonic, by working in TRA, implementing a carefully calculated practice and tour, and attempting to record in Sweden. Recording an album in Sweden means a lot for them: At first, it represents a fulfillment of personal talents and compensation for frustration. Secondly, it represents an emulation of European techniques. The resulting experience will help in the group's subsequent career, not just as performers, but also as post-producers in the later stage. Finally, going to Sweden is a pilgrimage, like paying homage to the Black Metal mecca, satisfying spiritual desire and mental joy. Code discovered that many Metal groups pay respect and homage to the music environment and resources of centers of Metal music such as Sweden and the U.S.. Code thus longs for a mature musical environment. To Anthelion, playing music also accentuates a non-conformist identity by rejecting dominant musical notions, and instead pursuing an alternative musical aesthetic. Anthelion cultivates marginality by taking pride in its choice of musical style in the face of commercial music industry. Anthelion thus demonstrates how articulation of alien-ness can contribute to the local scene.

Anthelion's characteristic obstinacy can thus be considered as a conscious act of turning away from the commercialism of rock music, rather than as a mere gesture of indifference. Accordingly, the group looks outwards to the global scene for models and resourceful support in complementing local shortage, as previously done by Chthonic. Thus, Anthelion's enthusiasm helps to glorify its marginal position, and echoes the global trend, in which the genre becomes increasingly diverse through

"gestures" from local artists (Baulsch 2003).

4.4 Hercules's musical borrowing-ancient country revealed

In contrast to Chthonic, Chinese figures are protagonists in Hercules' music. Hercules describes a heroic tragedy from the Warring-State period. This tragedy has also become a famous Chinese folklore, and is the basis for a famous Peking opera. Hercules presents the heroic atmosphere of this tragedy lyrically and musically. The entire album frees the mood in the setting in songs. The album combines Western Barogue styles with Chinese music and Peking opera singing. The album is introduced with a lament of the dying hero, then with the exposition of the tragedy. The spectacle of the opera draws the audience (represented by the singer) into the labyrinth of fantasy. The borrowing is an experiment, in which mythical spirit is represented as an atmospheric, fantastic mood. Notably, Hercules's album does not treat China an enemy, whether imaginary or real. Hercules finds musical assistance in the production of the music by consulting with the Chinese guitarist. The first song of the album starts with the lament of past centuries, in which heroes and vicissitudes come and go. Mundane matters are only a dream, in which the protagonist flees from the madding drudgery.

The lyrics are given below:
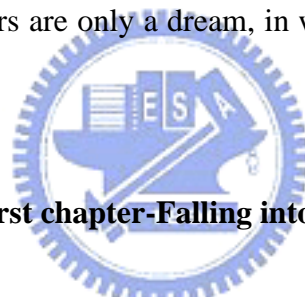
The first chapter-Falling into heaven

Deep in the Sky

Forget the changing world, and look to the sky

Dragon Fly High

Life is but a dream while nobody awakes
In resurrection, things have all vanished
Dreams come and go, as a mere flash in me
Life is death, and heaven and earth are one
The dragon from eon, threading through sky and sea
Heaven is broken, tumbling in the ages
The wind is blowing, I am an insurrect dragon

4.5 Struggle with the Globalization Process

Taiwanese bands began to embrace the wider context of the global Extreme

Metal, beyond the individual level in musical appropriation, as early as 1993–1995, when some members of Skull Castle merchandized CDs from foreign labels. However, the physical connection to overseas began in 1997, when Chthonic went to Sweden to record their "Relentless Resurrection" album. This event marked the beginning of the going global of Taiwanese Extreme Metal, because it did not just bring in the advance recording techniques and resources, but also helped bring Taiwanese culture into the global context. Among several bands were active in the scene in 1997, only Chthonic was conscious and able to reach out into the global arena. Its success in utilizing folklore, myth, classical language and dialects in the album proves that in the age of Extreme Metal dissemination, musical creativity may help construct authenticity, with location becoming technically and musically unimportant (Harris 2000; Baulsch 2003). Although the effect of the native Taiwanese elements on other audiences is open for discussion, Chthonic has attracted global attention. The group has been invited to perform in Milwaukee Metalfest, Japan Fuji Rock and, most recently the 2007 Ozzfest. The use of different local elements makes Black Metal a truly global space that incorporates locality into a wider hybrid and syncretism. Thus, almost all the bands in Taiwan are inspired by this consciousness, whether in themes, lyrics, instrumentation or language use.

However, the opportunities for bands to enter the global scene still depend on many factors. Opportunities to articulate with the logic of both the local and global scenes, which are typically open only to specific subcultural capitals, are required to respond to the local and the global construction of the genre. While some bands in the local scene may gain relative popularity, they may encounter a hierarchy of capitals, musical talents, claims of authenticity and operating strategies. A gap is thus formed between the local and global Extreme Metal scenes. The relationship between the local and global Extreme Metal scenes is both quasi-autonomous and antithetical; genres, members and resources are in states of negotiation and contestation. No universal rule exists to define the success of Extreme Metal bands, as observed by both Harris (2000) and Harell (2001) mention. Clearly, local-global interaction produces not only collaboration and correlation, but also paradoxes and tension that may impede differentiation and cohesion of the genre in general.

4.6 Disaster's music: Alien Curse

"Alien Curse" is a song written by Disaster, expressing gloom and deep sorrow repressed in daily life. Music is a potential system of signification, reflecting symbolic and transformed reality, enabling the articulation and voicing of repressed feelings. This potential means that the death and violence in death/black metal should be taken emblematically and allegorically, rather than literally. The following analysis

addresses the expression of the mood and feeling of death through the song. However, these emotions simply form a symbolic expression, rather than the real genuine desire for destruction. "Alien Curse" starts with the repeated root of a power chord, which expresses the violent propensity of the entire song. Harris Berger described the power chord as one of the most frequently adopted skills in Heavy Metal. The standard nomenclature of the power chord is the Roman numeral or Latin letter of the chord's root, followed by the Arabic number "5", which represents the fifth above the chord's root (Berger 1999). The power chord thus expresses feelings of ambiguity, unease and violence. The opening power chord echoes the gloomy atmosphere of the bizarre lyrics, according to Disaster, the first two sentences of the lyrics begin as the chord repeats in the first eight bars. The powerful riff thus responds to the lines, "Alien blood came to its share, the human lamb led by the hunter head," and, "Spooky shadow cursed the ancient race, guilty soul chained in the iron cage". The lyrics suggest that the alien blood is the cause of the human curse, explaining why the ancient human beings were degraded and condemned.

The guilt and cage signify the limits of reason that humans cannot transcend. Following the power chord, the song then proceeds onto a faster tempo, and tritones are applied to create a very indecisive and dark atmosphere. Tritonic chords, such as Dmin and Dim7, are used to call for the dead spirit in the middle age. Furthermore, the lyrics here are pessimistic, reflecting the moody feeling that the song wishes to create. The following vocal presentation is accompanied by a rather awkward and unexpected precipitation, which comprises fast snare drum beating, repeated chords and contraposition of triton solos in the guitar parts. This precipitation in the middle section seems to be a strange interruption, which may confuse the listener and lead to musical obscurity. However, such interruption is fairly common in Metal music. In Metal, interruption means an explanation and variation in melody and rhythm, not a halt. Therefore, it normally serves as a short episode for interpreting the gist of the song in parallel. These two verses in "Alien Curse" represent the gradual transition from certainty to uncertainty to adult, and the ensuing sense of awkwardness. Disaster juxtapose the melody and lyrics to indicates deep sorrow about the disadvantages of socialization, where growing older might cause a person's heart to be polluted by rules and norms of society, thus eliminating innocence. Since socialization begins simultaneously with the human community, the impending evil seems inevitable.

Consequently, the interruption, unexpected precipitation and strong drum beats reflect the composer's anxiety. Irregularity such as this precipitation is utilized rather carefully in Heavy Metal. All the musical elements in "Alien Curse" are logically controlled. Rhythm, melody, power chord, fast drum beating, evils and demons in lyrics are the rational products of Disaster. At least in "Alien Curse", Heavy Metal

music cannot be considered as a being full of chaos and noise. This is because in "Alien Curse", even the "chaos" has its end. The chaos in the music is designed to reveal the real chaos in the human psyche, possibly making listeners may feel anxiety and uneasiness. Mere transition of rhythm and tempo seem to generate a particular relationship between music and emotion. Furthermore, this particular relationship invites interest in the essence of music as an expressive medium. The analysis of "Alien Curse" indicates that the lyrics combined with the music also play an important part to the author's overall intention. The lyrical content indicates that the evil and demon in the song have connections with reality. Therefore, the evil and demon may be real and definite, rather than supernatural. Disaster members have stated that the demons created in their minds represent real incidents in daily life. Music is a medium for them to express particular feelings that may not be demonstrated in other art forms such as painting and writing. The emotional effect and lyrical implication of music trigger the listener's curiosity of the essence of musical communication. Consequently, the way that this essence relates music to society and daily life is an interesting research topic.

4.7 Music and its Meaning

The relationship between the musical sound and meaning involves a set of processes. The musical sounds are significant, but the meanings are socially constructed. The linguistic sign specifically unites a sound with an, according to Saussure. The two elements are united, each recalling the other. For Saussure, the signifier does not signify the sound of a word, but rather the psychological image of the sound constituted in the experience of an individual (Leppert 1998). Additionally, the signified or mental concept is not the same as a real-world object or concept. To cite Leppert, the concept "bird" may conventionally have a relationship with birds as they might be imagined in the real world, but as a mental concept, it is distinct and separate from them. Because the relationship between signifier and signified is heavily conventionalized in the framework of any language, it is not often recognized as being a purely arbitrary. Therefore, the signifier "bird" is not at all "bird-like". The understanding of how signs generate meaning is then subversive, because the meaning involves no definite or fixed processes. Considering the relationship between music and emotion, Mikel Dufrenne thinks that music provides an example of nonrepresentational and largely temporal art. However, music does contain a "subject" that neither represents nor imitates reality. Music represents a discourse in sound, and is not intended to to convey an explicit signification). The gradual unfolding of the sensuous, through both the means and the end of the work, is an end in itself (Dufrenne 1972). Dufrenne believes that the cultural reality of sound is

similar to that of a language, since it has the same consistency and cohesion. In writing, since words have their own sound structure, they attract or repel one another according to the rigorous requirements of signification. In a similar fashion, musicians adopt a codified system of sounds perpetuated by a long-standing and prestigious tradition. The various timbres are determined by instrumental techniques, or as in vocal polyphony, by the vocal possibilities, of the performers (251).

To conclude, music is an art based on sensibility and expression. It has its own signifying principle, distinct from those of vision and language. **Music relates to society through) encounters with reality forming the emotional basis of musical expression**. Namely, music provides a route of escape and relief because it has its own independent space. Additionally, sensibility in music is judged through political operation. Because music connects to society through feeling and sentiment, people's reactions to these feelings influence the making of music. Therefore, society may restrict the production of a particular kind of music by detesting and nullifying the feeling made by that music. In contrast, a nation may encourage particular music, by claiming that it is a byproduct of national spirit. The best examples are Folk Songs, with happy and simple tunes that relate to the pure character of the "Chinese youth". The sad, gloomy, noisy melodies of Rock particularly Heavy Metal, and people who love them, are condemned as bad and libertine.

4.8 Struggle in progress- Disaster and the tension in musical practice

Disaster is a Black Metal band from the Taichung area. Its members were junior high school classmates who became interested in Black Metal when learning to play musical instruments together. Although their reasons for choosing Black Metal as their main direction differ, the complexity of skills, gloomy mood and anti-establishment themes are the three major reasons that could generalize their interest. Many interviewees for this investigation gave these three reasons. However, this study indicates that bearing the name of Black Metal is the result of constant negotiation. Restated, it involves receiving information from both external sources such as friends, the Internet and social relationships. While performers of Black Metal do gain unparalleled musical pleasures, they experience an intrinsic tension that follows the imitation versus improvisation model. Namely, Black Metal simultaneously inspires and agitates them. Their practice involves negotiation with the ironic pulsation provided) by the local Black Metal scene. Disaster experienced an initial internal struggle regarding its musical definition and career direction. Disaster had suspended performance for about 6 months during the fieldwork leading to this investigation. The suspension was due to a quarrel among members in terms of musical definition, taste, performative style and leadership. All band members were

present four times when I observed their rehearsals, and five times when I chatted to them or listened from outside after they had finished the practice. On about four occasions, they talked about the internal quarrels and struggles of being unable to mediate the discrepancies among members. The entire process spanned about a year from separation to reunion. They mounted the stage again in the name of Disaster in 2006. This "detour" seemed to indicate how much they have changed in appropriating musical elements, and then represent them with negotiated novelty.

The overall definition of Black Metal seemed rather similar among Disaster members. In my interview, each member agreed on each other's definition of Black Metal in the band. For instance, the guitarist liked the gloomy mood or philosophical aspects of the music, but did not negate the technical complexity or performance ecstasy provided by the music. For him, the most impressive or most important construction lies in the qualities mentioned above, because they may appeal most to his personal experience, past memory, personal belief and social relationships. His answer conceals the constriction of our potency of understanding is essentially constricted: a person's center of attention is not comprehensive irrespective of the completeness of information or material resources available. This intrinsic restriction, combined with the information resources, forms our interpretation of daily matters and may complicate exchanges of opinion with others. Disaster maintained a weekly practice rehearsal routine. They generally practiced rehearsed once a week to keep technical proficiency. My four official visits and other brief drop-ins indicate that they generally followed the following pattern: melodies created from each member, completing lyrics, discussion, integration among members, rehearsal. The sessions were characterized by constant practice, and intermittent quarrels about skills or unfamiliarity. They quarreled in later sessions about how to carry on their career, and were clearly not being satisfied about playing only in Taiwan. However, sometimes they found no resolution about how to transcend locality and enter the wider regional scene, not even the "global scene" described as the U.S-European centers of musical production. For a certain period of time, they have apparently never reached a clear agreement on how to "play" Black Metal, nor on how Black Metal should be performed, either musically or institutionally, in their practice. My first interview with them indicates that they are unanimous in their method of musical practice and future career. However, the first hint of separation appeared 4 months after the first interview. A sign of separation was revealed in our conversation two months after my second visit:

Me: How about your latest practice?
Sector: Not so good.

Me: Why? Something happened?

Sector: There are some problems among us. The vocalist does not like our playing, and he wants to dominate us.

Me: Why does he want to do that?

Sector: I don't know. But it has been like this for quite some time. I do not tell say anything because I don't want to offend him. However, I don't want to tolerate this anymore rejects our efforts.

Me: What does he do?

Sector: He is bent on his own ways. He wants to dominate.

Me: Dominate what?

Sector: Musical styles, performance leadership and even the direction of our career.

Me: Will you split up?

Sector: No, not yet. I will still try to talk to him. I hope it can be solved in a peaceful way.

This dialogue represents the beginning of the quarrel. The different opinions are the first reason for the fight. They were on the verge of splitting up when I visited them three weeks later. The reasons were the same, but worse. The vocalist had left to join another band by the second time I came to their studio. Only the guitarist and bassist remained in the studio. Significantly, the different musical interpretation was partially a result of a struggle between imitation and improvisation. This struggle marked a serious contention among the members of Disaster.

Music imitation and improvisation has many aspects. The first is the technical aspect, in which each player has a role model on how to play an instrument well. Band members may previously have listened to CDs together in order to emulate the styles of certain bands, or give each other suggestions. No individual's ideas dominated collective decision-making at the start of their career, due to lack of skills and players. Unity was thus safely maintained initially. The problems emerged as the group's career progressed. Performances strengthened the experience and self-confidence of members, but also aggrandized individual interpretations, leading to an ever-increasing rift among the members. The vocalist was not present the third time I went to their studio. The only band members present were the guitarist and the bassist, who described the situation in detail:

Me: So when will you play again?

Sector: We split.

Me: Split? Why?

Sector: We cannot reach an agreement.

Me: In what way you fail to reach an agreement?

Sector: The same as last time. In fact, we've talked again about many issues. But it seems that there are two points that we particularly disagree on.

Me: What are they?

Sector: First of all, it's about our creation. I want to make more creative music, not simply Black Metal. Hence, I need to think, contemplate, collecting materials and practice. That will of course take time. I mean, I don't want to repeat the same material again just to meet the demands of the pub venue or audience tastes. May be it's OK to repeat the old stuff, but I don't want to do that. That's not the reason I play music.

Me: But what did he say?

Sector: He just stubbornly maintains his idea.

Me: Then what did he want exactly?

Sector: I guess he wants to be famous… as long as there are pub venues, it doesn't matter whether our creation is original or not. But I want progress and improvement; I don't want to copy or imitate anyone. I really want to do something special. But of course that will take time.

Me: But now that you've split, what's your plan?

Sector: I don't know. Maybe we will suspend for some time.

Disaster began its career as a cover band, playing music based on their favorite bands plus their own improvisation. As each member has his own favorite musicians, the combination of their music is very much like the Swedish Black Metal band Abigor. The band has only 2 guitars, one bass and a drummer, with no additional instrumentation. In music, they generally follow the pattern of so-called brutal Black Metal, which they regard as the original form of the genre. However, they would improvise based on the basic structure of this genre, and improve some parts aspects) of it. They consider music as a metaphorical medium to reflect all thoughts in life. Happiness, anger, dissatisfaction are written in their music to vessel all the reflections. However, they cannot express the dilemmas that they face. Lack of money and time, different opinions, status and language, and managerial problems in the division of labor have caused serious problem and stifled the group's ambition. The band members had not found a way to resolve this tension when the fieldwork of the study was complete. At my last visit, they continued to express this uncertainty during a practice interval:

Sector: If we have the chance, we'd also like to record in Europe, just like

Chthonic did

Me: I don't think that's difficult: I have a friend, and I think she can help you.

Sector: Really? But we dare not to trouble her.

Me: Don't worry, I will help to persuade her. She's friendly. The problem is, do you plan to go abroad for recording?

Sector: I don't know, I think we should improve our music skills in the first place. Also, our members have now doing other things. Besides, we are not good at English, and don't have sufficient experience of hanging out with foreigners. You know, our locale is very restricted. We may be famous in Taichung, but so what? It's not a really big deal. We also play songs sung in Taiwanese like Chtonic, but the gap between them and us keeps enlarging. All these deficiencies, my dream to record overseas and enter the international scene is rather far-fetched. And I fear that it will not be recovered in a short time quickly.

Disaster formed alliances with friends and owners of taverns and pubs, just as Chthonic formed TRA in the Taipei region. Disaster's league, known as "Metal Alliance", also involves other Metal bands in Taichung, including Hercules, Eternal, Eternles and casual partners from Formosa Panther, the Leading Voice and God of Dream. The venues are normally arranged at either Nuno Live house, owned by another informant in this study, or at the Ala pub in the downtown area, owned by another guitarist from Formosa Panther. This regional alliance has some general limitations compared to TRA. Firstly, the Taichung area has fewer Metal fans than Taipei. Consequently, the market is relatively narrow for players' survival. More importantly, the city government does not encourage cultural performances, thus creating a desolate foundation for diverse cultural activities. Nuno, the owner of the Nuno Live house, has found that communicating with authorities is usually normally an unpleasant experience, since OR because the officers not only lack the passion for service, but do not have enough authority to make important decisions. Broadly, the weak socio-economic support at the structural level has made little value of Metal players' potential. Additionally, the poor interaction between players and venues has caused players in Metal Alliance to feel consistent frustration in their musical practices.

Disaster's members have become increasingly interested in connecting with the global scene, by recording in famous European studios (as Chthonic have done), as they have become aware that their future lies in looking 'outward'. In retrospect, Chthonic has tended to have more links with and access to the global scene, and thus become more able to progress and see beyond the local scene. This is reflected in Chthonic's direction, which has gradually moved toward the European and U.S

musical scenes. In contrast to Chthonic, Disaster does not have a strong network for marketing or information management. Their appropriation is adapted in a rather miniscule scale that may present the danger of overlapping with others, in the sense that they are not recognized as a predominant figure in the local scene. They face the difficulty of not having a clearly identified ideological and musical contour if they intend to go out of the region, or sufficient capital in making themselves "heard". Therefore, the tension comes admiring of global success of major bands, such as Cradle of Filth, Slayer, Dimmu Borgir and even Chthonic, while learning that the transition from admiration to self-realization is difficult. Disaster's Black Metal music is thought to be good. All of its members are talented musicians. However, they need to find a way to articulate with the regional (Asian) and global cores in order to transcend locality. This is particularly important considering that they also write music in Taiwanese, which Chthonic has successfully shown to be a niche.

From the strategies of Cththonic, Anthelion, Hercules and Disaster, the appropriation of music shows that locality is strongly related to global development. The Extreme Metal scene was already highly diverse and distinct when it appeared in the 1980s out of institutional rejection from Heavy Metal. This is because the players and fans of Extreme Metal are much more diverse in tastes and decentralized in localities than those of Heavy Metal. Local scenes are also significant in introducing new styles. For example, Tampa Bay of Florida, Stockholm of Norway and Gothenburg of Sweden have all become important sites of development, and "centers" of musical production. Additionally, Extreme Metal bands from diverse locations also make music drawing on local instrumentation, and highlight the cultural characteristics of certain place in various ways. Further understanding the relationship between the local and global through musical appropriation becomes an important issue. In particular, the unique path followed by Chthonic is worthy of further study. Drawing specifically on the concept of "scene", Keith Harris uses the Brazilian Death Metal band Sepultura to demonstrate how a local identity could be involved within global scenes, while maintaining its particular cultural feature in music. He defines a "scene" in terms of two aspects. The first is similar to the academic definitions of subculture, referring to a local, face-to-face context of music-making and consumption; the second concerns a flexible, loose space, within which the music is produced, as a "context" for musical practice. This definition does not consider the homogeneity and coherence of its constituent activities and members (Harris 2000). In this context, the Extreme Metal Scene may connote a rather decentralized, global and diffuse network of producers and consumers of Extreme Metal. A scene can thus be defined both from everyday reflexivity and from a more systematically theorized, academic spaceThe local musical practice typically follows the U.S-centered genealogy from Heavy

Metal, through Thrash Metal, Death Metal and Black Metal, which is revealed by the songs practiced by the cover bands.

Underground cover bands perform what is the most popular style of music in the global music circle, mostly centered in the U.S and Europe. The Taiwanese musical practice of Rock and Metal thus resounds with wider regional and global trajectories that follow a developmental proliferation from West to East. The global Extreme Metal phenomenon reached Taiwan in around 1993. Fans reached out through information sources from the U.S, as well as from other Asian countries like Japan and China. Bands covered both American and Japanese songs through constant practice. Bands initially need to cover songs to help their later career. Find songs to practice involves accessing to various sources in locales and the world, thus raising their awareness of regional and global musical development. Therefore, a group's musical repertoire is initially syncretic, with links to both regional and global "cores". The musical appropriation and representation of Extreme Metal should thus be equally characterized by two significant factors: talents in musicianship and improvisation, paving the way for a unique musical syncretism, and the possession of various subcultural capitals, thus assuring a resourceful network in cooperating with members from other regions. Both factors should be understood in the context of the broader development of Extreme Metal, which reappropriates the local specificity into greater cohesion, and, in particular, in terms of the efforts by local groups (particularly Chthonic) to represent themselves through general patterns of Extreme Metal aesthetics, from both regional and global cores of influence.

Chthonic could be assumed to be one of the pioneering Asian bands in the decentralized process of global Black Metal. Yet, because of Chthonic's unique combination of these factors, means that it might not have a privileged position in the Taiwanese Extreme Metal scene. In this light, Chthonic successfully reacts to both the scenic logics locally and globally as the local and global scenes become interconnected and quasi-autonomous. Chthonic places its music in the center of cultural politics by resorting to Taiwanese subjectivity, thus not only providing endless inspiration, but also bringing a collateral effect in propaganda. On the global scale, Chthonic plays on "Taiwaneseness" as both a musical and exotic elements, thus elevating it as an international band, instead of simply a local act, yet also reinforcing its Taiwanese locality. Chthonic's unique assets are the niche they find in promotion strategies and certain political inclination.

Chthonic could use its prestige and status within the scene to generate financial and institutional support. However, Chthonic is criticized owing to anxiety over its peculiar success, rather than fair judgment. This investigation demonstrates that Chthonic is unique in successfully articulating the particular global-local relationship

in the Extreme Metal. Nevertheless, opening opportunities to specific people may close them to others. However, this does not mean the global-local relationship is invariant; rather, it is in constant shift and negotiation. Moreover, the assets of agents change as this relationship changes. In conclusion, if the concept of "scene" is applied to describe both global and local, macro and micro phenomena and structures, then the different "scenic logics" would generate different, yet interlaced, trajectories regionally and globally. Regional, minor cores and global, major cores may come together in the trajectories and larger "network" of scenes. The style of a particular genre in a locale might reflect both regional and global influence. The styles of Extreme Metal bands in Taiwan tend to result from appropriation from regional influences from China, Taiwan itself and Japan, along with general Extreme Metal aesthetic elements. The music of Chthonic, Anthelion, Hercules and Disaster all reflect this particular syncretism. The gaps between scenes may thus be filled or remain open, depending on the efforts and resources (or capitals) of the agents. The development strategies of these bands may attest to the condition of contemporary music experience, to separate and differ in a dynamic influence of cultural process in a global age.

Brief Summary:

This chapter analyzes the issue of musical appropriation and representation. Since appropriation and representation both have advantages and drawbacks, judging the consequence of such activities requires careful analysis. The chapter starts by analyzing their musical styles, revealing the cultural and musical influence of the Taiwanese region, and prepares the base for further discussion of musical appropriation. The development Extreme Metal is then analyzed to see how its trajectory articulates with different localities and, especially, how the members in Taiwan manage to articulate with the international trend. Finally, the presentation of these bands is shown to fortuitously comply with the global changes in economy, culture and ways of interaction. The players in Taiwan have made their own directions, while also responding to the global disjuncture of the genre.

"

"Alien Curse" by Disaster

段落 2

段落 -29

Chapter Five: Discussion on their technological production

Technology plays an essential role in music in several ways. Firstly, it helps people to play music efficiently. Additionally, technology forms the material basis of aesthetic perception, including the emotions of sadness, gloom, melancholy and happiness, which are expressed through musical effects such as volume, timbre, pitch and other effects of music. In this sense, technological facilities are not only tools, but also a part of musical production and style. Paul Theberge argued that as a precondition for musical production, musical sound and style must be defined in a way that reflects not only musical creation, but also the way that musicians and consumers exploit technology. Moreover, this investigation demonstrates that technology helps players to maintain autonomy in creation under financial difficulties. Technology helps them to maximize the quality while minimizing expenditure in the entire production process, comprising creation, mixing, recording and finalization of demos. The convenience and affordability of technology enables Extreme Metal musicians to challenge the operative mode of the popular music industry, where Rock musicians have to satisfy advertising promotion strategies in order to issue albums. This necessity increases spending on music production while eclipsing creative autonomy at the same time. The advent of technology, both in recording and live performance instruments, enables them to produce music at minimum cost. Moreover, they can be flexible in self-marketing, since the demos are available both in their live performances and in pubs or other venues, and in digitized forms to circulate quickly on the Internet. Scene members gain advantages from technology, since digital, synthesized provide excellent materials for creation, and compressed music files are easy to distribute for marketing. However, in terms of performing music, technology concerns not only the increase in guitar volume or stereo pitch, but also the musical aesthetics of how increased volume, pitch and distortion express or arouse various feelings among both players and audience. Exploitation of technology may thus lead to arguments about the nature of a musical performance, the authenticity issues and concerns over mechanical reproduction. To explore the various facets of technology and music, this chapter begins elucidating the role of technology in musical production, the essence of its interaction, and its relationship with musical aesthetics.

5.1 The use of technology in their practice

The interviewees in the study shared similar experiences in use of technology:

a. Dependence on electrical instruments and performing gadgets:

Members of Anthelion, Chthonic and Disaster acquired profound knowledge on the

selection and assembly of digital effects in order to optimize their sonic impact. This knowledge starts with the choice of instruments. Jackson, Gibson, ESP and Fender brands are the preferred guitar brands. The drum pedals and cymbals are also chosen from major brands. The preferred choice of pedals includes Tama Iron Cobra, DW7000 double-bass and Gilbraltar; while standard drum set equipment includes Zildgian or Sabian cymbals. The musicians also adopt digital keyboards or synthesizers to create authentic piano, organ and string symphonic sounds to complement the violent guitar distortion and heavy drums. The choice of digital effects is thus very crucial in musical creation for a keyboardist, who has to select the model that can deliver the most diverse effects while also being easily playable. Keyboard players have to be aware of the maximum potential, in both technical and creative terms, of the instruments in order to create diverse effects. Because keyboardists know the instruments best, they can create a sound that is unique to the band.

The guitarists also have to know the complicated configurations of analog and digital effectors. To make the most violent output of sound, they must experiment with different equipment and settings to match their musical needs. The choice of speaker is also important. The effort spent in choosing guitars and effectors would be futile without a powerful speaker, since the audience would not feel the intended heavy power. The guitarists also have to consider the choice of pickups and strings. The guitarists have to notice every detail in order to create the most perfect, violent sound in performance and recording. Thus all musicians, including vocalists, drummers, guitarists and keyboardists, are dependent on technology. Although musicians spend much time setting up different references and making experiments, their instruments, including drum sets, microphones, guitars, effectors and keyboards are confined to particular brands and models. Therefore, although their music may sound different to an audience, similar brands or models produce it. The different sounds may be the result of different effect buttons or samples, rather than personal musical talents.

b. Rehearsal workshop as home studio

Technology also affects the establishment of workshops for practice and recording. For instance, Disaster's studio is located in Taichung county, in a building in revamped from a wasted container, where they have installed various instruments, multi-track mixers, speakers and recording microphones, so that recording can be made after each practice. The Heavenly Accursed workshop in Taipei, which is an apartment converted into a studio and living room, has similar facilities, enabling the band to monitor its practice and recording progress.

The workshop and living space can be combined into a potential studio only due to the advent of computer technology. Any place can be transformed into a professional studio with basic instruments and powerful sound-editing software. The efficiency and power of the software gives the musicians strong creative power, as well as autonomy in musical production, so that they can experiment with alternative aesthetics.

c. Computer-mediated production

The third important technological issue is the technique and knowledge of computer operation. Since all the sessions are recorded on computer, they rely heavily on the ability of computer software to perform sound fidelity, file compression, effect alteration, file truncation, instrument balance, reproducibility and output quality. The build-in sound processing capability of the software compensates for the lack of money for studio-based recoding. The software features, in terms of fidelity, sound quality and multi-functionality provide virtually all the functions of a professional studio, making such software very powerful for private music production. Hence, the technological reliance of musicians can be characterized as privatized, computerized and mechanical. Nevertheless, these properties may engender broader issues in aesthetics and homogenous reproduction. Adorno (1962) argued that technique and reason have become powerful ideological weapons for wiping out autonomy, imagination and independent judgment. Additionally, Walter Benjamin criticizes the shallow reproducibility that replaces cult value with shallow emphasis on mere appearance, thus causing the loss of dinstinctive auras (Benjamin 1935). However, a careful examination of the relationship between technology and music should involve rigid determinism, but should instead analyze the process in each part of production, and should involve the specific condition of the practice. Popular music production always involves a mixture of assets in terms of technology and music, as pointed out by Frith (1986). Therefore, the effect of technological change on musical profiles and aesthetic standards need to be studied. Most importantly, technology has to be seen as a fundamental element in the realization of musical ideas and aesthetic expression. This crucial element in musical creation is likely to change within the wider socio-historical context.

Consequently, overt technological determinism may over-emphasize the development of technology, and eclipse the social factors. Social reception remains very important in technological advancement and its definition. Similar technology may lead to different consequences under different social conditions, as noted by MacKenzie and Wajcman (1983). Considering technology as an overriding factor is a partial and subjective viewpoint. Raymond Williams has noted that technological

determinism is rather culturally pessimistic, since technology does not necessary lead to cultural declination or social destruction. Technology undoubtedly plays an important role in distribution and production hen constituting the material basis of musical production and expression in the popular music industry. However, the industry also guides the way in which how technology is consumed, in terms of musical tastes, products, technical appropriation, combination of various technologies or stylistic creation of artists. This means that technology is not simply a rigid medium for simple input and output; rather, it is also a cultural phenomenon, or a state of consciousness. (Therberge 1999; Nien 2003). MacKenzie and Wajcman (1983) identified three factors deciding the use of technology. Firstly, technological could be political: certain technology is utilized to prevent some areas of social development, and enhances other areas. For example, the steam machine was adopted to eliminate the hand production business, directly causing the unemployment of manual workers. Second, technology may have a rather long-term effect. For instance, a road is hard to remove once constructed, since its construction takes a huge effort and cast a strong influence. Third, technology may have serious environmental effects, such as pollution. These effects are irreversible, making them particularly damaging. In this context, technology is not the direct cause of change, but its purpose is crucial in making changes. Therefore, the relationship between technology and the musical aesthetic and the authenticity issues in Rock and Metal needs to be considered.

5.2 Technical advent and philosophical inquiry: on the cultural significance of synthesizers and electric guitar

Metal is defined as the sound of an extremely distorted electric guitar. This distorted sound has become the dominant and defining feature of Rock and Heavy Metal music. Any song in which this sound is musically dominant can be considered as either Metal or Hard Rock, while any performance that lacks it cannot be included in the genre. The distortion is mainly signifies power and exuberance of pleasure, symbolizing liberation and transgression in Metal music. Extreme Metal uses distortion to express strong power and majesty, and to strengthen the experience of power and violence. Robert Walser describes as follows:

Thus, distortion effect as a sign of extreme power and intense expression by overflowing its channels and materializing the exceptional effort that produces it. This is not to say that distortion always and everywhere functions this way: guitar distortion has become a conventional sign that is open to transformation and multiple meanings. Heavy metal distortion is linked semiotically with other experiences of distortion, but only at a particular historical moment begins to be

> perceived in terms of power rather than failure, intentional transgression rather
> than accidental overload—as music rather than noise.(42)

The feeling of power is created by the combination of distortion, bass drum and keyboard. This combination is the basis of the Metal experience, and also relates the material expression to the symbolic experience of power and violence of the music. Technology, although it is mechanical, is thus essential in the aesthetics of Metal. Extreme guitar distortion and machinegun-like double bass drumming constitute the definitive signs of transgression and freedom. The augmentation of physical pleasure is only possible under the technological development: the enhancement of timbre and volume increases the brilliance and edge of the sound, thus creating weight and impact, which increases the mental impact on the listeners. The reliance on technology in the production of Metal music may arouse the deep concern for critics who fear the dominance of technology. For example, Walter Benjamin (1968) would criticize the loss of aura and authority of a work of art. In his context, the technological practice of Metal jeopardizes the uniqueness of music, since the distortion or piano sounds from synthesizers are artificial, separated from tradition and highly reproducible (220-223). Theodore Adorno (1981) would make an even more severe criticism, since he regards such technological reliance as the consequence of a culture in which the music lacks artistic autonomy. Furthermore, such a depersonalized method of production makes content easy to duplicate, reinforcing the audience's belief that the sound is "given and unchangeable" (99).

This investigation finds that the concerns of Benjamin and Adorno hold true, in that my interviewees rely heavily on the functions of these instruments and facilities to decrease the workload and practice time. However, they are not impassive toward the gradual reliance on technology, or to the possibility that the machine or software would finally replace a player, so that playing a real instrument would be no different from using computer software. This finding can be demonstrated by a conversation with Disaster's guitarist, when discussing the ability of the newest Guitar Pro software to play the solo guitar part of the Guns and Roses song "Don't Cry" such that even an expert cannot tell that it is a machine that plays the music. However, musicians still emphasize originality. Because people still have access to basic instruments, creativity is still significant in the evaluation of talents in the circle. Evaluation occurs during the performance. Talent is the most important factor when other players comment on the quality of the players on the stage. Creativity and originality are still the regarded as important when listening to a CD or the radio. Technology, at most, helps ignite musical talent. Emphasis on originality does not eclipse the assistance of technology. The technological advent certainly helps to

express a new dimension of feelings and stylistic possibilities. However, these new dimensions are in a dialectically relationship with individual talent and the social acceptance of new dimensions of feelings.

The "accumulated sensibilities" comprises both physical, acoustic and stylistic aspects, which further elevate the technological issue to the aesthetic level. How the accumulated sensibilities relate to the aesthetic standard of each genre, and particularly the standard of authenticity of the music, thus becomes an important issue. Philip Auslander argued that although electronic or digital technologies certainly are fundamental different from acoustic instruments, they are not separate from the broader continuum of musical expression. However, researches need to determine how selected properties — physical, acoustic, stylistic and aesthetic — that constitute the total "accumulated sensibilities" of a piano, a guitar, an orchestra or even a computer, interact with various musical and extra-musical factors to create innovations in musical form.

Technology is only part of the definition in this case. The whole set of issues concerning technology should involve the following aspects according to Auslander:

> First, in keeping with the notion of "technique" used here, the symphony orchestra or the recording studio — each with its own characteristic hierarchies, hiring practices, conventions, and patterns of work — is considered as a form of "social technology" (Frederickson 1989: 194–97). Social technologies are distinct from, though they may be related to, specific "machine technologies" (ibid.). Second, I examine certain "technologies of music"; that is, "technologies" in the form of discourses, institutions, and practices — aesthetic, scientific, pedagogical, legal, or economic — that "produce" representations of music that have concrete ideological or material effects on music-making. I continue, however, to use the more common expression, "musical technology", to refer to musical instruments, recording devices, and so on. In this sense, copyright law might be considered as a particular "technology of music": a set of principles and legal instruments that define "music" in specific ways, assign authorship, and parcel out legal and economic rights. In its day-to-day operations, this legal "technology" can have a profound impact not only on the profits of individuals and large corporations, but also on defining the limits of legitimate musical/creative activity. (67)

According to this perception of technology in this view, the consumption of technology is still influenced by society, because the people in a society as consumers of technology still appropriate its advantage. In music, the changes in volume, tunes

or timbres become an important issue in musical aesthetics, since they may influence the attitude, thoughts or even degree of empathy of people. Nevertheless, the users of technology determine the weight of these changes, and the extent to which these are put into practice. Technology may help to determine what sounds are played, but not so much how they are played. Indeed, how an instrument is played can transform both the instrument itself and the nature of the musical sounds produced.

The musical style is somewhat identified by the sound that is felt; this awareness is as much psychological as it is cognitive. The Extreme Metal sounds and one of the standards of "authenticity", may lie in its technological consumption, that in a way that the extreme distortion merges with acoustic, folklorish effects or instruments from different localities. Even with the traditional band lineups, Extreme Metal bands often use technology when experimenting with local scales, rhythmic procession or melodic structure. For instance, Chthonic utilize electric keyboards to create symphonic sounds. People from other regions in the world would probably regard this use of technology as exotic and original. The general lineups thus generate) much more diverse musical sounds then they appear to physically. Chthonic's creativity is musically and culturally enriched by the possibilities created by digital instruments and computer technology.

Technology can appear in discourses, institutions and other aesthetic or social practices. Paul Theberge (1997) observed that technology has "produced" representations of music that have concrete ideological or material effects on music making (163). In terms of the application of technology to formulate the aesthetic conception and musical practices of these players, the materialization and manipulation of the temporal and tonal relationship of music with technology may affect psychology. Hence, the choice of instrument affects expressions of chaos and pain. Musical affections and styles thus evolved socially with technological development and other forms of technical enhancement. The musical sound of a particular style is thus the created by both artists and technology. The sound could mean the conceptual category, as well as a mere material production. Technologies such as the distortion effect and synthesizers thus influence an artist's conception of musical practices, and the abstract imagination of certain emotions.

Creating a particular recognizable sound is well known to be vital in the history of Rock. A distinctive sound carries both mechanical significance in terms of the choice of instrument and the symbolic significance of musical creativity. Technological know-how is important for today's Rock players. Analyzing the musical practice of these players involves determining their level of their originality. Originality can be measured by the extent to which music is formed by simply combining pre-set sound samples from synthesizers and samples, the approach of

musicians to technological problems, and the technical and aesthetical use of technology to produce the produce a distinctive sound and express musical talent. Originality in musical creation is particularly important in the evaluation of music, since the bands in the study produce music that sounds different, even though they mostly use the same models of instrument. Placing originality above technology involves emphasizing the human effort in musical creation, because humans still decide how to use technology. Moreover, if people need to rely on technology for a certain period of time, then they may have particular reasons or difficulties — it does not mean that they lack originality or are lazy.

Technological improvement helps to make musical production simple and economic. These players can construct a home studio with an affordable budget; allowing them to pursue their musical careers with minimal material burden. Additionally, the materialization of all sounds, in addition to the particular effect on the aesthetic and psychological level, contributes to inspiration and originality, since the "internationalization of sounds" installed in synthesizers and music software are simple to appropriate. This mode of production is similar to the "pastiche" and "bricolage" characterized by Frederic Jameson in his work on "Post-Modernism, or the cultural logic of the late capitalism". While players simply sense the convenience of such mode of production, a researcher is more sensitive to its nature. Pastiche, collage, merger and re-appropriation become easier for musical production, yet it also produces side effects. The advantage of a technological collage is that it helps to generate novel musical patterns when articulated with creative artists deploying specific cultural elements. Conversely, the technological reproducibility may remove the memory and experience of the original maker. The technical exploitation is the consequence of the everyday experience of technology, and should be understood within the broader context of music consumption in the cultural environment.

Jameson (1984) and Theberge (1997) argued that the obsessive concentration on the present, resulting from he technological consumption of music, represents a schizophrenic subjectivity that is emblematic of the post-modern experience (206). The ability of synthesizers and samplers to produce collage and pastiche leads to the dispersal of a unified subject, since artistic practices destroy the integrity of "the work" in the sense of Walter Benjamin. Therefore, the musical practice of digital and electrical facilities is caused by the transformation of everyday life in the modern age of mass production and consumption (206). Technology also facilitates the descriptions and feelings of sound qualities such as heaviness and aggression. Although music exists as a metaphor in nature, its realization is made possible by technology, which can relate such concepts to actual physical presentations. Moreover, the realization of such concepts may further link to social conditions. This is because

the abstract ideas of sound qualities find expressive equivalents in the social environment through the reflections of minds. Hence, technological-mediated sounds are neither abstract nor completely vacuum, but can become concrete in a specific cultural context. To further elucidate this argument, consider the discussion of Jameson's pastiche and bricolage concept. Jameson defines postmodernism in terms of the emergence of flatness and "depthlessness", "superficiality in the most literal sense" (Jameson 1991). In this situation, parody is replaced by pastiche, which is a imitation of a peculiar or unique style, and a wearing of a linguistic mask, like speech in a dead language (9). However, the practice of pastiche is neutral, and is still determined by intention or ulterior motives. According to Jameson, a pastiche of a film based on a novel may be considered as a "remake", for which awareness of the previous existence of other versions (previous films of the novel as well as the novel itself) is an integral and essential component of the film's structure (20). Therefore, the aesthetic effect inherently has a sense of "intertexuality, creating a new connotation of "pastness" and pseudo-historical depth. Everything can now be text in that sense (daily life, the body, political representations). Objects that were taken previously as "works" are being reread as ensembles or systems of texts through various intertextualities, successions of fragments and processes henceforth known as textual production or textualization (20).

Greg Olson proposed in "Anti-Aesthetics"(1983) argues that "collage is the single most revolutionary formal innovation in artistic representation to occur in our century" (Olson 1983). He stated that the aim of collage/montage in art and media, including literary criticism, is "to lift a certain number of elements from works, objects and preexisting messages, and to interrogate them into a new creation in order to produce an original totality manifesting ruptures of diverse sorts". This operation, may be recognized as a "bricolage" (Levi-Strauss) with four properties: assembly, montage, discontinuity or heterogeneity. "Collage" is thus the transfer of materials from one context to another, and "montage" is the "dissemination" of these borrowings into a novel setting (72). Olson (1983) further argues that the collage could be utilized as a language, to transfer the real element of a discourse, similar to Sergei Eisenstein's method of "intellectual montage" (Olson 85). Additionally, in criticism, as in literature, collage takes the form of citation, but carried to an extreme (in post-criticism). Collage in this case is the "limit-case" of citation, with grammatology being the theory of writing as citation (cf. *Collage*, 301) (89). Olson thus connects collage to Derrida's concept of "Dissemination", which is synonymous with collage and montage. Collage is close to the idea of "grafting"; in which two texts are transformed and deform each other, contaminating each other's contexts. The grafted text would continue to refer back to the original context, and would also affect

the new context (Derrida 1981; Olson 1983).   In this sense, the loss of referentiality is not as detrimental as argued by Benjamin or Adorno. The abstraction or materialization of cultural entities could be treated as a method of providing new meanings, or of stimulating other aspects of potentials. This does not negate the comments of Adorno or Benjamin; however, the use of technology and terms of criticism are always historically specific. The improvement of recording sounds, magnified volumes and effects such as distortion, reverbs, relays and 'wah-wah' may be seen as the extension of human voice and emotions. They arouse not just mechanical numbers, but also a cultural imagination of human sensibilities. This is because musical instruments are not only facilities: in terms of organology, they are also strongly related to the entire material culture, emotional experience and worldview. Therefore, the electrical and digitalized sounds of instruments such as electric guitar and synthesizers, irrespective of how they are "virtualized" or "decontexualized", are reflections and metaphors of human emotions, since the way that instruments "speak" is strongly related to social relations. Therefore, the instruments result from the crystallization of musical, cultural, scientific and social values. The digitalized sounds are abstractions of the magnitude and the possibilities of human emotional expression, and also constitute the aesthetic standards of a genre, both psychologically and discursively.

The distortion feedback effect facilitated by technology contributes to the guitar power chords that characterize the distortion as exceptional symbols of transgression in Metal. Technology is in this sense, fundamental to the aesthetics of Metal. Extreme guitar distortion and machinegun-like double bass drumming constitute the ultimate signs of transgression in Extreme Metal. Transgressive pleasure is extended by the extension of timbre and volume. Because such effects are employed to signify power and exuberance of pleasure, they constitute part of the definition of Metal music.

The emergence of musical genres and meanings may be contingent, but is never arbitrary. Musical signs and social ideas may correspond. Musical meaning is undoubtedly grounded socially and historically, and operates on an ideological field of conflicting interests, institutions and memories. Musical details and framework are intelligible as traces, provocations and enactments of power relationships. They articulate meanings in their dialogue with other past and present discourses, and in their engagement with the hopes, fears, values and memories of social groups and individuals. The standards of musical authenticity, in the original form of musical honesty and originality, thus become increasingly context-specific as both society and artistic values evolve. However, although technology can be viewed as increasing "inauthentic" aspects of music, this author argues that technology is integral to the authenticity of Extreme Metal, because the originality of Metal is partly achieved

through the operation of technical gadgets. Technology can be regarded as a "constant" in the production of Metal music. Additionally, because the emergence of Extreme Metal is aided by the local appropriation of the general aesthetics of the genre; the imitation and "bricolage" of different styles are positive aspects of its aesthetic. Hence, technology is the source of authenticity that identifies musical talents and confers empowerment.

5.3 Technology and authenticity

Authenticity refers to a specific voice, instrument and style. Additionally, each stage of Rock's development includes inauthentic genres, which can be contrasted with the authentic ones. The standard of authenticity, in terms of sound, instrument and style also varies with time. Both authentic and inauthentic genres can be considered to be part of the authenticity discourse of the Rock of a certain period. If a particular genre of music is regarded as authentic, then other "inauthentic" genres may appear to threaten the legitimate genre. Both "authentic" and "inauthentic" forms thus define the standard ideology of authenticity of an era. In this view, authenticity is diachronic and synchronic from a wider perspective. Restated, as the standards of authenticity change with time, the members of a musical scene from different subdivisions of Rock continue vie for the claim of authenticity by developing particular discourses of authenticity within the genre. Then, Lawrence Grossberg (1993) provides a valuable explanation for understanding this facet of authenticity,:

> Rock's special place was enabled by its articulation toward an ideology of "authenticity": rock appropriated an older middle-class obsession with "authenticity" as a way of responding to the absence of its own authentic past (and future). But Rock's authenticity was defined not by any claim to historical origins or ideological purity, but by the very conditions which enabled particular forms of aural, visual and behavioral excess. It was defined by Rock's ability to articulate the historical condition to the experience of post-war youth. Only by making youth belong to somewhere could it speak to both the identity and the difference of its audience. Because it mattered, Rock constituted a generational identity, and empowered that generation to define its own way of articulating meaning into its mattering maps. A differentiating machine is deployed in the service of Rock's territorializing work … the ideology of authenticity legitimated the fact that Rock mattered providing the measure of its difference from other cultural forms-rock differed absolutely from mere entertainment and grounding that differs in Rock's claim to have of excess. (207)

This work employs to show how what is heard from outside as aesthetically noisy and inauthentic is exploited in the struggle to generate musical meaning and value. Since the inception of punk in the mid-1970s, popular music has deliberately developed an aesthetic of noise mediated through technology in order to maintain control over musical sound and representation. The aesthetic and authenticity of Extreme Metal set it from other Rock genres by producing new forms of noisiness through technology. The aesthetics of the musical noise comprise two issues, namely musical noise, defined as extreme loud volume, and distortion, characterized by high technical exploitation to maintain the authenticity of the genre. The first sense of this musical noise is thus highly technical and technological. However, the equipment is not used for mere reproduction of sounds, and nor does it eliminated of individuality. Rather, the technology is part of the material base of the music, and is used to distinguish the music musically and ideologically from commercial popular music and other Rock genres, using its particular presentation of creativity as the symbolic threshold of its community. The crudest musical noise, comprising gigantic distortion effects and guttural sounds, could still be realized within the framework of artistic and social resistance, based on resistance and struggle according to the classic groundwork of Adorno and Benjamin.

In conclusion, technologies for producing and reproducing sounds have influenced the way that all music has been practiced and produced. It is an important part of originality, creativity and marketing. Consequently, musical meanings and practices cannot be separated from particular technologies, or from the way that players and members deploy such technologies. Technological changes should not be condemned for causing loss of authenticity or originality. The consumption of technology is never passive, but always requires the mediation and participation of human beings. According to Richard Middleton, "Technology and musical technique, content and meaning, generally develop together, dialectically." (Middleton 1990). As mentioned earlier, Adorno and Benjamin are not necessarily wrong, but people may still have strategies for struggling against the loss of aura and materialization in the process of artistic production. The players interviewed for the study tried to express their attitudes by creatively playing instruments and merging different musical elements. Technology is best seen as a tool that facilitates their expression of originality. However, their music is possibly being homogenized by using similar instruments. Nonetheless, determining whether the convenience of electrical facilities will cause the loss of creativity will require further observation.

Raymond Williams (1990) has noted that radio and television, unlike previous communication technologies, were primarily devised for transmission and reception as abstract processes (Williams 25). Technical products are designed to improve

production. The scene members would still reject people who created music by stealing other people's ideas without showing any musical skills of their own. Regardless of the stage of technological development, human originality remains fundamental to the entire process. Technological consumption is not simply a passive activity. An individual, group or class can define a product through the meanings that emerge and are invested in it as it is appropriated and applied.

Brief summary:

This chapter discusses the deployment by musicians of technological equipment, their reliance on equipment during creation and their reflections on its deployment and standard of creativity. Issues concerning technology, both in its social effect and in musical creation, are then discussed. Technology is fundamentally a social product, irrespective of how revolutionary it is. Hence, overt technological determinism in somewhat biased, since it disregards the subjective participation of individuals. Moreover, in musical practice, although instruments do influence the standard of music and methods of practice, human interpretation plays the most important role in the entire process. Nevertheless, Adorno and Benjamin are right to be concerned that the mechanical reproduction may have caused the loss of artistic values. However, this study seeks to demonstrate that artists may be sensitive to such worries, and thus attempt to maintain originality in their creation.
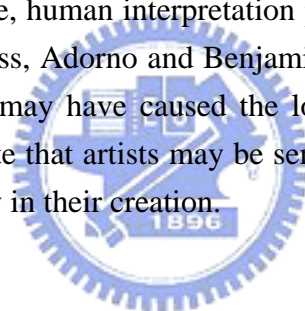
Conclusion

In this study, this author presents the development of Extreme Metal in Taiwan. In the first place, this author explores its history and development, the people and institutions that make Extreme Metal to happen. While nor drawing specific connotation as to why the Extreme Metal scene would take place in the certain period in around 1993, the latter exploration finds that it is not coincidental, but is part of the global dissemination of the genre, which, with the efforts of some people, contributes to the development of the local scene. It is also by articulating with the socio-political conditions that in the age of taboo-breaking fortuitously articulated with the alternative aesthetics. Hence, the Extreme Metal is able to take root in the local arena. In the second place, the author tries to illustrate the significance of their performance in terms of visual presentation and possible empowerment brought by music. To negotiate the feminist theories with Heavy Metal scholarship, he assumes that there is an intricate relationship between the rebellious energy of drag performance that may transcend the theoretical framework and into a contestation against a larger social context. Regarding musical empowerment, this author tries to discuss the empowerment theory from both the social aspect and everyday experience. In conclusion, he assumes that either side is equally important to a complete musical social life. Each side should not eclipse the other.

In the third part, this author discusses the negative impression that is imposed upon Heavy Metal. As Extreme Metal sometimes evokes anxiety and fear by the public, this author is interested in exploring how the degree of deviance impression is imposed upon the Metal players. However, the author does not assume that Metal players are in a high tension with the larger public, however; there does exist certain examples that listening to this kind of music becomes the potential reason of implicit debasement and verbal abuse. The author tries to show the possible fissures that underlie the surface. Lastly, the author aims to show the relations between local and global scenes of Extreme Metal trajectories in terms of musical appropriation and representation. It is to follow the questioning of the first chapter, nonetheless; the author begins with simple analysis of musical characteristics to see the regional and global influence on their musical practice.

Finally, in concluding all the theoretical inquiries, this author agrees with Ruth Finnegan's points that the musical activities are not always political or socially significant, but musical pleasure that is on the individual level is the fundamental source of all kinds of empowerments including the socio-political one. According to Finnegan (1989), the problems of overt emphasis on social theories are:

Perhaps the most striking point of view is how far the evidence here runs counter to the influential 'mass society' interpretations, particularly the extreme view which envisages a passive and deluded population lulled by the mass media and generating nothing themselves. Nor can music be explained (or explained away) as the creature of class divisions or manipulation, or in any simple way predictable from people's social and economic backgrounds or even, in most cases, their age (as will emerge in chapter 10, the theory of a 'working-class-youth sub-culture' has little to support it). And far from music-making taking a peripheral role for individual and society-a view propagated in the kind of theoretical stance that marginalizes 'leisure' or 'culture' as somehow less real than 'work' an 'society'-music can equally well be seen as playing a central part not just in urban networks but also more generally in the social structure and processes of our life today. (5-6)

She also says that:

> Artistic expression and enactment are also important to people, perhaps as significant for their lives as the traditional concerns of social theories-or, at any rate, it seems often to be a matter of mere assumption rather than objective evidence that they are not. (10)

The author acquires this assumption from his interviewees. In the case of Death and Disaster, he finds that joining musical activities and the sheer enjoyment that music brings are of extremely importance to them. The pleasure of listening to and playing music serves both as mental release and a sense of achievement, which would compensate the sadness and sorrow caused by mundane chores. Hence, listening to music is the most important source of mental cure and empowerment so that they would be refilled with confidence when they face frustrations. Even Chthonic, the most politically active band among all, admit that music is qualitatively higher than their social concerns. Hence, this author thinks that emphasis on music is of paramount importance because the social action and musical pleasure are in fact interstitially related from the everyday pleasure point of view.

The third chapter offers discussion of deviance targeted especially on the implication, undirected manner and the labeling effect in the society. This author is motivated first of all by the negative impression of Extreme Metal in general on media, and from other sources of information such as newspapers and public opinions. Then, he is interested in the impression of Rock and Heavy Metal throughout the line of the local musical history because the labeling effect people regard Rock players as

unpromising individuals or even potential criminals are analogous to those in the West. Hence, he began the inquiry by interviews and field study in order to offer a quantitative base for further argumentation. In the study, the socio-political background of interviewees are in fact highly variegated, which is difficult to assign the stereotypical impressions on the author's interviewees, for in fact some of them enjoy wealthy background or "capitals" in Pierre Bourdieu's context. The author finds that there is not a direct correspondence between playing music and moral disparage. Some interviewees take the music as a metaphorical kind of mental release; others as mere experiment of musical possibilities. The question then arises about the formation and origin of such impression. Since music is still the focus of chapter three, the author employs Leonard Meyer's ideas between musical change and social reception as the beginning step. Then the author goes on to the broader issue of a more general aspect of people's aversion of odd, ugly, unfavorable and malformed objects-namely the "grotesque" objects. On the very physical, psychological level, the grotesque objects are potentially aversive and detestable. Judging from what Geoffrey Harpham had contended, the physical aversion incurred by the grotesque is easy to arouse social rejection, which may prepare a base for further abomination. On the other hand, men are prone to eliminate the bad objects with extreme measures according to Melanie Klein's theorization. However, the author thinks that the points mentioned above are just latent, indirect reasons why Metal is regarded as infamous.

The most important reason is still about the cultural formation and ideological manipulation in society. In the Taiwanese history of music, it was difficult to find that there was a period that was detached from strong external interference. In the beginning, there was national, political force attempting to mold music as ideally innocent and stylistically prosaic, and attempts to violate the guidelines were taken as challenges to the authority and faced with punishments. The second stage, the capitalist and international period though, employ similar strategies to protect interests and rejects alternatives only in a formal variance but is no less coercive. Finally, the author assumes that the deviance image is the combination of three aspects: men's biological reception, market interests and the ideological control that make the deviance impression strong and inveterate.

The fourth chapter discusses the appropriation and representation of music. However, such an issue is complicated since the materials of music are composed of memories, histories and even metaphorical identification of certain places. What makes the matter more intricate is the enhanced human interaction would shatter the fixed identification of a place that makes the insistence of origin virtually impossible. The enhanced cultural interaction assisted by communication and technology in return enriches the content of a local music. Thus, the variation and differentiation of a

musical genre is a predictable result. On a general level, Homi Bhabha (1991) already mentions issues concerning enhanced cultural diversity aided by cultural engagement:

> Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation. The "right" to signify from the periphery of authorized power and privilege does not depend on the persistence of tradition; it is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are 'in the minority'. The recognition that tradition bestows is a partial form of identification. In restaging the past it introduces other, incommensurable cultural temporalities into the invention of tradition. This process estranges any immediate access to an originary identity or a "received" tradition. The borderline engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, high and low; and challenge normative expectations of development and progress. (2-3)

From Bhabha, we may see that in the age of enhanced interaction and communication complicated the issue of resistance and identities. On Extreme Metal, it shows that musical ideas and styles are easier to transact and be appropriated. However, from the interviews in the study, it is too naive to assume that players' resistance against commercial market is always successful. In the contrast shown between Chthonic and Disaster, the author thinks that the classical ideas of class, resources and status would still be possible barriers or catalysts of the resistance act. Furthermore, seemingly liberation under a capitalist environment could be a kind of repressive tolerance according to Herbert Marcuse. Although technology and the Internet improve the accessibility, the subjects of opposition are equally empowered with the same knowledge and ability.

In the second place, the appropriation of musical materials promises the potential of strategic anti-essentialism as described by George Lipsitz (1994). According to Lipsitz:

> The key questions come when we try to discern the consequences of cultural collusion and collision: which kind of cross-cultural identification advance

emancipatory ends and which ones reinforces existing structures of power and domination? When does identification with the culture of others serve escapist and irresponsible ends and when does it encourage an enhanced understanding of one's experiences and responsibilities? (56)

He also argues that:

But musicians from privileged sectors of advanced industrialized societies are not only artists who try on new identities through popular culture. Colonized and exploited communities have a long history of cultural expression that uses the protective cover offered by seemingly innocent play with new identities to address and redress their traditional grievances. (71)

Among the interviewees, Chthonic is the most salient in asserting political attitude. Their activities, musical concepts and musical pattern are designed to present the stance of anti-authority, which may be defined as a resistance against cultural hegemony. Nevertheless, appropriative strategies in music could also be rather subterranean and implicated. In this sense, this author thus raises Disaster as an example to punctuate the struggle between career development and personal limit. Unlike Chthonic, Disaster is more at war with each other, and is at loss to know about their future. Ultimately, the author tries to argue that in Taiwan the appropriative strategies are pre-determined by the cultural milieu, that the emulation of music and imagination toward career develop are referring to the regional (Hong Kong, Japanese influence) and global centers (Metallica, Mayhem, or even Sepultura as mentioned by Keith Harris). As Brazilian Death Metal band Sepultura's development becomes the typical genre of Extreme Metal's principle, the author tentatively contends that Chthonic could be regarded as the Asian Sepultura whose trajectory is very much like the Western one. Furthermore, the Extreme Metal circle in Taiwan is the follower of the global Extreme Metal genre, for it is after the success of Sepultura that the Taiwanese circle began to take shape. In this sense, we are virtually the third wave Extreme Metal participants. This echoes with the cultural influence according to the geo-politics of the world, spreading from the U.S to Europe, then to Japan and to Taiwan. This is what the author tries to raise in his idea of musical disjunction and difference.

The fifth chapter discusses the importance of technology in musical production. The author finds that technology as well as technological know-how is crucial for players. Technology helps to reduce economic burden and production quality, which makes them their express talents in an affordable way. Furthermore, technology bears

philosophical significance. The synthesized, experimental sounds are not just collage, but collage itself is meaningful in the age of mechanical and postmodernism. The author argues that technology is the foundation of Extreme Metal. The unification in instrumental sounds is the first stage to make the emulation of music and appropriation possible. Hence, the Extreme Metal authenticity should include the technological composed sound; the compression, distortion and multi-effects are the grotesque itself, which is qualitatively different from other genres of music. The author think that authenticity is always multiple rather than single, since various genres of music require various effects and appeal to different levels and depths of emotions. On the issue of postmodernism, the author would like to refer again to Bhabha:

> The wider significance of the postmodern condition lies in the awareness that the epistemological 'limits' of those ethnocentric ideas are also the enunciative boundaries of a range of other dissonant, even dissident histories and voices-women, the colonized, minority groups, the bearers of policed sexualities. For the demography of the new internationalism is the history of postcolonial migration, the narratives of cultural and political diaspora, the major social displacements of peasant and aboriginal communities, the poetics of exile, the grim prose of political and economic refugees. It is in this sense that the boundary becomes the place from which something begins its presenting in a movement not dissimilar to the ambulant, ambivalent articulation of the beyond that I have drawn out: 'Always and ever differently the bridge escorts the lingering and hastening ways of men to and fro, so that they may get to other banks.... The bridge gathers as a passage that crosses. (2-3)

The author extends the issues of difference and disjuncture further into the temporal context that molds the pattern of cultural practice in a given period of time. According to Fredric Jameson (1991), postmodernism is a "mode of production" rather than a mere cultural category. In response to the opinions from Mike Featherstone, he argues that:

> Featherstone, for example, thinks that "postmodernism" is on my use a specifically cultural category. It is not, and for better and for worse it is designed to name a "mode of production" in which cultural production finds a specific functional place and whose symptomatology is in my work mainly drawn from culture (this is no doubt the source of the confusion). (406)

Also, this mode of production is not a total system, but includes various counterforces and "residues" as well as heterogenous forces in order to counter against the prevailing mode of production (in Jameson's context, postmodernism means a new stage of capitalist development, a new way of gaining economic and cultural interests). He argues that differences are presupposed by the model; capitalism also produces differences or differentiation as a function of its internal logic (Jameson, 1991:406).

If we read Homi Bhabha's ideas of difference and disjuncture through Fredric Jameson's perspective, then in the case Taiwanese Extreme Metal, technology helps to enhance the potential of making difference and disjuncture. Homi Bhabha shows that in the world of difference and disjuncture, culture forms are easily to be spread and appropriated, and hence the criteria of authenticity is easily to be shattered and transformed. Jameson's idea implies that the postmodern culture could also be the circumstance for possible experience of difference and disjunction to take shape. Hence, technology, void of historical depth and collage are the constituent parts of difference in the Jamesonian sense. Furthermore, on the technical level, technology may enhance the process of difference and disjuncture because it helps participants of culture to garner materials with an affordable price. Among his interviewees, this author has described how members of Taiwanese Extreme Metal utilize technology both as a way of reducing financial costs while at the same time receiving as many cultural riches as possible. Their practices are the encapsulation of the contemporary cultural milieu.

To sum up, the gist of this study is to offer a preliminary research of the Extreme Metal in Taiwan. Using the concept of heterogeneity, liminality and grotesque, this study analyzes the rules of exclusion, constitution, aesthetic standard and political ideology of the cultural formation of the popular music circle in Taiwan. This author also negotiates with the prevailing concepts in academic research of popular music, arguing that the predominant principles are in fact insulated and insufficient to cover the profundity of musical researches ranging from musical analysis to musical aesthetics. Hence, field study is taken as to offer a more detailed basis for further argument. However, owing to the obscurity of the genre and theoretical deficiency in the scholarship, it is a bit difficult to make this study satisfactory enough. The potential problem in the study first of all is the method used. As this author takes the participant-observer method, it is hard to keep a neutral position during observation. And, because of the method, some issues that could be explored by quantitative methods are neglected, which could be taken as a major fault in this study. Moreover, there can more theoretical reasonings and analysis since there are still much more to explore in this interesting subculture. In the end, this author tries to show what he has

observed as much as possible. This study is not perfect; however, if it works as a stepping-stone for subsequent researches then its goal has being attained.

Appendix One: Interview Questions

Attitude towards music

1. What is your favorite kind of music?
2. Why do you love this kind of music?
3. Is there any connection between this kind of music and your personal experiences?
4. How important is music to you?
5. How do you get access to this kind of music, especially Heavy Metal?
6. Do you think the content of the music, including lyrics, reflects anything about your philosophy of life?
7. Have you ever been obstructed by the misunderstanding from people?
8. How do you define achievement?
9. And, what do you think of the Satanist materials in black/death metal?

Attitude towards band development and musical creation

1. How do you form this band?
2. How was it like in the beginning?
3. If there was a change in music style, how did it happen? And how was the consensus made?
4. What is the process of your creation?
5. Who is/are the leading person(s) during the creation?
6. If there are problems in musical tastes, how do you solve them?
7. Which part of black/death metal attracts you the most?
8. Is there any international or domestic role model for you?
9. About performance, how often do you perform in public?
10. How do you collect information on chances for performances?
11. How do you acquire CDs?
12. Is there any continuing theme in your music?
13. What computer facilities will you use during creations?
14. How often do you practice?
15. How do you come up with the ideas of creation? What are the materials of your music?

Personal Information

·Your name:

_____

·Your Gender:

_____

·Which age group are you in?

          under18/ 18-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51-60 / (please pick)

Appendix Two: Interviewees List

Formal Interviewees

Anthelion, a symphonic Black Metal band in Taipei as well as close friend and allies

to Chthonic, was interviewed at a tea house in May, 2004.

Chthonic, the most famous and the most successful Black Metal Band in Taiwan, was interviewed at TRA, Freddy Lin's company in March, 2004; and at The Wall, the live house run by Freddy in December, 2004.

Disaster, a Black Metal band located in Taichung, was interviewed at their studio in May, 2004; and at their studio in June, 2004.

Death, the founding board master of the Skull Castle BBS forum, was interviewed at a restaurant in Taichung, July, 2004; and at a teashop in Taichung, September, 2004; and at a restaurant in Taichung, January, 2005.

Nuno, the owner of the Nuno Live House in Taichung, was interviewed at his pub in November, 2004; and at his pub in January, 2005.

Seraphim, a melodic power Metal band in Taipei, was interviewed at their studio in March, 2004.

Space Chen, the owner of the major Metal record store in Taiwan, was interviewed in his shop at the Wall live house in May, 2004; and at his shop in December, 2005.

Information is also gathered by the following people through questionnaire and short interviews

Black Messiah, a Black Metal band in Taipei, was interviewed by e-mail.

Sky Burial, a Black metal band in Tainan and Kaohsiung, was interviewed by e-mail.

The following people were interviewed by questionnaire:

Jane Wei, 22, female, is a college student; Mark Fan, 25, male, is a current graduate student; Jack Chen, 22, male, is a college student; Danny Hsu, 27, male, is a company clerk; Frank Suh, 28, male, is currently a music teacher; Amy Lee, 25, female, is currently a salesperson; Brian Lin, 26, male, is a board master of the metal board in BBS; Steve Huang, 29, male, is a sound technician; Momo Chen, 25, female, is a shop clerk in a record store; Adolf Lin, 20, is a music major in college; Eric Liang, 29, is an amateur musician; James Huang, male, 32, is a program designer; Joe Wang, female, 25, is an elementary school teacher; Mark Liu, male, 26, is an engineer and amateur guitarist; HeWen Jian, male, 30, is a research assistant and a bass teacher; Wayne Hsieh, male, 26, is a high school teacher; Gloria Chou, female, 23, is a graduate student

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Appendix Three: Research Theses concerning Rock and Underground Music

Topic	Author	Area of Study and Orientation	Year
The Fantasy World as Constructed in the Lyrics of Taiwan Popular Rock"n"Roll Band	Fang Chiao Ru	Mass Communication	1993
An Empirical Study on Benefit Segment of Foreign Rock and Roll Music in Taiwan--The Case of The Market in Taipei	Lee- vallence	International Administration	1997
The Musical Practice and Aesthetics of Taipei rock bands--a Case Study of "Chthonic"	Chu, Meng tze	Musicology	2000
Artistic Anarchy: Sex Pistols and Resembling Punk Movement in Taiwan	Yen-Chun, Chen	Visual Culture	2000
The possibility and impossibility of Rock in Taiwan	I-Gang, Tsai	Sociology	2000
Influence of the Anti-culture movement in the 1960s' to Taiwan	Wang Chiming	History	2002
An Analysis of cultural Marketing--the case of 『Say Yes to Taiwan』	Hui-Ting, Chen	Media and Television Studies	2004
Conversation and Gaze: Representation of Fans	Chen Chu-Yi	Sociology	2004
A Research on the Management and the Development of the Rock Bands in	Ting I-wen	Musicology	2004

Taiwan			
Research on Female Rock Players in Taiwan	Ya-Hsin Yang	Sociology	2004
A Research of Indie Rock Culture Identity from the 90's Taiwan Underground Rock Movement	Feng-hui Hsu	Art studies	2005
Rethinking Hakka Discourse：A Study of the Social Practice of Taiwan's Labor Exchange Band	Shih-Hung Chiu	Cultural Studies	2005
Music, Land and Nation：TRA and Taiwanese contemporary society	Hsu Chien-Jung	Local Culture Studies	2005
Rock Taiwan: The Cultural Identities and Practices of Heavy Metal Music Fans in Taiwan	Shuo Lee	Journalism	2006
The Development of American Country Music from 1920 to 1990	Yi-Ju Shih	Musicology	2006

Appendix Four: Newspaper Periodicals on the negative impression of Rock during the "Cultural Renaissance Movement" in the 1960s and 1970s

萬餘文武青年　昨在台北聯歡
發表宣言響應復興文化　決心奮起保衛中華道統
本報訊

台北地區軍事學校暨大專、中學文武青年一萬二千餘人，昨(三)日下午七時三十分，在台北市中華體育文化活動中心舉行盛大的聯歡晚會，晚會中并發表一項響應「中華文化復興運動」宣言，籲請全國青年奮起保衛偉大的中華文化。宣言中指出，過去三個月來，毛匪在中國大陸上，利用幼稚無知的青少年和兒童，組織所謂「紅衛兵」，驅使他們在整個大陸上胡作胡為，瘋狂的進行所謂「文化大革命」，關閉學校，焚毀書籍，破壞教堂，搗毀古物，妄想摧毀我國五千年的歷史文化，這是我國曠古未有的浩劫！

宣言中又說，我中華民族立國於亞洲大陸，歷五千餘年不衰的原因，是由於我國文化的精深博大，歷久彌新，我國堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武、周公、孔子的一貫大道，是全世界最完美最有體系的人文哲學。國父孫先生繼承這一道統，發揚為倫理、民主、科學的三民主義，已為舉世公認的救國救民的要義。無知毛匪，倒行逆施，必定愈趨加速自己的覆亡。

晚會是由國軍文化訪問團第一團領隊黃樹業主持，台北及陽明山地區的二十八所初級中學學生們，為響應中華文化復興動，由育達商職麗麗和大同中學翁樸棟代表，以巨幅的簽名宣言，獻呈國軍文化訪問團轉呈給教育部和國防部。

晚會節目分別由各學校、國防部藝工總隊、聯勤總部及空軍部隊擔任，有佾生舞、龍舞等表演。

【1966-12-04/聯合報/02版/】

《社論》

中國青年的歷史責任

本報訊

在青年節的今天，我們環顧當前全世界青年的精神狀態與生活傾向，益感中國青年的時代責任之重大。我們覺得在中國青年面前擺著的不僅是一份艱巨的救國任務，同時還有著另一份不容放棄的濟世責任。
西方很多人把目前這個時代名之為「危機時代」。物質文明和科學技術的極度發展，卻使人類的精神活動和內在生活，反有趨於枯蔽和動盪之勢。形成迷失之感，理想主義與人文主義的精神不斷的貶損與下降。青年一代是最敏感的，在這樣的思想背景下，找不到精神的出路，心靈為虛無主義的暗流所侵蝕。從存在主義哲學在歐洲的興起而波及全球，到最近「披頭」、「嬉痞」之一批批的湧現，否定現實，放棄理想，陷溺於任性的「自由」，追尋純粹頹廢的享樂生活和感官滿足，完全變成了時代的逃避者。另一方面，共產邪惡統治者又視青

年為活的工具和武器，驅迫他們去造禍作亂，替它作幫凶虎倀，隨後又加以整肅奴役，這就是「紅衛兵」的悲劇。固然，全世界也有若干地區的青年，過著比較正常的生活，具有比較健全的發展；但從整個時代的歪風看，人類希望所寄的下一代實在是處身在極其危險的邊緣，確實不能再往下沉陷一步了。

自由中國的青年在這方面是遠比它同時代的青年為超越。文化背景與現實環境，使他們產生了必須奮發，不容頹喪；必須上進，不容下墮；必須發揚人文精神，不容接納物本思想的自覺。因此，共產主義與虛無主義的時代歪風，不僅不能腐蝕他們的心靈，他們在長期的時代考驗中，反而構成了一股強有力的防腐消毒力量。從而已經堅韌的站立起來，不僅英勇的肆應共產主義的挑戰，同樣也沉著的反擊虛無主義的滲透。他們并且下定決心，一定要消滅共產主義，亦一定要克服虛無主義，以此來作全世界青年的光榮示範，并用實際行動來影響全世界青年從各種歧路上迷途知返。

我們確信，蔣總統在前年國父誕辰所發起的「中華文化復興運動」的偉大號召，以及在去年青年節文告中所揭櫫的建立「討毛救國聯合陣線」的重大方針，必更將在思想上武裝這一代的中國青年，以及在行動上鼓勵這一代的中國青年。使他們更充實自己的奮鬥基礎，也更確定自己的前進方向。中國青年憑藉了中華文化的復興，他們將汲取中國文化體系中優良的人文主義傳統，來抗衡和抵制共產主義與虛無主義的毒害，并摧毀它。中國青年依靠了「討毛救國聯合陣線」的建立，將使海內外的青年和大陸青年進一步在救國自救的路向上攜起手來，為解除共產邪惡勢力的威脅和桎梏，共同奮鬥。隨後再把在這項奮鬥過程中蓄積凝聚起來的巨大影響力，在世界規模上發揮出來，把中華文化復興運動擴轉為世界文化的新生運動，把「討毛救國聯合陣線」發展為國際性的反共討毛聯合陣線，以達成消滅共產主義、克服虛無主義的時代使命。

因此，中國青年所要承擔起來的歷史責任，實在是異常艱巨的。我們相信，中國青年向來具有以天下為己任的勇氣和決心。面對這一艱巨任務，決不會望而生畏，只有更發揚蹈厲；決不會規避退縮，只有更勇猛精進。而一定要在自己的手裡，不僅解救國家的困厄，而且消弭世界的危害。當然這亦絕非僅是中國青年的責任，而是每一個中國人的責任，不過這一代中國青年顯然將為這些重要的歷史課題，從事較長期的持續奮鬥，并預期可以獲得澈底和完全的勝利。時代考驗青年，青年創造時代，我們預祝中國青年成功地達成他們的神聖任務。

【1968-03-29/聯合報/02版/】

中華文化復興運動特輯　中華兒女豈能容忍共匪暴行
全國大中學生紛紛表示　以復興道統文化為己任

幼獅社訊

全國大專及中學青年熱烈響應「中華文化復興運動」，紛紛表示決以具體的行動，實踐總統的昭示，貫澈推行此一有意義的運動。
青年們一致認為，中華文化有五千的悠久歷史，在世界上任何國家不六並駕齊驅，而今大陸毛匪卻大搞所謂的「文化大革命」，利用無知的「紅衛兵」，企圖

摧毀消滅，這種罪行，凡是中華兒女決不容忍，大家決心共同矢志做文化的復興者，不做歷史的罪人。

全國大專學生聯合會執行祕書馬以南說：響應「中華文北復興運動」每一個青年朋友，應認清毛匪在大陸摧毀固有文化罪行的真面目，奉行國父首創三民主義，貫徹倫理、民主、科學三大精神，做為維護中華文化的武器，奠定擊潰共匪的基石。

全國青年自覺運動推行會主席許席圖說：此次全國響應「中華文化復興運動」，正是民族復興的象徵，也是文化界的一個具體自覺運動。青年自覺會全體會員，均對這一運動熱烈響應，並立下決心，加強推廣我國固有倫理道德中庸的文化思想。

台大經濟系學生璩蘋說：許多青年，一味的崇尚洋化，認為中國文化太過陳舊，不合現代潮流，這是錯誤的想法．如孔孟思想，國父三民主義理論，其原理、原則及其基本精神，是歷萬古而常新，放之四海皆準的．她認為響應「中華文化復興運動」，首先應改正這種不正確的觀念，然後才有效果。

中興大學法商學院孔孟學會理事張昆山，中興大學法商學院青年社社長游清德，中國文化學院學生、師大附中校友會理事長范大龍，世界新專學聲報主任施德威，台大中文系學生汪其楣，北一女班聯會主席吳慧悅，師大附中班聯會主席徐基隆，建中班聯會主席蕭新煌，成功中學校刊編輯劉鏞等都一致說：響應中華文化復興運動，並且要使這一份文化遺產發揚光大。

【1966-11-16/聯合報/02版/】

越唱越好的事業
塑膠唱片‧欣欣向榮
本報記者楊海宴

根據各有關單位的資料綜合估計：現在全省平均每百個人中有一部電唱機，六十人中有一部收音機。收音機無需其他輔助條件，即可發揮享用效果，但電唱機卻必須以唱片來輔助，纔能達到它的享用目的。
本省的唱片業無疑還是在孩提時代，幾種銷行有限的唱片，除了國內的流行歌曲外，其他如語言、美國熱門音樂、外國電影插曲等，都是從母片拷貝複製而成的，真正出於唱片商邀請專業康樂人才而自行創作灌製的唱片，可以說是絕無僅有。

雖然本省的唱片內容如上所述，但是唱片出品的本質卻是在一種可喜的情形下競相改進，經過兩年多時間，投下大筆資本而研究成功的本省塑膠製唱片，已經應市好幾月了，這在歐美及日本等國家固然已是陳跡，算不得甚麼，但在台灣唱片業中卻還是一項創舉。

台灣以前出品的唱片都是洋乾漆，洋乾漆的唱片與不碎膠的相比，它的缺點是：(一)笨重，容量小。直徑十吋的洋乾漆片，每分鐘七十八轉，一面只能放三分

鐘。而不碎膠的十吋片，每分鐘卅三又三分之一轉，一面可以放十五分鐘到十八分鐘，增加了五至六倍。同樣是十吋片，洋乾漆的要比不碎膠的重了一倍，這也就是說：用戶要收購三張洋乾漆片，纔能抵得一張不碎膠片。(二)壽命短，一張洋乾漆片能放五百到八百次，但一張不碎膠片卻能從一千次放到一千五百次，從壽命上比較，也要兩張洋乾漆片，纔能抵得一不碎膠片。(三)洋乾漆片易受氣候影響而變形，像現在的暑天，稍為不經意保管，片面即呈凹凸不平現象，甚或折裂，而不碎膠片卻不必耽心這種影響。(四)洋乾漆片破損比率高，而不碎膠片卻不及它的十分之一。

現在全省製片廠大小有十數家，其中以鳴鳳、亞洲、四海等規模較大，台灣目前正在市面上發行的不碎膠片，就是四海與鳴鳳合作研究試驗成功的。現在一張不碎膠片售價卅元，洋乾漆片每張十五元之譜，上述價格，當然還要看唱片內容而有所增減。不久之後膠片試驗費減少，生產多，銷路廣，成本減輕，售價也就自然降低，而洋乾漆片也就漸歸淘汰了。

如以平均每百人中有一部電唱機，則全省千萬人口，當有十萬隻電唱機，每部唱機每月耗片量以最低額四張計算，就有四十萬張唱片。現在一張不碎膠片每面最少能放十五分鐘，即是一張唱片能放卅分鐘，以十分鐘一千字的速度，則卅分鐘的唱片，能容納三千文字，四十萬張唱片即能容納文字十二億。如以歌曲計算，不碎膠片每面容納五隻歌曲，一張則是十隻歌曲，四十萬張唱片則是四百萬支歌曲，就上述統計數字來看，每月生產的唱片量，確是一項規模甚為不小的出版品（我國出版法，唱片是列入出版品之一的）。而且一張唱片絕不止是一個人實用，正如一份報紙決不止一個讀者一樣，由此可見唱片的影響力更為可觀，但如何輔導此一龐大出版品使其走上盡善盡美之途，似尚未為有關當局所注意。

據若干唱片商表示：現在唱片最好銷的以國內流行歌曲為第一，像「我的心裏亂糟糟」，「上山坡」，「不要老是盯著我」，「媽媽逼我嫁」，「恰恰恰」這類歌曲，不但它們格調低級，詞意粗俗，曲子簡單，而且這類歌曲聽久了，容易使人心智麻痺，感情淺薄。可是偏偏這類歌曲為廣大群眾所喜愛，這種現象，似乎很生動的繪出了今天的社會人心究竟是一個甚麼樣子？

即將於最近期間籌組同業公會的台灣唱片業，無疑他們已面臨了黃金時代，由於全省民眾生活水準逐漸提高，購買力強，工作餘暇多，於是現代生活工具之一的電唱機，當然只有更趨於普遍。因此唱片的需要量也就同時相對的增加，可是唱片是傳播文化的工具之一種，如何使此一科學的文化工具納入良好的用途，有關當局似宜予以正視。

【1960-08-01/聯合報/03版/第三版】

切實奉行三民主義
把民族文化光大
-毛子水教授談文化復興運動的意義
本報記者 羅璜

台灣大學教授毛子水說：文化的意義，以十九世紀英國教育家、文學家、大詩

人 Arnolt 所說的最恰當。Arnolt 曾經說過，人類的文化是人類所想到最好的，所做到最好的事情。

毛子水教授根據 Arnolt 所下的文化定義，來說明現在我們文化復興的意義。毛教授說，前天在陽明山看到文化復興節的宣言上有「復興」兩字，起先感到懷疑，後來經過仔細想想，覺得也很有道理。因為「復興」兩字，用最通俗的解釋含有「睡醒了，從頭做起的意思」。毛子水教授認為，這不是把從前的文化翻一次版，而是我們現在開始去做。

毛教授說，過去，我們中國人，是不是做出最好的呢？是不是想出最好的呢？回答這問題的答案是差不多！

毛教授肯定的說，差不多可以說，我們的生活方式並不比西洋差，然而，這是不足道的，毛教授又說，我們中國在孔子以前的年代，就有了忠恕之道，就憑這些，可以說我們的文化，比起西洋任何民族，不會太差，毛教授又說，任何道理，不外仁愛忠恕，我們在二千五百年以前就已有了，到了孔子的時候，且極力提倡，我們的思想行為上，不比人家差，我們的民族並不差。

毛子水教授又表示，物質文明也是不能輕視的，但物質文明容易做到，人家今天有，我們明天也有，只要把經濟方面弄好，馬上可以使物質文明大大地改善。

我國既有孔孟將數千年以還的道理提倡傳揚開來，為什麼到現在還亂七八糟呢？毛教授說，總算起來，人類是進步的，不過，現在人類進步，做壞事人的技巧也進步了，因之，人類仍然在很悲慘的道途上，毛教授舉例說，今日中西各國有許多青年人，他們自己不知做錯了什麼事，也不知道明天的世界將是怎樣的。他們榜徨、徘徊。因此，像蔣總統這種具有睿智的人出來領導，可使青年人大為振奮，像是在黑暗中露出光明，使人興奮，也是值得興奮的！

中國的新文化，就是三民主義新文化。這是毛教授的看法，他說，當他在年輕的時候，有點看不起喊叫三民主義的人。不過，現在毛教授想到，當他出生及成長的那個年代，就已有了三民主義，一點也不奇怪，這就好像富家子弟在家中有錢，對錢不在乎，是一樣的道理。毛教授回憶他中學畢業時，正是武昌起義的時候，當時年輕，聽聽三民主義，並不感到奇怪，現在年紀大了，知道提倡一種學說之困難，深感孫中山先生對國家民族的貢獻，確實是至大且鉅。

毛教授說，大家以為三民主義只是解決經濟方面問題的，其實，一切生活上的問題，都包括在三民主義之內。

毛教授說，國父孫中山先生第一次提到三民主義，是民國六年在東京同盟會的一篇宣言中提到，其後雖然也陸續提到，然而沒有系統，到民國十二、十三年，中山先生在廣州時才算有了定本。那時的三民主義，似乎是側重在經濟方面。

毛教授表示，就他個人的看法，三民主義最重要的時候，是民國四十一年七月七日蔣總統一篇「三民主義的本質」的演講，總統用「倫理」、「民主」、「科學」說明三民主義的本質，使三民主義永遠打不破，作為我們一切生活的規律，我們生活上的任何事情，都在三民主義的範疇內

毛教授同時指出，三民主義就是我們這一代民族文化的本質。他說，中山先生創立國家功勞至大，但在思想文化上，他提倡三民主義，他的功勞並不下於創立中華民國。毛教授盛讚三民主義是我們最好的思想，三民主義在理論上完全成立，真正做為我們這一代文化的基礎。

毛教授說，文化是人類最好的最有價值的，在生活上表現出來。

毛教授強調：文化是活的，不是死的！如果人不去做，不使文化活著！便變成死的！他說，我們常談到固有文化，然而固有文化如不將其發揚光大，仍然沒有用。這就如同我們的祖先遺留給一片良田，但我們不去耕耘，還是沒有收成，會挨餓的。

因此，必須去宏揚光大，也必須去創造，創造最好的，而三民主義就是最好的文化。

毛教授說，我們的民族文化是趕上時代的，並不落後，不比任何民族差，問題在於我們必須去做，如何地做！

毛教授指出：倫理，也就是道德問題，天天在發展，忠孝節義，在過去的時代，有過去的時代意義，今日的忠孝節義，有今日的時代意義。總之，今日的倫理，應該是做到合法的倫理。論到民主，毛教授認為民主國家沒有技巧，只要做到法律之前人人平等，人人守法。過去老的法律，不合現代需要的應當改變、修改，趕不上時代的應該廢止。我們這一代，應以三民主義為生活的規律，政府及全國國民一致有守法的精神，真正做到民主的國家。毛教授又認為，科學的發展，也是非常重要的，現在研究科學的人已盡最大努力去做。目前雖有人才外流的情形，但不能怪青年人，年青人總想求發展。

毛教授說：倫理、民主、科學，是我們這一代的文化。如何去做，使能適合當前的時代潮流和國家需要。毛教授認為只有兩個字，就是：「新」和「實」。

毛教授認為：我們的倫理，有最好的倫理觀念；我們的民主，有最好的民主風度；我們的科學，有最好的科學方法。

毛教授同時也認為：現在不是歌功頌德的時代，我們應切切實實地去奉行三民主義的文化！文化是每一個人做出來的，文化是要自己動手做出來的，是活的，而不是寶藏！

【1966-11-15/聯合報/07版/第一屆中華文化復興節紀念特刊】

在時下流行的熱門音樂中，英國的披頭樂隊以其奇特的「披頭」，獨樹一格，風靡一時，儼然形成一個新的流派——「披頭音樂」。

披頭音樂有何價值？應該請音樂批評家去評價，在此恕不置評。我們只能根據事實，加以介紹：披頭樂隊以奇特見勝，且為英國賺了不少外匯，經英國女皇封以爵位；但在馬尼拉，由於他們的玩世不恭，疏於禮節，卻給菲律賓青年們「轟」出去了。

如果有所謂「嬉痞文化」的話，「披頭音樂」似乎可以作為「嬉痞文化」的代表之一。在我們的「此時、此地」，「嬉痞文化」顯然是不必提倡的，不受歡迎的。因為，這種「文化」和我們所倡導的中華文化復興運動，實在無法相容的。文化代表我們的民族精神，我們不能在精神上崇尚以倫理、科學、民主為基礎的中華文化，同時又吸收以反倫理、反傳統、反現實為基調的「嬉痞文化」。

無庸諱言的，「披頭音樂」早已滲透到台灣了。但過去只是聽到披頭的音樂，尚未看到真正的披頭。可是，在昨天一個試播的電視節目中，不僅是聽見了、而且是看見了中國的披頭。其後果如何，願拭目以待之。

【1969-10-11/聯合報/03 版/】

中華文化復興運動已自倡議響應，進入確立方案，篤履實踐的階段，體察若干討議的論點，仍涉及一些基本觀念的問題，我們深恐其義理未臻明澈，影響及於今後篤行的方向與勇氣，故不憚辭費，再提供幾點原則性的意見。

(一)復興一詞略同於西方的Renaissance，代表某一種文化型態的復活與再生。文化不是靜態的，也不是孤立的，經過一段時期的間隔，再生不可能即是復原。文化需要融會與再創造才能成其光大，無待贅釋，但一種文化接觸另一優勢文化，倘不能力自振拔，即流於附從，今日談中華文化復興，正是求自己立定腳跟，才能和別人握手言交，而今日之病正是「慕外薄己」之風盛行，研習傳統文化，當唯恐其不力，絕無矯枉過當的顧慮，更不可稍存恐懼可能因此減緩現代化進程的潛在意識。(二)復興不與復古同義，也不可能做到全盤的復古，猶之不可能有所謂全盤的西化，但精神文化中有其恆常不變的因素，孔孟的仁愛思想歷久不磨，萬古常新，人類存在一天，其理不可易，即無所謂今古，復古亦即是復性，復古也絕不是倒退。中國人的生活已在現代化的進程中疾進，不可能恢復孔孟時代乃至前五十年二十年的生活，但倫理意識乃至若干精神文化的生活，則無害其復古。倫理與科學生活並行而不相悖，美國人今天在太空漫步，享受現代最高最進步的生活水準，但無害其潛心於一千九百餘年前一位先知的教誨，堅信篤行而不疑，多數學校中且列聖經為必修課目，固未嘗稍害於美國在科學上的躍進。

(三)復興中華文化，貴在得其體要，孔孟思想即是體，其他皆是枝節。護衛光大傳統文化，無取於皓首窮經，而在於以淺易語文闡釋孔孟的極高明而又極中庸的道理，使國人皆得以即知即行。考據章句是餖飣之學，玄談性理，則空疏自誤，主漢主宋，兩無是處。清代學者之埋首樸學，自有其異族高壓下的隱痛，而流風所及，乃至誤會考據即是學的本體，而不知其僅為學的工具與門徑。現代西方之所謂漢學家(sinologist)亦只是一種章句考據之學，見小而遺大，每辨析一作者的生年月日，著逃數十萬言而不厭，馴致以漢學家自居的費正清之流，即孔孟思想與共產邪說的涇渭之別，亦渾噩不能辨，此又何助於中國文化的護衛與發揚？

(四)中國傳統文化的精華除孔孟的倫理與人本思想外，即在其文學、戲劇、美術與音樂，而其蘊藏者則為孝悌忠信與中正平和的精神與氣質，陶冶潛默之功，有過於直接的教導，文化復興運動中文藝部門的推行工作，不能僅依賴現存的作家與表演者，而必須從培養人才轉移社會的欣賞風氣著手，到現在為止，還沒有一所公立或私立的戲劇或藝術學府，悉由於輕視藝術目為旁門末技的心理作祟之故，本國的藝術教育近於真空，則青年的藝術衝動自必別求發洩，群趨

於搖滾披頭之類，今日之尚能欣賞傳統藝術者，悉多四十以上人，二、三十年後，若干今日尚能自炫為中國傳統藝術的代表人物，書畫家、音樂家、國劇伶工等，均將為廣陵絕響，振衰起落，必須教育當局與社會共同努力，興辦研習中國傳統藝術的學院，宏其規模，充實其設備，使有美器者不以無琢磨而自廢，傳統藝術才有光大發揚的一日。

(五)眾擎易舉，社會財力的挹注為一項運動成敗利鈍之所繫，過去我們在論到社會福利措施，曾力言「改訂稅制，以使企業家樂於貢獻其利潤於社會福利基金」，為光大文化教育事業，此一改訂稅制的建議，更應及早促其實現，如此則經濟愈繁榮，精神生活愈豐富，不要由於著眼一時稅收的盈虛，而忽略根本的百年大計。

文化復興與現代化實相輔相成，居仁由義，國民道德力量的發揮，必將愈有助於現代化國家的建設，在學校列淺顯語文的四書精義為必修課目，絕非倒退復古，集政府與社會之力，以共謀興辦研習中國文化本體及傳統藝術的學府，改革聯考制度留學制度廣設獎學金，以轉移今日「重科技薄文藝」的偏枯現象，要皆為實踐篤行的亟要之圖，立竿見影，效績自彰，願各界有心人士共起而行之。

【1966-11-28/聯合報/02版/】

教育部部長閻振興，昨(六)日在立法院教育委員會答覆立委李曜林的質詢時表示，「嘻皮」之風決不容在國內發展。

李曜林質詢說，他最近赴國外考察教育，見到若干高等學府的校園裡，有許多蓬頭垢面的「嘻皮」，實在感到噁心，嘻皮之流甚至有吸用毒品者。他在日本也看到類似情形。

李委員詢問閻部長，我國教育當局是否已有妥善對策，使「嘻皮」在國內各級學校無由生根？閻部長答覆說，「嘻皮」之風決不容在國內發展，他已飭令教育廳要求所屬各級學校，嚴格取締學生穿著奇裝異服。

談到吸毒問題，閻部長說，那更不容於國法，治安機關自會嚴加取締

【1968-05-07/聯合報/03版/】

中國國民黨第九屆四中全會的中心議題業已決定，開會通知亦已發出。

四中全會定廿六日在台北市郊某地舉行，會期四天，至廿九日閉幕。

四中全會的中心議題共有四項：(一)設置動員戡亂機構問題，(二)配合大陸情勢策進反攻問題，(三)推動中華文化復興運動問題，(四)加強組織領導問題。

在大會議程中已安排了各項報告，預計有嚴家淦的政治報告，谷鳳翔的黨務報告，魏道明的外交報告，黎玉璽的軍事報告，陳建中的匪情報告。四中全會並將改選中央常務委員。

中央黨部已發出開會通知，中央委員居住國外者，將陸續歸來。

【1966-12-05/聯合報/01版/】

國民黨四中全會
中心議題擬定
(一)設動員戡亂機構；(二)策進反攻；(三)推動文化復興運動；(四)加強組織領導。

本報訊
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【1966-12-05/聯合報/01版/】

Appendix Five: Figures

Sky Burial (1)

Sky Burial (2)

Anthelion (1)

Anthelion (2)
Pictures are taken by Faya

Seraphim (1)

Seraphim (2)

Disaster

Disaster in Performance

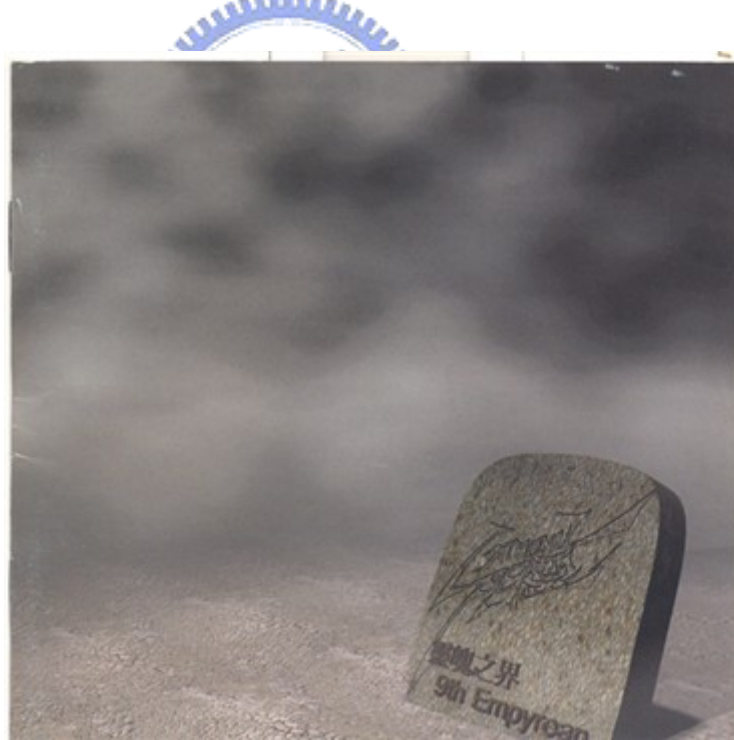**Black Messiah (1)**

Black Messiah (2)

Appendix Six: Band Albums

Anethelion: Blood-Stained Anthelion

Chthonic: The 9th Empyrean

Chthonic: Relentless Resurrection

Chthonic: Seediqbale

Hercules: Hercules

Seraphim: The Soul Never Dies

Seraphim: The Equal Spirit

Seraphim: Ai

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