Angry Aryans Bound for Glory in a Racial Holy War: Productions of White Identity in Contemporary Hatecore Lyrics

Thesis

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By

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Abstract

The Southern Poverty Law Center reports that, over the last 20 years, there has been a steady rise in hate groups. These groups range from alternative right, Neo Confederates, White Supremacist to Odinist prison gangs and anti-Muslim groups. These White Power groups have a particular race-based ideology that can be understood relative to their music—a tool that provides central recruitment and cohesive mechanisms. White supremacist rock, called Hatecore, presents the contemporary version of the legacy of racist music such as Oi! and Rock Against Communism. Through the years, this genre produces an idealized model of white supremacist, while also speaking out against the perceived threats, goals, and attitudes within white supremacist spaces. In this thesis, I use content analysis techniques to attempt to answer two main questions. The first is: What is the ideal type of white supremacist that is explicitly produced in Hatecore music? Secondly, what are the concerns of these bands as they try to frame these within white supremacist spaces? Results show that white supremacist men are lauded as violent and racist, while women must be servile to them. Finally, white supremacist concerns are similar to previous research, but highlight growing hatred toward Islam and Asians.
Dedication

Dedicated to Abigail, my Mother and Sister, my Household and Friends, and the Victims of White Supremacy in all its forms.
Acknowledgements

I would like to offer a sincere thank you to my advisor, Vincent Roscigno, for his continual support; as well as Hollie Nyseth Brehm and Eric Schoon for their guidance and feedback throughout my quest to develop this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my student cohort for its contagious enthusiasm, as well as The Ohio State University for allowing me to form part of its Graduate School.
Vita

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Fields of Study

Major Field: Sociology
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Introduction: Definite Hate Rising

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center’s (SPLC) Hatemap—a reccompilation of hate groups from Neo-Nazi groups to alternative right, Neo Confederates, White Supremacist, and the like—there has been an increase in the total number of hate groups in the United States (SPLC 2016). While some of the hate groups in this list are Black Separatist groups, the vast majority are those of the White Supremacist variety. To use real numbers, the years between 1999 until 2011 saw the number of hate groups rise from 457 to 1,018. Then, the number of groups slowly decreased to 784 in 2014, only to rise again in the last years to reach a current number of 892. In the fluctuation of these numbers, the SPLC reports that there are 190 KKK groups since 2015 and a 42% increase in the number of anti-Muslim hate groups. Radical hate has been on the rise while, simultaneously, a wave of xenophobic and conservative populism has swept the Western world, leading to the election of heavily right-leaning heads of state throughout the European continent as well as in the United States. The rise of hate groups, anti-Muslim groups, and white supremacist groups while politics have skewed to the right is no accident. The slow increase of hate groups, coupled with a spike in 2015 and 2016 reveal a trend that, indeed, should be paid serious attention given their reputations for inequality, exclusion, and violence.
White Power or Aryan radical groups, however, are distinct from other gangs or violent movements. White Power and Aryan radical groups have an explicitly race-based ideology. This can be addressed, observed, and understood relative to their music—a tool that provides central recruitment and cohesive mechanisms. In order to accomplish this, many possible routes of analysis may be taken, and a notable portion of this is content analysis done on music lyrics.

In this thesis, I begin by establishing the particular context of race in the United States, and how whiteness was built by exclusion. Next, I review relevant literature and a theoretical framework to argue why Hatecore has such profound symbolic impact in framing and distinguishing white supremacist music from mainstream aesthetic. After that, I describe the research design, including data and methods, and then I describe and analyze my findings. Finally, I discuss the implications of the data, future avenues of study, as well as possible weaknesses.
Background

*Distinction: Bourdieu and Music*

Pierre Bourdieu’s seminal work *Distinction* presents the results of a years-long study of the French social classes (1984). One of the most overarching arguments that Bourdieu makes in this book is the argument that social classes achieve their distinction—and therefore hierarchy—through aesthetic markers. These markers include eating habits, forms of dress, and even the manner of movement to indicate one’s social class. Throughout, Bourdieu explains how these mechanisms work and teases out the philosophical inspirations behind social class distinction.

Throughout *Distinction*, Bourdieu presents the critiques against Kantian philosophy. This is not to argue that Bourdieu refutes Kant’s arguments regarding perception, morality, and so on, but rather the notion of the pure and virtuous. In this sense, Immanuel Kant is referring that the greatest pleasure one can attain is that of pure pleasure. This is designed, Bourdieu argues, as a symbol of moral excellence through a disinterested attitude of the terrestrial. This means that the pure and morally excellent (described as virtuous) is, in the words of Bourdieu, “the denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile—in a word, natural—enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane.” (Bourdieu 1984, 5). For this reason, virtue is concerned with things like
high art or refined food, washed and unspoiled from the mulch of the earth. This, Bourdieu concludes, is why art and cultural consumption functions as a method of legitimating social differences.

Art and cultural consumption, whosoever can attain the highest forms of each, is therefore designated as the virtuous and therefore finds legitimacy in establishing social difference. This same process applies to music, where the consumption of classical music is highlighted as the marker of an elevated social class. When White Power groups consume music, however, the relationship is inverted. White Power movements have historically used music considered to be “of the people” in the form of folk music artists like Johnny Rebel or the 20th Century English punk bands like Skrewdriver who claim to speak for the working class white man. In other words, the inversion of values for social distinction means that the high-class aestheticism of classical music is placed in the lower regions of value which is then denoting that the “high-brow”, Bourdieu calls it, is something to be repulsed precisely because it aims to be so distance from the earth and man.

Bethany Bryson (1996) finds that social attitudes relating to rap and heavy metal are mostly in the negative. This is due to these genres being perceived as uneducated and brash. More so than that, however, is the meaning behind these negative views. Bryson writes that there is a strong positive association between musical exclusiveness and the political intolerance measure. Her third hypothesis is supported: political intolerance and cultural dislike may be two forms of group based symbolic exclusion. The effect of racism also has a profound impact in social attitudes toward music. The association of
genres like rap, blues, and Latin music as lower forms of music has a racialized component. Racist attitudes are significantly associated with increased dislike for music genres disproportionately listened to by black and Latino people (1996).

In a more recent example, the theory of Omnivorousness presents a practical offshoot of Bourdieu’s distinction (Lizardo & Skiles, 2012). The capacity to be an “omnivore” emerges from aesthetic flexibility which translates into high cultural capital occupations. In the case of music, the omnivore would be the eclectic collector; the one who dabbles in various forms of musical genres. The omnivore can expand or contract their musical taste, and we see through this that this exact capacity to dabble is what presents itself as high cultural capital. For the omnivore, their capacity to pick and choose at a whim is in fact a type of distinction of high cultural capital. In other words, due to this level of cultural capital, the omnivore can potentially choose any music genre they like because they are all accessible to them. As it relates to white supremacists, however, this relationship is once again inverted. The capacity to choose signifies exposure to various cultural products, yet, following the line of argumentation above, this would then distance whites from the music “of the people”. Therefore, omnivorousness in music is something to be shunned along with “high-brow” musical taste because it distances whites from themselves in favor of multiculturalism.

Music does not just highlight social and racial class distinctions; it also provides a space of unity and reflection. We return to Bourdieu, who writes that music brings sense of belonging to a more polished, polite, better policed world. This world is justified by its perfection, harmony and beauty; which has produced great art and music and is also
capable of producing people who can appreciate and playing them (Bourdieu 1984). In other words, the reverence of music brings unity, belonging to a reverent in-group, and a sense of order to the social world. The focus on music for white supremacists would then not be just about recruitment, but also about group solidarity and unity that comes together in a clearly defined mass which reveres the ideals of harmony set forth by music. This is then an embodied effect of musical production and consumption, where “art is a bodily thing, and music is the most corporeal.” (1984: 80).

Given that music serves as a process of group legitimation, the process by which this is ideologically completed is important to note as well. In other words, the way in which White Power groups establish group legitimacy, as well as legitimacy to their claims, is relevant to music as well. The process of authorizing their claim as legitimacy uses the process of social inheritance as the ultimate marker. Bourdieu writes that social groups attempt to lay down the absolute and final distinction by the means of the irreversibility of time. The holders and claimants to succession are only separated by time but this is easily overcome through the concept of inheritance. In the struggle of different manners, the dominant groups are always on the side of the most insensible and invisible mode of acquisition, the oldest. The elements of invariance in dominant discourse and the air of eternal youth to certain themes (despite them being dated) stem from this (1984).

The Particular Context of Hatecore

Music, of course, is a near-universal social occurrence, existing throughout daily life and ritualistic settings. Therefore, the focus on music as a tool of analysis is applicable even in manifestations of groups such as these. Marshall and Rambo (2013)
have taken this point to heart in their analyses of the lyrics from famous White Power musicians in order to highlight common themes and central areas of concern. Likewise, Mattias Gardell, in his book *Gods of the Blood*, cites the founder of *Fenris Wolf* magazine, Nathan Zorn Pett, as saying that heavy metal is the rhythm of Aryan activism. By that he means that heavy metal is the newest manifestation of the symbolic war drums that rile men up for battle—a battle that aims to express the rise of Aryan supremacy (Gardell 2003).

Our analysis of Bourdieu’s use of distinction and capital shows us that Hatecore music actively seeks to overturn the elements of taste in cultural products like music. Instead of aiming for what is established as high-brow and refined, Hatecore actively reverse notions of taste, prioritizing the harsh tones and wall of sound aspect of Hatecore music. To complete this, they must come in contact, only to then go against, popular or mainstream cultural products. White supremacist musicians and activists are in constant contact with mainstream culture, and do so in order to rally behind particular causes through their activism in music (King & Leonard, 2014). Cultural processes surrounding white supremacist social movements depended on music, and have consistently done so for decades, spanning back to the KKK and their spectacles for recruitment (2014: 35). The modern equivalent of this would then be Hatecore music. In short, white supremacy is not separated from mainstream culture but rather participates actively within and around it, not only by using it as a barometer of their perception of American culture, but also as a tool to attempt to reform the mainstream to fit the views fitting the white supremacist rhetoric.
Hatecore music, however, goes beyond simply serving as a mouthpiece for white supremacists who attempt to reach various audiences in order to espouse the ideal solution for perceived social ills. This genre also serves as something which “can catalyze the processes ahead of ideological commitment. Through musicosonic attraction and ritual, the mechanisms of social bonding begin to unfold even when listeners occupy distant locations.” (Pieslak 2015: 197). In other words, the creation and consumption of Hatecore can not only speak to white supremacists’ concerns regarding social problems, but this genre also performs the task of forging a common group identity. Hatecore can solidify the identity of white supremacist groups, while simultaneously reaching out to prospective members. Producers and artists of the genre employ a tactic of mediatic manipulation, where they reach out to underground extreme music scenes as a grassroots brand of music; something which is highly valued in underground music scenes (Hochhauser 2011). Note the strategy: bond through sonic and ritualistic similarities, present the Hatecore band as home grown, and the result of successfully infiltrating the underground extreme music environment presents itself easily.

The process of creating a group identity for white supremacists is a key facet of Hatecore music. Research has highlighted the constant themes in Hatecore music, pervasive even today: “Aryan nationalism, white power, race war, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, anti-race-mixing, white victimization, and racial loyalty” (Simi & Futrell 2010: 63). Influenced by skinhead, punk, and Oi! music of the 60s and 70s, one notes how the traditional racist talking points have now included victimization and anti-race-mixing. This presents an emergence of an idealized type of person in Hatecore music: the
white man and woman who are exclusively loyal to their race and despise all others, and will do whatever it takes to ensure the supremacy of whites above all other peoples by expunging them from what they argue is their territory. This fits in with Hatecore lyrics in the sense that hatred to the non-white is largely directed due to perceived threats from perceived encroaching or insidious races (Taylor & Rambo 2013). An important point to make now that will likely be repeated as necessary: This is not to say or argue that non-white races and ethnicities are insidiously encroaching on something that belongs to whites. This is decidedly not that. What is argued, however, is that whites, as a dominant social group, have historically perceived the presence of other races and ethnicities as a threat to the safety of whites as a racial social group. This perceived threat is the legitimizing tool that whites as a racial group use in Hatecore music to justify threatened or actual violence done on other racial and ethnic groups.

The process of creating and disseminating Hatecore music has another facet to it: normalization. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000) write that, instead of only having white supremacist movements center around activism through protests and violence, many of the newer bands have taken advantage of the development and proliferation of the Internet to spread their message. This message is re-written: it is built with the common and familiar language of Right-Wing populism. Accusations of Jews as “financial oppressors” or immigrants as criminals solely determined to steal the jobs of “hard working” Americans play into the contemporary political right mindset of “America First” without explicitly being anti-Semitic or openly racist while still defending the premise that white Americans are under attack. This is also evidenced throughout the
Internet with the rise of social phenomenon such as the Alt-Right who seek white supremacist goals without using traditional white supremacist rhetoric (SPLC 2016).

In more recent cases, we see the emergence of Pagan influences as well. The aesthetic surrounding Norse religion and culture is sometimes considered by some white supremacists and Hatecore artists as the true religion of white people (Gardell 2003). Likewise, we may see the emergence of Norse paganism, or paganism in general, as an appeal to history as inheritance. As stated above, Bourdieu writes that social groups use the irreversibility of time to establish final authority on taste distinction (1984). For Hatecore, the emergence of paganism, it can be argued, represents this appeal to irreversible authority. Phrased differently, paganism represents the inheritance of culture throughout the years for white supremacists in Hatecore music, and therefore the use of these images establishes an aesthetic and social legitimacy that allows Hatecore to be a defining voice in white supremacist movements.

While many prefer to think of the historical development of rock as a generally progressive movement that came to fuel anti-racist and anti-war sentiment in the West, the fact remains that musicians of Hatecore music have either inspired or committed acts of racial violence (Dyck 2016: 147). Some mainstreams would rather not cover these, as very few people would like to see racist skinheads using a musical style similar to mainstream Heavy Metal and run the risk of conflating the two genres, but not talking about the existence of the genre alienates it to a seemingly outdated relic of the past when this is not the case. Dyck argues for international cooperation and cultural honesty to
acknowledge that Hatecore bands exist and produce a significant effect on mainstream Western society (2016: 149).

Moving forward, my expectations are that the data will show how the social concerns of Hatecore bands manifest through their music. Namely, I expect that the data will continue the trend of highlighting the calls for Aryan nationalism, white power, race war, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, anti-race-mixing, and racial loyalty. Secondly, I expect to see how these bands create an idealized version of a white supremacist in order to frame how each member of a white supremacist group must behave. Put differently, I expect that the data will show what white men and women are tasked to be and do to fully demonstrate the ideal white person.
Methods and Data

Given that the focus of the study is the messages in Hatecore, textual analysis of song lyrics presents itself as the most logical choice. To properly understand the messages being shared in the music, a series of systemic content coding is necessary. This seeks for common concepts, words, and ideas laden within the music. In order to glean these, theoretical knowledge of specific code words in racist movements, such as ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) and the number 88 (“H” is the eighth letter of the alphabet and “HH” represents “Heil Hitler”) is also needed. Systematic coding allows us to note the repeating patterns in the data, which helps us to see common threads and themes.

For this thesis, I use a data set of 290 Hatecore songs from the year 1995 onward. This is done to follow the rise of documented hate groups listed by the SPLC. Likewise, focusing on the year 1995 forms a parallel to the Oklahoma City bombing, which left 168 dead and is referred to as the worst case of homegrown terrorism in the United States, as well as links found between the perpetrator, Timothy McVeigh, and Aryan gangs in a later armored car robbery in 2004 (FBI, 2015). The rise in hate groups also coincides with the publication of the Aryan Nations Declaration of Independence just a year later (Aryan Nations, 1996). These two examples show that 1995 featured a rising wave of
radical right action and growth, and therefore it is crucial to focus on that moment as well as its effects throughout the years.

In terms of which songs are analyzed, I created a list of which bands are popular and influential using various sources. To name a few, mentions of specific bands in the “Popular” tab on record label sites like Resistance Records (www.resistance.com), Micetrap Records (www.micetrap.net), and Label 56 (www.label56.com) suggest that these bands sell a larger number of CDs, and are reasonably more influential. Likewise, repeated mentions on white supremacist forums like Stormfront.org and RAC Forum (www.rac-forum.org) also suggest that these bands are influential. This led to 18 bands forming the data pool. While this is not a representative sample of Hatecore production, I would argue that basing oneself in representative samples misses the point. For many bands in the data, such as RaHoWa, Blue Eyed Devils, and Bound for Glory, their contribution is spearheading the production of Hatecore. In other words, some bands in the data have produced less music, but, through their popularity, probably influenced more bands than others. Therefore, I would argue that the bands in the data are those who have provided notable impact instead of being a representative sample. Finally, while there is always the risk of using bands that are “one-hit wonders”, I have not found evidence as such for these, and would argue that repeated mentions on websites and forums listed above demonstrates influence in the music genre, regardless of status.

While white supremacist bands exist throughout the world, I decided to focus in the United States. Not only would this also follow the SPLC’s tracking of Hate Groups, but this also proves easier to work with. Likewise, inclusion of European Hatecore bands
begins to bring in themes of European identity. While racial concerns might be similar, the idea of a “White Europe” brings in literature and theories that would expand this outside of a reasonably concise scope. Therefore, all of the bands in my data are from the United States; however, there is one exception. The band RaHoWa is from Canada, yet their contribution to the American Hatecore scene is profound due to their lead singer, George Burdi, founding Resistance Records, one of the first labels to explicitly and primarily distribute Hatecore music.

While searching for a systematic way in which to collect songs, I noticed that Hatecore bands have a tendency to release demos and singles that were eventually included in full-length albums. In other words, I ran the risk of coding the same song more than once if I simply used all of the songs released by a particular band from the year 1995 onward. In order to circumvent this, I focus on the albums themselves. Therefore, each band does not have the same song repeated in the data. Later on, I found out that finding song lyrics became easier when I searched for them as part of an album instead of single releases. All of the songs in my data are, therefore, from Hatecore music CDs from the years 1995 onward.

More generally, this type of method is prevalent for lyric analysis, with various studies on different genres—and for different ends—using the same method. While there are analyses of music lyrics through computational linguistics (Fell and Sporleder 2014), most of the literature centers around content analysis and qualitative methods. For example, the study of words in rap music presents a critical analysis of misogyny in the genre, yet warns academics to be wary of the context where rap music is produced in
order to avoid falling into the pitfalls that the Right-wing media has created in order to use these examples to de-legitimize certain racial groups (Mills 2012). Likewise, Machin details various examples of lyrical analysis; his main justification for them is that artists choose lyrics specifically, and that can potentially reveal the cultural discourse behind the lyric itself (Machin 2010). In other words, the study of song lyrics contains within it a study of popular discourse: song lyrics might contain prevailing discourses stemming from the artist’s social context. Following this logic, one can then easily argue that Hatecore music lyrics should then contain the popular discourse of those who engage with it: white supremacists. Once again, Taylor and Rambo (2013) have already demonstrated this with their research. There is still the worry, however, that the messages of Hatecore lyrics might not actually capture the dominant discourse in white supremacist movements. What they do capture, and what we can focus on, is how the lyrics contain specific mentions of concerns on the side of the artists who write them, as well as their endorsements for fixing social ills as well as constructing white identity.

To sift through these song lyrics, NVivo software proved useful due its capacity to organize and draw patterns or common phrases regarding written data like interviews, or, for the purposes of this research, song lyrics.

Data Analysis and Codes

In this sub-section, I discuss the various themes present in the obtained Hatecore lyrics. In total, I use 26 different codes, yet for the sake of clarity and brevity I group them into five general categories. These categories are as follows: Racism; White Pride and Identity; Drugs and Violence; The Establishment; and Women and Sexuality. I
created these codes using both inductive and deductive reasoning. I used deductive coding to create expected codes, for example “Racism” and “Racial Solidarity”, because these are present themes in the literature as well as core ideas from white supremacist movements themselves. For inductively created codes, I noted common or repeated themes in the data itself. For example, various mentions of islamophobia or revenge violence were not explicitly clear in the literature, and so I created these codes from patterns in the data that emerged.

Racism is coded as lyrics that contain racial epithets or slurs, stereotypical portrayals of non-whites, or derogatory conceptualizations of non-white people. This last descriptor refers to, for example, portraying specific racial groups as animals, mud, and so on. Within this general category of Racism, other codes contained within it are the codes of anti-Asian, anti-Semitism—which is typically describes along the lines of racism (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016)—as well as lynching, xenophobia, islamophobia; all to be discussed in the following sections.

Violence here is meant to represent lyrics that seek to promote aggressive threats or acts involving physical harm to others and/or property. There is a distinction made between threatening to commit violence vis a vis acts of violence in the lyrics. This is due to threats being made at specific individuals, but the speaker is the one who commits these acts of violence. Other codes within the umbrella of violence include soldiers, revenge, and holy war, all to be discussed in the following sections.

Drugs are a present theme in Hatecore lyrics, as well as the consumption of the same. However, as I demonstrate below, drugs are divided along a race line. Drugs for
whites are specifically limited to alcohol, while others like cocaine, heroin, and crack are associated with Blackness.

White pride and identity is a key topic in these lyrics. These codes refer to lyrics that contain elements of racial pride, such as glorifying Nazism, advocating for racial solidarity, the victory of the white race in reclaiming what they say is their land, and the pride of being involved in racist movements in the form of skinheads. However, these codes also contain the flip side of these values. For example, advocating racial solidarity also contains the derision of those who have committed what is perceived to be a great sin: white people promoting racial equality or otherwise shying away from the white supremacist movement.

The Hatecore lyrics I examine also contain examples relating to what I code as “The Establishment”. By this, I mean societal institutions like the government, marriage, or the Christian Church. When it comes to these things, Hatecore lyrics are usually against some institution or another. For example, there are many anti-establishment lyrics coded as such, speaking about tearing down a government, a city, or espousing general anarchy. Others deal with their hatred against police, as we will see in the next sections. Finally, Anti-Establishment sentiments are similarly related to the Zionist Occupied Government (hereinafter referred to as “ZOG”). This conspiracy theory argues that “the state is depicted as inherently ‘Jewish’, a racial identity within the discourse. The government, as well as the corporate elite, is supposedly ‘occupied’ and controlled by Jews.” (Daniels 1997, 45).
Anti-establishment lyrics do not only deal with our current political system, they also deal with other types of government and economic systems like communism while also speaking out against globalization as a form of a New World Order as a globalist totalitarian regime. Some songs also contain anti-establishment content through pagan imagery. Images of Norse mythology form parallels with white supremacists in their songs, and some use pagan religion to claim a mythical mandate to keep their race pure due to supernatural ordinances of inherent superiority. Finally, some lyrics express anti-establishment sentiment inherent in the establishment itself. In other words, some lyrics speak of decay due to greed, the failures of multiculturalism, or globalization.

Women and sexuality are a strong concern in Hatecore lyrics. Various song lyrics are coded as “misogyny” due to images of using women as sexual objects, or hating women for allegedly having sexual relations with non-white men. In terms of sexuality, homophobia has a strong presence in Hatecore lyrics as well, with various slurs and negative stereotypes associated with homosexuality, as well as violence explicitly directed against non-heterosexual people. I offer discussions of the results below.
First Findings: Data Distribution and Prevalence

Table 1 contains the proportion of songs per band relative to the total amount coded, along with which CDs I am using and the year they were produced. In total, there are 290 songs across 18 bands from the years 1995 until 2011. While this list is not significantly representative of the entire subset of Hatecore music produced in the past 20 years, what matters more is how they each come together to produce common threads regarding the production of white identity and themes regarding social problems.

Table 1: Distribution of Songs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Bands</th>
<th>CDs Analyzed</th>
<th>Number of Songs (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angry Aryans</td>
<td><em>Racially Motivated Violence (1998)</em>&lt;br&gt;<em>Too White for You (2000)</em></td>
<td>31 (10.69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before God</td>
<td><em>Wolves Among the Sheep (1998)</em>&lt;br&gt;<em>Under the Blood Banner (2000)</em></td>
<td>20 (6.90%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
Table 1: Distribution of Songs (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Song Titles</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Blue Eyed Devils | *Murder Squad* (1996)  
Retribution (1999)  
*It Ends* (2002) | 43    | 14.83%     |
Never Again (1997)  
Glory Awaits (1997)  
Hate Train Rolling (1999)  
Last Act of Defiance (1999)  
*Feed the Machine* (2011) | 51    | 17.59%     |
| Chaos 88           | *Welcome to Atlantic City* (1999) | 16    | 5.52%      |
| Definite Hate      | *Welcome to the South* (2005)     | 12    | 4.14%      |
| Final Solution     | *White Revolution* (1995)         | 10    | 3.45%      |
| Grinded Nig        | *Shriek of the Mutilated* (2005)  | 11    | 3.79%      |
| H8Machine          | *Cheated* (2001)  
*Hardcore for Life* (2005)  
One less Reason to Smile (2007) | 34    | 11.72%     |

(Continued)
Table 1: Distribution of Songs (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Max Resist</th>
<th>Renegade Youth (1995)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second Skin (1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keep Fighting! (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klymax (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nocturnal Fear</td>
<td>Sterilize and Exterminate (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fog of War (2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excessive Cruelty (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantheon</td>
<td>Vargrstrike (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paganuclear (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People Haters</td>
<td>A Collection of Hate (1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bling Bling (2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahowa</td>
<td>Cult of the Holy War (1996)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wir Sind Thule</td>
<td>Arbeit Macht Frei (2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wotanorden</td>
<td>From the Storm Come the Wolves (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aryan Culture Preservation (2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 presents the full list of codes that I used for data analysis, along with the frequency and percent that each code occupies in total. Out of all codes, the most prevalent are “Racial Solidarity”, “Anti-Establishment”, and “Soldier”, appearing in approximately 25.82% of song lyrics altogether. While these are the most prevalent, and
will be discussed in the relevant sections below, this should not be taken to mean that one code is more significant than another. Each code represents a recurring theme in the song lyrics, and therefore presents relevant data. The codes of “Anti-Asian” and “Islamophobia” small yet curious appearances in the data, these highlight relatively new trends in white supremacist discourse and will be expanded on in the following section.

Table 2: Prevalence of Codes (1,038 references total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>References (% of Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>73 (7.03%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Semitism</td>
<td>48 (4.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Asian</td>
<td>5 (0.48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamophobia</td>
<td>3 (0.29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophobia</td>
<td>25 (2.41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynching</td>
<td>11 (1.06%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and Sexuality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homophobia</td>
<td>21 (2.02%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misogyny</td>
<td>27 (2.60%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White Supremacy and Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Solidarity</td>
<td>93 (8.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagan</td>
<td>31 (2.99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazi</td>
<td>59 (5.68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy War</td>
<td>13 (1.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skinhead</td>
<td>47 (4.53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>82 (7.90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Establishment</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Establishment</td>
<td>93 (8.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Communist</td>
<td>10 (0.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOW</td>
<td>10 (0.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZOG</td>
<td>25 (2.41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscegenation</td>
<td>10 (0.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decay</td>
<td>56 (5.39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drugs and Violence</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats of Violence</td>
<td>64 (6.17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance of Violence</td>
<td>79 (7.61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>32 (3.08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>13 (1.25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Common Themes in the Data

Racism in Hatecore Lyrics

Racism takes many forms in these songs, most notably the use of racial epithets and negative stereotypes. These lyrics describe Black men and women as entitled and inept objects (note the use of the word “product”) which are the antithesis of the white man’s civilization. This type of characterization also helps to develop narratives that perpetuate Black men as a danger to white women. Lyrics often characterize them as rapists, or as pimps who control “fallen” white women. While there will be a discussion of women as a separate category in these lyrics, it is important to note that racism towards people of color is often in relation the idea of protecting white women and children. Phrased differently, racist lyrics exist as a logical argument extending from David Lane’s 14 Words, discussed in the sections above. Non-white races are not only inferior, but they are also an active threat to the maintenance of the white race, and therefore must be eliminated. The band Blue Eyed Devils frames this clearly and succinctly.

Bring it on nigger, if you think you're brave. But in the end you'll wish you were a slave. You fucking nigger! A race of morons, savagely insane. A handicapped product with an undeveloped brain. Don't misunderstand, make no mistake. Bring it on nigger, if you have what it takes. You fucking nigger! Bring it on! You fucking nigger! Bring it down! (Angry Aryans, 1998).

I wake up in the morning and i go to work, driving down the road and what do i see?, 30 dumb niggers living off of me,
drinking mad dog and other cheap wine, We’re gonna have to put an end to their kind! (Aggravated Assault, 1995)

The plan of action is plain to see, if you're not white you're the enemy. I don't care if you sympathize, the one who's weak is the one who dies. (Blue Eyed Devils, 2000).

In a similar vein to constructions of Blackness according to Hatecore lyrics, Asian immigration is presented as a threat to whiteness in the sense that Asians are invading the land that is supposed to belong to white people. The key difference, however, is that, instead of the threat of Black people taking things away and ruining or staining them, Asians, according to the lyrics, invade for the gain of Asians. In other words, this invasion is a conquest meant to deprive the white race of economic superiority. A more concrete example of this exists with a comment made towards the suspicion towards Indians taking over the medical field.

His breath smells of curry
his skin is poopy brown
take your punji-pinkies
put the tongue depressor down
they come through Canada
from Pakistan
apu man, I don’t understand
He don’t like us, we eat his sacred cow
that’s why he says we’re sick now
in every hospital throughout the land
you see a dot headed doctor from Pakistan (People Haters, 2010)

What is powerful in these lyrics is the parallel that the speaker in the song draws between the invasion of the body and of the nation. Just as the speaker mentions how the doctor uses his pinkies and tongue depressor to enter the mouth of the singer, the comment is made about how the doctor entered the United States from Pakistan and
through Canada, and now is a constant presence throughout. Also, note the implied correlation between “eating his sacred cow” and the doctor’s diagnosis of “we’re all sick now”. This can possibly imply a suspicion of malicious agency on behalf of the doctor in order to sabotage the white race so that Asians can surpass whites in global domination. Whether this suspicion is prevalent, or plausible, requires more data. Anti-Asian sentiment does represent a newer trend that highlights white supremacists’ growing concern with increased immigration from Asia.

There's an invasion that's taking place.
Slowly overrun by a yellow race.
Gamble with our future, a fool rolls the dice.
These slant-eyed nips can live off rice!
When I see yellow, well, I see red.
The asian economy is getting ahead. (Angry Aryans, 1998)

Hatecore lyrics present another option to achieving white supremacy: the exclusion of other races from the West, specifically the United States. Xenophobia in these lyrics shows exclusionary tactics in order to affirm a place of proper belonging in the Western world. In other words, other races do not belong “here” according to these lyrics because everything belongs to the white man.

Get out faggot! Get out arab! Get out nigger! Get out jew!
Get out wetback! Get out gook!
Get out of our country and don’t come back, stay much longer and we will attack, This is our home, this is our land, everything was built for the white man. (Aggravated Assault, 1995).

My children stand, never give into the alien yoke
Take back your ancestors’ lands
And give back life to your folk
Even when chaos is at hand (Before God, 2000).
Only whites belong in the West, and, according to these lyrics, whites can claim legitimacy to this argument through inheritance. According to the lyrics, whites’ forefathers and ancestors built Western civilization and laid claim to the West years ago, and so it must be taken back from those who would seek to usurp that inherited ownership. From the songs we see that one way to do this is to deport, or otherwise get rid of, non-white races.

Perhaps due to the years in which the lyrics I analyze were created—mostly in the late 90’s and early millennium, before the so-called “War on Terror”—Islamophobia does not have a large presence in Hatecore lyrics, only around one percent of lyrics present islamophobic themes. Lyrics describe Islam as a “religion of whores” or a “pedophile’s creed”, linking it to sexual deviancy while in turn distancing it from the tradition of Christianity or Paganism that serves as the “naturally white” creed (Angry Aryans 1998). More so than a theological discussion, however, Islamophobia is inexorably linked to a xenophobic mentality: Muslims are tied immediately to those of Arab descent, and there exists the racist discourse. Muslims are “sand-niggers” who, even though they also “hate the Jew”, they are “all the same/ a dark-skinned people from inferior strain.” (1998).

Hatred and depictions of violence towards Jews abound, and are often linked with references of Nazi ideology or personalities.

Working class gets stronger. Each and every day and when the time comes the Jews will have to pay (Final Solution, 1995)
Judaism, from the perspective of Hatecore lyrics, is a great evil that must be destroyed. According to these examples, Jews are directly responsible for the exploitation of the working class by large capital interests. Jews, say the Hatecore artists, are the great liars and deceivers, traitors from their divine inception and cursed by God as the lineage of Cain. For just as Cain betrayed his brother, so too do Jews betray the white man. They are the master manipulators of the media, and therefore one must continue Hitler’s legacy and “seize the day, destroy Judaism”. Eliminate the Jew and set free the land of the white man, so say these songs.

*Drugs and Violence*

As I have shown, white supremacist identity is filled with calls for racial pride. This genre, however, can also spread ideas on how to exist as a member of society in terms of health and violence. The depictions of drugs usage is clearly divided between two camps. The first camp is beer and alcohol, regarded as fun and featured in happy memories. In other words, Hatecore lyrics espouse getting drunk with friends as a form of enjoyment for white men, with only hangovers as a serious consequence for drinking in excess.

After drinking all their beer
we were ready to drop
But then somebody hits the bell:
another round of shots
Then came das boot
and we were nearly dead
I woke up in the morning
with a war inside my head (Bound for Glory, 1997)

Its Saturday night and I’m out with the boys
We’re getting drunk and making white noise
forget all your troubles (Max Resist, 2006).

The second camp of drug use is full disavowal for various reasons. One of these
reasons is that it dulls the mind and senses, and only “accomplishment alone yields
gratification” (Blue Eyed Devils, 1998). Likewise, drug usage is something explicitly
raced. Drugs like meth, crack, and marijuana are temptations that will lead to race
betrayal.

Selling nigger dope, light up some crack.
Sold out your pride for a six pack.
Sell your sex and heritage for a little dime of crack
your miserable life it seems has always off track (Angry
Aryans, 1998).

Drugs that are not alcohol are serious temptations against the white man. Not only
do they lead to race betrayal, they also lead to whites forefitting racial pride in order to
acquire money or other substances. Given that racial pride and lineage is a significant
component of Hatecore music, the loss of it due to drugs can be taken as a serious
accusation from the part of music. This serves as a warning: these drugs will lead whites
away from racial pride and solidarity.

Violence serves as central point of the story of the ideal white man. Violence
must be had against those who are inferior, and must duly be celebrated and recounted in
song and story. Whether or not these portrayed acts occurred seems irrelevant, but what is
relevant is that white men, according to these lyrics, must idolize violence against others in order to prove themselves as men. Performing violence is held in high regard in Hatecore lyrics. Such performances, it can be reasonably argued, can be considered as the ultimate expression of white masculinity. Violence lends itself to transcendental emotions of an apparent sublime: in acts of violence is where the purest manifestation of the white man exists.

we massacre throughout and the blood on our warring hands is a feeling beyond all feeling which empowers us to infernal warfare. Digging pits, we are sweaty and stinky with Aryan pride, for without caution they will fall to our grim of death (Pantheon, 2002)

Pointing out the window we unleash a firestorm from hell everybody’s head and chest explode we didn’t stop until they fell tire’s squealing as we drive off leave screams and moans behind we’re off to celebrate success (Definite Hate, 2005)

Threats of violence are also varied, though they typically espouse warnings to other racial groups or people who deviate from the idealized norm of whiteness. Likewise, we see that speakers threaten performing violence as tests of manhood and judgment. In other words, this espousal of violence serves as a trial by combat in a test for manhood.

It could happen to you you, slant eyed gook!
It could happen to you, again and again (Aggravated Assault 1995).

There's no back to back
It's all toe-to-toe
I'm taking you for myself
We'll see then who is the man
Judgment then will be passed
Victory is covered with blood (H8Machine, 2005)
The threat of violence serves as a rallying cry and a warning. As a rallying cry, threats of violence serve as the unifying call of aggression towards anyone deemed a target. As a warning, this threat is directed at anyone not fitting the ideal type of whiteness according to Hatecore lyrics. Racial others or those who are not acting like men, or even those who have shown little pride for their race are warned that the speakers in the songs are coming for them. Whether it be for justice or white supremacy, these lyrics present a verbal threat of impending violence towards others.

*White Pride and Identity*

The concept that race is the key identifying factor of pride is well-known, and these examples provide explicit declarations of such a belief. Not only is race a central factor in pride, but this whiteness is the clear mark of authority and racial purity that allows these songs to assert that whiteness deserves to be on top of the hierarchy. Honor is racial pride, and loyalty to the cause of white supremacy is a marker of strength. The only way to achieve this goal is through pride, a “cleansing of the Jewish plight”, and, as Angry Aryans establish, killing other non-white races.

```
you can see our flag fly
and see the crosses burn in the dead of the night
I got no mercy for the weak and we’re not gonna stop
until our people are back on top (Definite Hate, 2005)

To cleanse my land and culture of the Jewish plight
With honor and loyalty, I struggle for White salvation
Never stray from the path, victory for my race and nation
(Blue Eyed Devils, 1999)

Skinheads are the front-line warriors of the Aryan resistance, and they are proud to occupy such a position. In being a skinhead they find solidarity and strength, and will
readily fight with whoever expresses distaste and violence to resistance. We come again
to the theme of violence: the idealized way to be a white supremacist, especially a
skinhead white supremacist, is to be a warrior that acts as the front line of the supremacist
movement.

We’re the leaders of tomorrow, skinheads of today. You
can show and print your lies, you will be the one who dies.
Still going strong. We’ll decide your fate. It’s your
opposition that fuels our hate. We’ll never die, we’ll never
die. we’re growing stronger, no matter what you try. (Blue
Eyed Devils, 1999).

Flight jackets and Doc Martens
Our hair is short and our knives are sharpened
Flight jackets and Doc Martens
Our guns are loaded
And the war has been started (Max Resist, 1995).

For Pagans, white supremacy is much more spiritual. Whiteness is a blessing from
the divine order of things. They are “pagan warriors, one with the Earth” that have
returned from the distant past to “claim it all” for the white race (Before God, 1998).

Pagans have been victims of Christianity throughout the years, “slaughtered at the sign of
the cross” (Nocturnal Fear, 2002). However, these are the “chosen ones” who will renew
the earth (Wotanorden, 2003). Pagan themes in Hatecore lyrics typically center around
Norse mythology, as they immediately conjure up images of white warriors blessed by
the gods to carry out their conquest.

man is the glory, the might and the blood that runs through
our people! The name of this sky cloaked wanderer is
Wotan, our allfather, god of war and Poetry. Each day we
live, he walks among us! (Wotanorden, 2006).

pray upon my weapon before I go to war
Before I go to battle,
I pray almighty Thor
I shall go with courage
Use all my strength and might
I pray to god of thunder
May I win this fight (Max Resist, 1997)

The surplus of examples for Nazi imagery reveals the admiration that these bands have for the Third Reich. Key figures in Nazi Germany are venerated, evidenced by the salutes toward Goebbels, Hess and Hitler. These figures are idols to imitate, and even though it might be a fantasy to raise the next Hitler, the Nazi Party’s power is a source of deep respect for these bands. The data suggest that Nazi examples of conquest legitimize the “might is right” ideology, and calls for Germany to rise again present the political manifestation of white supremacists in these bands: Nazi Germany stood for everything they stand for, and every Aryan man should stand up for the same things.

we salute you adolf hitler
we salute you Rudolf hess
we salute you Klaus Barbie
we salute you joseph Goebbels
we salute you (Aggravated Assault, 1995).

Awake from your sleep, It's been a long slumber
It's been over 50 years of the spell you've been under
Awake o' Fatherland Destruction and prosperity--
you've seen it all: Built the greatest empire,
then seen it fall. You stood alone against jealousy and hate. The world couldn't stand to see you so great (Bound for Glory, 1999).

And might was right when German troops
Poured down through Paris way,
It's the gospel of the ancient world
And the logic of today. (Rahowa, 1996).

In order to accomplish the white supremacist goal of Aryan domination, these bands advocate the maintenance of racial solidarity. How else are the skinheads, pagans, and the soldiers of white supremacy supposed to identify other than white? We have
already exposed how race is the key factor in these songs. Therefore, it is expected to find calls for racial solidarity.

My thoughts they are strong, to my folk I belong
My family, Racial brothers and kin
I'm ready to fight with a gun or a knife
And anything it takes to win
With the open hand salute, I'll show you the truth
I'm ready for the war to begin (Bound for Glory, 1997)

I need you and all you need is me
let’s stand together and take back our country (Definite Hate, 2005)

That being said, racial solidarity has a flip side: betrayal. Race-dead whites are considered weak and traitors of the worst order. There are many examples disparaging whites who have “betrayed” their race through marrying racial others, focusing on money, or simply not advocating for their race.

Confused creature, shedding its skin
With an identity lost, yet it tries to fit in
Disobeying nature's laws,
it chooses its way
On a path of destruction,
to shades of gray
Rebelling against its peers,
trying to be what it's not
A creature of sickness,
on sight it should be shot
With no pride in its past,
or faith in its kind
How many more will follow with their brainwashed minds? (Bound for Glory, 1996).

In the search for respect you have lost your pride
Turned tail and ran to the other side
A no good nigga lover you have become
A drag of society, the worst of scum
Now a meaningless life and a soul of black
Stealing your cars and selling your crack (Blue Eyed Devils, 1996).
As I have shown, white supremacist identity is filled with calls for racial pride. This genre, however, can also spread ideas on how to exist as a member of society in terms of health and violence. The depictions of drugs usage is clearly divided between two camps. The first camp is beer and alcohol, regarded as fun and featured in happy memories. In other words, Hatecore lyrics espouse getting drunk with friends as a form of enjoyment for white men, with only hangovers as a serious consequence for drinking in excess.

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Sold out your pride for a six pack.

Sell your sex and heritage for a little dime of crack
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Much like a soldier in an army, the speakers in Hatecore lyrics feel a sense of duty and unity in the white supremacist movement. However, instead of following orders from a militaristic hierarchy, white supremacist “soldiers” in Hatecore songs act either individually or in small groups, or act as recruiters for racial solidarity.

Dragon slayer, fearless raider,
Defender of the Rhine,
A noble man in an Aryan land
way back in time
Years passed on the glorious tales
of the battles he had fought (Bound for Glory, 1996)
Still I will fight and still I will die
A never-ending flame will burn no matter what they try
You are the same no matter what they do
You will continue to fight till they're finally through...(H8Machine, 2001)

Aryan pride burns eternally “no matter what they try”, yet we see warriors inherit the strength of heart to fight since time immemorial in an Aryan land. Through grit and past the emotional toll, the Aryan soldier fights above the rest to reach their destined land. A key component to note here is the element of individualism and elitism that accompanies the images of being a soldier for Aryan victory. Those that want to take up arms and fight are doing it for their race, but for themselves. They alone will take on the system, and are better for doing so. They are the warrior-elite class that leads the fight towards the destined Aryan land that is promised.

Finally, the concept of a racial holy war is present throughout white supremacist discourse and ideology (Gardell, 2003). This racial holy war represents the inevitable race war that will occur between whites and non-whites that ends, according to white supremacists, with the eradication of all other races from sovereign Aryan land. As such, it is reasonable to expect that themes of this holy war to appear throughout music lyrics. Even the name of a band, Rahowa, reflects this ideology due to it combining the first two letters of each word into its band name (RAcial HOly WA = Rahowa).

It's all in the name of honor
Something many don't understand
I would choose death before dishonor
Because I am a fighting man
I'm the sacred order, in a holy fight
protector of the grail, the Templar knight (Bound for Glory, 1996).
Our race is our religion,
It's our reason and our creed;
No cowards linger in our ranks,
No weaklings make us bleed.
Smashing unpure idols,
That enslave the white man's mind, (Rahowa, 1996).

Images of this holy war extend through history, from Norse mythology to the
Templar knight to the modern-day skinhead. This adds a layer of destiny to the holy war:
the inevitable conflict between the white man and all other races. What is holy here,
however, are not idols, pagan gods, or the apocalypse itself. What does seem to matter
most is race, the white race. Above, Rahowa explains it most clearly: race is religion,
reason and creed. One’s race is what gives one meaning in life, and the white races have
been predestined to be victorious in the Ragnarok to come, where the twilight of the idols
arises in a heaving scene of war; wolves devouring all until only the white race remains.

The Establishment

Hatecore lyrics express different types of rejections of authority. Anti-
establishment lyrics are common themes throughout, and take many forms: anti-
government, anti-Church, and anti-Police. While these bands have a tendency to reject
the current social order, they also reject other forms of social authority that are not
explicitly those that favor whites. Anti-communist sentiment in Hatecore music is
nothing new, the influence of R.A.C. (Rock Against Communism) is still felt in the data.

Corrupt and evil,
This government must fall
Their own polices will bring and end to it all (Blue Eyed
Devils, 2002)

Fifty stars and thirteen stripes, the American symbol you
follow blind. To my cause I am true, not the fading colors

A communist invasion to
force occupation
A runaway nation fighting to break free
Militant action against the red factions
We'll take the hammer
and sickle to its knees (Bound for Glory, 1996).

White supremacists, through these songs, are depicting as fighting an oppressive government and system that seeks to eliminate the white race through miscegenation and multiculturalism. These last two social phenomena combine with other social factors to produce a society which they say is in decay. Multiculturalism has brought about only “inferior” races, drugs, and capitalist greed. Diversity will seal the tomb of a dead nation, and the white race has been betrayed. In order to save the white from this decay, it is necessary, according to these lyrics, for the white man to fight against the slow death of his race. The white men that are “asleep”, in other words, not fighting for the supremacy of their race, must wake up “before it’s too late”.

Living in urban decay - it's life the American Way
For some there is no chance, you can run or you can take a stance,
Multi-capital desires fuel emotional fires
Melting pot - it overflows - the whole damn country is about to blow. (Bound for Glory, 1997)

The greatest race to ever walk the earth,
Dying a slow death with insane mirth,
The tomb has been prepared, our race betrayed,
White man, fight the flight towards the grave (1996)

While extinction is our fate, better stop sleeping, before it’s too late. (People Haters, 2010)

These lyrics suggest the rise the decay and demise of the world order as we know it, one that will be replaced with the time of the “strong race” of Aryans that will inherit
the earth. Even though Before God sings about action involving bringing about the New World Order, Aggravated Assault points toward the imminent global decay that will make the inevitable Aryan takeover possible. For these, the rise of Aryan supremacy is inevitable, and so it is a matter of time. The New World Order is the rise of Aryan supremacy, where white people are the rightful masters of the world.

Now in this weak economy treachery starts to show, we’ll just sit back and watch as a new wind starts to blow, on the broken back of the jew, a new order will arise, we can see it we can do it, it’s right before our eyes. (Aggravated Assault, 1995).

The time of their god is over
The Sun Wheel will arise
With Wotan we shall be free at last and we shall give our people back their honor
We are Thule. (Wir Sind Thule, 2010).

Women and Sexuality in Hatecore Lyrics

Women are a central concern in white supremacist identity, and Hatecore lyrics exposed here reinforce this idea. Women who have inter-racial relationships are called traitors to their race, and are the object of hatred, characterized as having no pride. Frustrations with women also include threats of violence, where the speaker in the last example shows his feelings of entrapment and his preferred method of resolution: murder.

every night you fuck those niggers
and every day you walk just like them
you will always be the same
nigger loving with no shame (Aggravated Assault, 1998).

You’re the type of person I truly do abhor
Sucking on a black cock, you nigger loving whore
a liberal minded bitch, who shits on her race (Angry Aryans, 1998)

In these Hatecore lyrics, there is no place for any time of sexuality other than heterosexuality. Violence, homophobic slurs, and stigmatization through AIDS consistently follow depictions of homosexuality in the data.

Freddie’s Dead!
Freddie’s Dead!
AIDS will Kill You! (Bound for Glory, 1996)
Wretched queer you think your disease is natural
I’ll never accept you as a homosexual
Propaganda uninhered with homosexuality
Fact not philosophy (Before God, 2000).

The celebration of Freddie Mercury’s death due to complications arising from AIDS blends in to the championed belief that homosexuality is naturally wrong as an obvious fact, and that the disease is forms part of a natural check system that punishes aberrations of nature. Finally, the presence of homosexuality is regarded as a social aberration as well: attention-seeking people will defile the natural order in order to be more noticed.
Discussion: Multiculturalism and Idealized White Identity

The previously discussed lyrics of Hatecore music paint a detailed picture of the prevailing concerns of Hatecore musicians. Lyrics contain constant and numerous expressions of racism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia, which reflect the long-standing tradition of racist music, stemming from its skinhead/Oi! and Rock Against Communism beginnings. Previous studies show similar concerns exist throughout the years of Hatecore music produced before 1995 (Taylor and Rambo, 2013 and McVeigh, 2009). The new additions of these more recent examples of Hatecore music concern a growing focus with multiculturalism. Imagery in these more recent lyrics reflects a perceived failure of the melting pot in that whites are continually oppressed for their race while other races infiltrate, corrupt, and otherwise steal from whites to undermine Western society. New trends in racist thought are brought up through mentions of islamophobia and anti-Asian racism, and reflect the changing landscape of immigration.

These lyrics also provide the opportunity to note the idealized white man and woman. We can glean what the ideal white woman is by observing the demonization and hatred of what she is accused of doing wrong. Lyrics vilify women who have relationships with racial others, who do drugs, and who are annoying or controlling men. In other words; lyrics champion a particular type of woman which is white, heterosexual, and obedient to the white man. In order to continue the purity of the white race, white women must exclusively bear and raise white children in a clean, drug-free household.
White women, in short, must exist *only for* the white man and the white race in terms of child-bearing, sex, and as a symbol of purity.

Men, on the other hand, have more positive examples of what an ideal masculine type is in Hatecore lyrics. Men are also expected to be loyal to their race, and to work together to achieve the goals that will place the white race as the top of the social hierarchy. White men are encouraged to be violent, lyrics encourage to do violence for fun or as a method of social control. Killing racial others is an ideal to strive for; men are the warriors to bring about the racial holy war that ends with whites dominating society. White men must be domineering, dominating relationships as well as their social space. White men, in short, must be loyal to their race and their creed of white supremacy first, and seek to populate the future with white children while also eliminating racial others to bring about the final victory of white supremacy.
Conclusion: Whiteness, Diversity, and Future Directions

Contemporary expressions of Hatecore provide a rich source of information regarding the ideological functions of white supremacist music. Their work in aesthetic distinction and boundary making seeks to create a space where white men and women establish the idealized versions of themselves in the context of white supremacist thoughts and attitudes, and much of their current exercise mirrors the efforts of the past. The traditional racist notions of society, however, are now combined with an increasing discussion on contemporary topics like multiculturalism, as well as immigration from Asian and Middle Eastern regions.

In terms of the relevant literature, these results blend squarely within recent work regarding the White Power music scene (Simi & Futtrell, 2010 & Dyck, 2016). Furthermore, the use of particular lyrics serves to catalyze racial solidarity and unity, not only through the ritual of the concert, but also through the espousal of a positive spin on white nationalist, separatist, or racist identity (Pieslak, 2015).

Furthermore, this thesis helps to inform studies on white power music—as well as counterculture studies, and studies on race and inequality—by showing how various bands can come together to form a reasonably cohesive message regarding causes for social ills as well as identity management. While this can be done on the individual band level (Martinez & Selepak, 2013), group cohesiveness on display here helps to understand a more expansive view of Hatecore music. Finally, this thesis also informs
discussions on taste and counterculture movements. Namely, that the forms in which taste and distinction are managed can be inverted to produce a “counter-taste”, opposite to the modes of distinction which Bourdieu elaborated in *Distinction*.

A certain weakness of this thesis is that it does not answer if these bands are representative of the entire Hatecore genre. I reiterate, however, that the inclusion of these bands is not meant to be representative from the outset. These bands have either been influential in their musical production, or they have been the latest releases in the genre. The point is not whether they are representative of Hatecore, but rather that these bands, in one way or another, impact or have impacted the music scene itself.

Another possible weakness of this study is that through these bands we are not yet able to gauge whether or not contemporary listeners of Hatecore actually listen to these bands and believe in their content. While this thesis might not be able to arrive at such conclusions, the idea that bands in the data have been influential tempers this critique slightly. Alternatively, more studies, then, are required to note exactly how influential Hatecore bands have been in reflecting and molding general white supremacist ideology.

As a concluding remark, I wish to highlight the following. As demonstrated by the literature overviewed, white supremacist discourse is present in American society, and this has been true for years. While continual efforts to curb and eliminate this supremacy currently exist in the form of, to name one example, diversity and inclusion, this has done little to curb the persistence of white supremacy. Diversity discourses establish, unfortunately, a type of segregation where all are allowed to exist in one area, so long as they do not get too close (Hikido and Murray, 2015). While diversity does
foster tolerance, this tolerance is from a distance. For the first steps in possible solutions, I turn to Denise Ferreira da Silva (2011). Through her work, we see that the efforts of diversity and inclusion only tackle the surface of the problem of race relations. In order to more comprehensively deal with white supremacy, we must tackle our metaphysical conceptions of reason as a historically produced, white, marker of universality, as well as the apparently distinct racial Other that has been created as a form of distance, rejection, and distinction.

To close, I have shown the wide range of topics that Hatecore musicians speak about, and have shown through the above-mentioned literature how white supremacists engage and attempt to subvert dominant culture in order to produce an idealized white identity and cure perceived social ills. While this thesis cannot capture every single nuance of Hatecore, it is a step towards capturing how Hatecore bands in contemporary times come together to produce the aforementioned messages on whiteness, violence, and racism. A future study would follow the dissemination of Hatecore music to Europe in order to attempt to capture the wave of right-wing populism and nationalism that has enveloped the public sphere and how this is expressed in Hatecore music. Such a study should look at the European Union and immigration, as well as take into account the production of a European whiteness that is under perceived attack by refugees. Finally, this future study should also note the particular race relations in Europe, along with its history of intense colonialism of Africa and Asia and how this affects European identity.
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