

BRITISH SOCIETY IN GOTHIC
ROCK: Siouxsie and the Banshees
1978–79

Master's thesis
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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella, kuinka 1970-luvun brittiläistä yhteiskuntaa käsitellään Siouxsie and the Banshees -yhtyeen sanoituksissa. Siouxsie and the Banshees perustettiin 1970-luvun lopulla punk-musiikin jälkimainingeissa ja sitä pidetään yhtenä ensimmäisistä goottirock-yhtyeistä. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan sitä, jatkuuko punk-alakulttuurille ominainen yhteiskuntakritiikki Bansheesin sanoituksissa vai vastaako yhtyeen musiikki nykykäsitystä, jonka mukaan goottirock on enimmäkseen epäpoliittista.</p> <p>Tutkielman teoreettisena viitekehysenä käytettiin kriittisen diskurssianalyysin (CDA) taustaoletuksia. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi mahdollistaa useiden eri lähetysmistapojen yhdistämisen, ja tässä tutkielmassa hyödynnettiin lähinnä transitiivisuuden, metaforan ja intertekstuaalisuuden tutkimuksen työkaluja. Tutkielmassa käsitellään neljää Siouxsie and the Bansheesin kappaletta, jotka on valittu yhtyeen kahdelta ensimmäiseltä levyltä <i>The Scream</i> ja <i>Join Hands</i>. Valitut kappaleet <i>Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)</i>, <i>Premature Burial</i>, <i>Nicotine Stain</i> ja <i>Suburban Relapse</i> edustavat neljää levyjen kappaleissa esiintyvää vallitsevaa teemaa: 1) auktoriteettien vastustaminen, 2) yksilöllisyys, 3) henkinen ja fyysinen riippuvuus ja 4) ihmisten hämmennyneisyys esimerkiksi oman identiteetin suhteen muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa.</p> <p>Analysoidut kappaleet sisältävät punk-sanoituksille ominaisia kerronnallisia piirteitä, kuten kerronta ensimmäisessä persoonassa ja tekstin sisäisen kertojaäänen ja vastaanottajan vaihtelu tekstin eri osissa. Punkin tavoin Bansheesin sanoitukset ottavat kantaa yhteiskunnan ilmiöihin, kuten oikeiston suosion kasvuun, median vaikutusvaltaan, tarpeeseen sopeutua yhteiskunnan normeihin, tupakoinnin terveysvaikutuksiin ja tupakkamarkkinoiden leviämiseen sekä perheväkivaltaan. Toisin kuin monien Punk-yhtyeiden sanoitukset, Bansheesin kappaleet eivät kuitenkaan kritisoi asioita suoraan ja korostavasti, vaan kertovat niistä usein ylikuonnollisia elementtejä sisältävien tarinoiden kautta ja jättävät moraalisten näkökulmien pohdinnan kuulijoille.</p>	
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1. INTRODUCTION (PUNK ROCK, GOTHIC ROCK AND SOCIETY)

The Goth movement is often more disinterested in social and political values than many other subcultures, focusing largely on personal beliefs and often disregarding wider culture; although like any generalization this does not always stand.
(Tutorgig Encyclopedia, 2004)

A general conception of Goth music seems to be that the lyrics mostly describe the inner world of the songwriter(s). While this might be the case in some songs, Goth music essentially originated from punk, which was a socio-political movement as well as a musical and a fashion movement. Would it then seem likely that that some of the social or political awareness of punk could also be seen in Goth music? In this study want to examine how and to what extent the ideologies of Punk Rock are expressed in the early work of Siouxsie and the Banshees by examining lyrics from their first two albums, *The Scream* (1978) and *Join Hands* (1979).

According to Hebdige (1979: 40), Punk was born out of youth's boredom and alienation, and as a result of influences of black culture on the working class youth. While this might not be true for all Punk rockers, bands such as The Clash, seemed to identify themselves with the black culture. The Clash, for example wrote the song *White Riot* about the Notting Hill Carnival riot where black (and some white) youths clashed with the Police in 1976. In their eyes, black people had the 'guts' to riot for their rights while the white youth did nothing.

Pop culture and popular music have been capable of influencing consumers' opinions long before the emergence of music television or Internet, and from early on they have also been used to express political opinions. Garofalo (1992: 2) suggests that popular culture and especially popular music provide an "arena where ideological struggle – the struggle over the power to define – takes place", and adds that popular music can challenge hegemonic power. As Bennett (2000: 41) points out, as early as in the 60s, artists started expressing their views on a variety of socio-political issues, such as the Vietnam War, through their music – reaching millions of listeners. The growing influence of popular culture on cultural production and reproduction has also made rock music an interesting subject of sociological and anthropological study.

If Goth music is considered introverted, a very common view of Punk is that it was a liberating and anti-racist subculture that stood for negationism, class-based politics, and spontaneity, as summarised by Sabin (1999: 3–4). Hebdige (1979) labels Punk Rock as a working-class

phenomenon and considers the musical aspect of Punk only a minor part of the movement. It would be tempting to accept these definitions as such, but in reality the crowd involved with Punk did not consist of a homogenous group and did not share a single ideology. Furthermore, the importance of music within the movement should not be underestimated. Laing (1985: 37–38) suggests that Punk Rock reached an audience far wider than the followers of Punk style or members of the working class and offered the listeners an oppositional role. Thus, the marginalised status of Punk Rock gave a diverse range of individuals means to articulate their dissatisfaction with a number of issues. This is also evident when looking into the backgrounds of Punk musicians and their fans (including the members of The Banshees) – many of them were art school students from middle-class families.

What was it then that Punk Rockers wanted to say about society and communities they were living in? In addition to alienation and boredom, Hebdige (1979: 64) suggests that the central values of Punk Rock were ‘anarchy’, ‘surrender’ and ‘decline’, and that the Britain of the Punk Rockers had no future. Hebdige (1979: 64) continues that punks had an ironic outlook on society and life itself, and that they parodied alienation and emptiness and celebrated “in mock-heroic terms the death of the community and the collapse of traditional forms of meaning.” Hebdige (1979: 84) explains that punks did not do this by responding to unemployment, violence, poverty or changing moral standards directly. Instead, they dramatised the decline of Britain by using direct language that adapted the rhetoric used by media and by presenting themselves as products of Great Britain’s decay.

As far as Punk style goes, Hebdige suggests that it aimed at rejecting the prevalent notions of modernity, taste and conventional prettiness, and adds that mohawks, self-mutilation and tattoos could also be considered wilful acts of detaching oneself from the job market at a time when jobs were scarce, i.e. to voluntarily discard oneself before society does (1979: 107, 1988: 32). According to Hebdige (1979: 64), the success of the Punk movement was based on using language that both the members and the opponents of the movement were familiar with, thus ensuring that the movement could attract new members from outside the subculture and, at the same time, outrage those opposing it. Laing (1985: 72) also points out that negativity and individuality are common attributes in early Punk Rock songs and that identifying the protagonist or addressee of the lyric with a certain group is very rare, which conforms to Hebdige’s idea of the death of the community.

Many of the earlier studies of Punk Rock have concentrated on Punk style and fashion or the history and sociology of the movement, but there have not been many studies on Punk Rock lyrics and on what the artists actually want to express through their songs instead of what they want to express through their appearance. While some of lyrics of the early Punk Rock songs have been analysed superficially as a part of other studies, not many of them have been analysed thoroughly using linguistic methods or critical discourse analysis.

This is also the case with Gothic Rock, which, despite gaining relative popularity in the 1980s, has remained marginalised. Although the Gothic movement, like the Punk subculture, has been subject to research with studies ranging from style and ideology (for example Hodkinson 2002) to aesthetics of gothic club dancing (Young 1999), little attention has been paid to lyrics of Gothic bands, particularly from a linguistic point of view. Whiteley has included a brief analysis of a few songs from the Banshees' album *The Scream on Women and Popular Music* (2000) and Van Elferen discusses *Premature Burial* in *Gothic Music: The Sounds of the Uncanny* (2012), but their point of view is mainly that of Musicology. I shall, however, discuss these analyses in chapter 5. The aim of this study is to examine how and to what extent the ideological legacy of Punk Rock shows in the early work of Siouxsie and the Banshees by examining selected lyrics from their first two albums *The Scream* (1978) and *Join Hands* (1979) and what, if anything, does the Banshees' music say about the British society in the late 1970s.

One reason for choosing Siouxsie from all the bands of the late 70s that played dark music was that they have sometimes been called (although wrongly, but not without a reason) the inventors of Goth music, or the first Goth band. Even if they were not the first band to be called gothic, they were among the first, and certainly one of the biggest influences to later Goth artists. Another reason for choosing the Banshees and these particular albums was that the Banshees themselves called the music they made during this era 'Gothic', although they deny ever having been a 'gothic' band (as do most of the bands that were considered 'Gothic' back then). Although the genre is nowadays called Goth Rock, I chose to use the term Gothic in the title of this paper, because the term Goth only emerged in the early 1980s (Thompson 2002: 101) and before that the term 'Gothic' was used to describe music that had the characteristics now attributed to Goth music. What makes the Banshees an interesting subject of study is the fact that because the Banshees operated in the margins of the music industry (and society) during their early years, their lyrics can provide insights in the changes in society that would (or

could) not have been expressed by mainstream artists.

After a preliminary analysis and interpretation of the lyrics of the albums *The Scream* and *Join Hands* and on the basis of the values related to the Punk Rock movement discussed above, I have established four major themes through which I am going to analyse the lyrics. I have selected four songs, one for each theme, from the albums published by the Banshees between 1978 and 1979. The aspects of society and communities to be examined are 1) opposition of authorities that are using their power to control people; 2) individualism and individual thinking as opposed to following ideologies blindly; 3) addiction to and dependence on different things both mentally and physically, and 4) confusion of people looking for their places in the world.

The present study is a linguistic study conducted under the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) using tools such as analysis of metaphors and linguistic transitivity. In addition to the aforementioned themes, attention is paid to social issues and struggle in discourse. Because the late 1970s were a time of social transformation in Britain, it is expected that the lyrics of the Banshees reflect the changes brought by emerging Thatcherism and the ideological changes in society. Being an interdisciplinary field, CDA allows using concepts and tools from various fields of scientific study, which means that CDA meets the requirements of the present study well. There are some concerns about using CDA, as pointed out by, for example, Blommaert (2005). They will be discussed in chapter 4 which introduces the basic concepts of CDA and the analytical tools.

In the next two chapters I try to summarise the history of Britain from a political perspective in 1960–1980 and discuss the life span of Punk Rock and the development of early Gothic Rock. As stated above, Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical framework. Chapter 5 contains the analyses of Siouxsie and the Banshees' songs *Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)*, *Premature Burial*, *Nicotine Stain*, and *Suburban Relapse*. In chapter 6 I attempt to sum up the findings and discuss their relevance to studying Britain's social change in the 1970s and to further applications of this study.

2. BRITAIN 1960–1980

In this section I shall discuss British political history from the 1960s to the 1980s. I intend to show some reasons for the emerging and sudden popularity of the Punk Rock movement and the fashion movements that followed it. While I shall briefly discuss the post-war years, the

emphasis is on the period beginning from 1960. This is because the members of the Banshees were born in the 1950s and therefore what happened before that is irrelevant when examining society through their lyrics. It could also be argued that having been born during the latter half of the 50s, the key members of the Banshees only became musically and socially aware in the mid-60s, at the earliest.

2.1 Post-war years

After the Second World War, the Labour government started to rebuild Britain's economy. Although there was a slight improvement to the standard of living after the war, there still was a shortage of food and supplies in 1946, leading to the migration of approximately 50,000 people to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Commonwealth, and the United States. The measures to improve economy included transferring economy to public ownership, creating a welfare state, and the establishment of National Health Service. By the end of the 1940s, the housing situation and social welfare, including child allowance and schooling, improved. The unemployment rate was lower than 2 per cent and there were even shortages of labour. (Morgan 1992: 29–32, 38–43).

Despite the economic situation looking fairly good in the late 40s with virtually no unemployment and a seeming national unity, there was a growing dissatisfaction caused by the division between social groups, minimal integration of the non-white population to society, and the poor status of women. The early 50s saw a rise of affluence in Britain under Conservative rule – the sales of consumer goods increased rapidly, food rationing was abolished, people had more leisure time, foreign travel became possible for working class people, and arts and theatre flourished. The number of young, employed people with money and spare time was increasing. Pop and rock music that spoke openly about sexuality and the problems of the youth became increasingly popular among these 'teenagers', who wanted to distance themselves from the strict Victorian society and its values. Not only music, but also the theatre and literature of the mid-1950s started to criticise society. It could be said that these changes marked the end of the 'Old England'. (Morgan 1992: 63, 96, 106–107, 143–144.)

Although Britain sustained its image as one of the world powers, in reality the British Empire began to crumble apart. One by one, Britain had to grant independence to the former colonies of the British Empire and leave the Suez Canal and Egypt. Britain's relationship with the United States was not as close as Britain wanted and the pressure from the United States forced Britain

to raise its defence budget in 1951–1954. Both Britain's economy and Britain's relationship with the United States were further tested by Anglo-French military operations in Egypt in November 1956 (Morgan 1992: 47, 87–88, 128–131, 133, 151–153). In 1957, an unexpected financial crisis blew up, leading to the raising of bank rates and other strong measures, and it became obvious that Britain was spending too much on defence, while trying to keep the high standard of life (Morgan 1992: 171, 173–174). Yet there were only a few protest movements active in the late 1950s and generally the writing about social issues followed the social consensus (Morgan 1992: 175, 184).

2.2 1961–1963 – Financial trouble and new criticism

In 1960, Britain granted independence to Cyprus, and in 1963 to Kenya. During the early 60s Britain also gradually lost its political leadership in Europe. (Morgan 1992: 160, 168.) By 1964, prosperity had reached working class families although unemployment had also started to increase (Morgan 1992: 191). Although the standard of living was growing for many, in 1961 a new era of criticism began in Britain. In addition to playwrights and artists, the criticism was now also voiced by sociologists and new political journals, such as *New Society*, that also had the backing of statistical data coming from the government or international agencies. (Morgan 1992: 197.) Suddenly a satirical attitude towards society became fashionable in television, movies, books, and magazines, resulting in the deterioration of the social balance of the 1950s (Morgan 1992: 198). TV shows revealed that Britain was unequal and that class divisions had been reinforced since the war. The public talked about “the British sickness”, the inability to change and the obsession of clinging to the past when other European countries were re-inventing themselves. (Morgan 1992: 201.) Corruption was also common and, in addition, social criticism made the problems worse by undermining the national self-esteem (Morgan 1992: 202). The 1960s also saw the beginning of a new youth culture with the Beatles' breakthrough in the early 60s. By then, also the queen and the church had become targets of criticism. (Morgan 1992: 208.)

The rapidly growing immigrant population (113 000 immigrants during the first 10 months in 1961) and racism towards the immigrants were also contributing to the problems. There were riots, and racist movements such as the National Front emerged. (Morgan 1992: 203.) From the early 1960s, also Welsh nationalism began to grow, resulting in civil disobedience. In addition, the Scottish were fighting for various causes, such as rising unemployment in Scotland. (Morgan 1992: 206.)

Britain kept struggling with financial troubles through the early 60s. In July 1961, Selwyn Lloyd introduced 'pay pause', a stopping of pay increases of publicly paid employees, which led to a massive protest by teachers, doctors and other professionals (Morgan 1992: 210–211). Domestic demand was held back, but in spite of this, exports did not grow and production kept slowing down (Morgan 1991: 212). In July 1962, after Lloyd was removed from the treasury and replaced by Maudling, the economy started to recover, but this was only temporary. (Morgan 1992: 212–214.) By 1964, lack of competitiveness in exports, the expansionist boom and the loss of overseas assets had resulted in balance of payments problems (Morgan 1992: 214). During the early sixties, also the Anglo-American relationship suffered because the USA and Britain could not agree on what sort of nuclear capabilities Britain should and could have. At the same time, Britain spent huge amounts of money to maintain its troops in West Germany, Kenya and Hong Kong, among other places. This resulted in Britain's defence expenditure growing to almost a tenth of the GNP by 1963. (Morgan 1992: 216–218.) By the time the new Labour government took office in October 1964, the nation was losing its cohesion and sense of shared values, but there were a lot of expectations for the new leader (Morgan 1992: 138).

2.3 1964–1967 – Towards 'permissive society'

During the first years of Wilson's government, sciences, arts such as theatre, music, and opera, and education were thriving, and in 1966, seven new universities were established (Morgan 1992: 240–241). Education was also improved by the invention of the Open University, which began operation in 1971 (Morgan 1992: 241). Other social reforms carried out by the new government during its first years included an increase of pensions and allowances, and new benefits for the less fortunate (Morgan 1992: 241). Despite the fact that such reforms were made, the economic structure was still weak and the government had to battle the balance-of-payments problems during its first years (Morgan 1992: 241–265).

The new government also brought many changes to legislation. The parliament voted out capital punishment in 1965 (Morgan 1992: 260) and hanging as a punishment was abolished in 1966. Flogging was also virtually stopped. (Morgan 1992: 242.) Censorship of arts, such as books and plays became less strict, which allowed more open discussion about, for example, homosexuality. Finally, in 1967, the law was changed to allow private homosexual acts between adults, as well as abortion. (Morgan 1992: 242, 259–260.) Censorship of films had disappeared almost completely by 1968 and the Racial Relations Act of 1965 brought immigrants finally into government service and other professions. (Morgan 1992: 242, 259.)

Although the economy was weak, the sixties saw the beginning of a new mass culture, especially in the form of pop music and football. The rise of the new youth culture was assisted by the success of The Beatles and England winning the football World Cup in a match against West Germany in 1966. (Morgan 1992: 257.) At the same time the British were moving towards a 'permissive' society in which drugs, especially cannabis and from 1965 onwards LSD, became popular among the youth. According to Morgan (1992: 258–259), there were 2782 heroin addicts in Britain in 1968.

Morgan (1992: 260–261) argues, however, that the permissiveness did not draw on the youth culture, but on older ideas of the permissive society. In *People's Peace* (1992: 260–261), Morgan also states that although in the USA and other European countries, such as Germany and France, the youth culture actually tried to make a difference, the British youth was self-absorbed and had a very bourgeois attitude towards employment, money and career. As a result, permissiveness in Britain seemed to be limited to hedonism, materialism and limitless self-expression. Morgan (1992: 258–261) adds that in addition to the increased drug use, permissiveness could be seen in other areas of youth culture as well – young people started experimenting with sex, which led to the ideas of marriage and lifelong partnership being replaced by notions of 'relationship' and 'living together'. Furthermore, attitudes towards homosexuality became more open. The general opinion of the older generations was that the youth was becoming more addictive and violent (Morgan 1992: 258–261). The change in attitudes can also be seen in the 1969 change in divorce laws. However, this change was not the result of the permissiveness of the youth either, but of pressure from middle-class professional women since the 1950s (Morgan 1992: 260).

Morgan argues that the real protesters of this era were the older critics such as J.B. Priestley and Bertrand Russell. Furthermore, Morgan states that the era of permissiveness had no real social implications in Britain. Whereas in other countries flower power and similar movements had some impact on society, the British youth, being apolitical by nature, had no such influence. On the contrary, pop culture widened the gap between the rich and the poor. In Morgan's opinion, the youth was neither an alternative nor an echo of Harold Wilson's Britain. (Morgan 1992: 260–261.)

The latter half of the 60s also marked Labour's downfall. The problems started in July 1966 with the Sterling crisis that eventually led to the devaluation of the pound in November 1967

(Morgan 1992: 262). The six day war between Egypt and Israel and the closure of the Suez Canal in June 1967 further deepened the economic crisis in Britain. Unemployment rose to 2.4 per cent of the working population and the government was forced to cut social security benefits. (Morgan 1992: 274.) The government also introduced a Prices and Incomes Bill that aimed at freezing wages and resulted in Labour and the trade unions drifting apart and Labour losing popularity (Morgan 1992: 255, 261). According to Morgan (1992: 266-267), the Labour government found it increasingly difficult to provide people with the services required of a welfare state, and social services were less and less capable of coping with demographic changes. The incapability of the Labour government to deal with these issues led to increasing poverty among old people and disadvantaged groups, which caused large sections of society to become alienated and ignored. The growing inequality led to both the blacks being disenchanted with social provisions and to increasing racism among white working-class men. (Morgan 1992: 266-267.) Like the rest of the country, Wales and Scotland experienced the effects of the growing unemployment. Mining pit closures, falling price levels of agricultural products, and government resistance to promoting equality for the Welsh language became sources of discontent. (Morgan 1992: 267-268.) During the crisis, Britain received financial assistance from the United States, but was in exchange forced to maintain its troops overseas in areas such as Suez, Malaysia, and Singapore. This in turn hindered Britain's efforts of reducing defence costs (Morgan 1992: 269). The final blow to the Labour government were the strikes in the docks, the record trade deficit in October 1967, and the announcement by President de Gaulle that France rejected Britain's application to join the EEC (Morgan 1992: 274-275).

2.4 1968-1970 – Rising nationalism, student protests and Labour's defeat

The Labour government continued the struggle to avoid devaluation by increasing indirect taxes in 1968, but none of their efforts seemed to have an effect on the balance of payments. There was talk of a new balance-of-payments crisis in the late 1968 and the government even prepared a plan for another devaluation. (Morgan 1992: 280.) The end of the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia gave Britain a chance to withdraw troops from the Middle and Far East, and in January 1968 a decision was made to remove the British troops from Malaysia, Singapore and the Persian Gulf by the end of 1971. Despite the efforts to economise, the defence expenditure remained high. The general notion was that Britain was realising that it was no longer a world power, but it was doing it in a hasty and uncontrolled manner. (Morgan 1992: 282-283.)

The late 60s saw also other disturbing developments in the British society. One of these was the emergence of nativist groups and especially the formation of National Front, a movement formed by several racist and neo-fascist groups in 1967. By the end of the 60s, the economic situation and the frustration had culminated into racial tensions which reflected as violence against immigrants and discrimination in, for instance, housing and employment. The nationalist feeling was also encouraged by speeches made by Enoch Powell, a former Minister of Health turned nationalist. (Morgan 1992: 283–285.) Although Powell was widely resisted by the government and the leftist members of both the Liberal and Labour parties, he received a warm welcome among the people, especially among the working class. To reach racial harmony the government tightened the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1968, resulting in families being split up and refugees from, for example, Uganda being denied entry into Britain. The racial relations were further worsened by increasing unemployment and deteriorating social conditions that affected especially the coloured population. (Morgan 1992: 285–287.)

Morgan (1992: 287–288) points out, however, that racial clashes were not the only source of conflict. The Welsh and Scottish nationalist movements, especially the Welsh Language Society *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*, took direct actions against government offices, television masts, signs with English place names and other symbols of English rule (Morgan 1992: 287–288). In Northern Ireland the oppression of the Catholic minority also led to violent protests and although there was some progress towards equal rights and opportunities, both Catholic and Protestant extremist bodies grew at the same time (Morgan 1992: 291). In August 1969, the government was forced to send the British army to Northern Ireland when the local law enforcement had become powerless against the terrorist acts of the IRA and violent Protestant bodies such as the Ulster Volunteer Force. The British troops became soon viewed as invaders who tried to prevent Ireland from uniting, and the IRA expanded its activities to England. (Morgan 1991: 291–292).

The connecting new factor of the rebellion was youth. In the early sixties, the youth had been relatively apolitical, but in 1968 the relatively well-educated middle class youth started to revolt. This was partly fuelled by the example of other European countries, the US, Asia, and Latin America, but there were also other reasons that caused the youth to revolt, such as dissatisfaction on Wilson's government's inefficiency, anti-Americanism, the death of Che Guevara in 1967, and disapproval of the bombing on Vietnam. The rebellion took the form of anti-Americanism, which culminated in a mass march to the US embassy on Grosvenor Square

in October 1968, organised by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee. The march was promoted by a pop song called 'Streetfighting man', which was banned by the BBC. The march ended in a violent confrontation with the police. (Morgan 1992: 292–294.)

The student protests of the late 60s were the result of a clash between the post-war libertarian generation and the prevailing systems based on conformity and hierarchy. Many of the student uprisings took place in campuses and the issues the students protested against were not always significant social injustices. Compared to the American or European student revolts, the British protests were also mostly imitative and tame. (Morgan 1992: 294–295.) The student revolts succeeded, however, in lowering the support of the Labour party significantly, raising questions about institutions, such as schools and the police, that upheld the values of the British society, and in lowering the age of voting and legal consent from 21 to 18 (Morgan 1992: 296–297). Morgan (1992: 298) attributes the student revolt to the weakening of traditional values such as nuclear family, the sense of neighbourhood, and respect of rules among young people. The problem that arose from these revolts was that the youth had no new values with which to replace the old ones, and the social norms were rejected only for the sake of rebelling against them. The most visible result of this was the speeding up of the acceptance of premarital sex and other forms of relations not related to formal institutions such as marriage. (Morgan 1992: 298.)

The Labour government was finding it increasingly hard to control the strikes, both unofficial and official, and to monitor the trade unions that had become enormously powerful (Morgan 1992: 298–301). The government saw a way out of the situation in a new bill called *In Place of Strife*, which was introduced by Barbara Castle in January 1969 and designed to give the government control over strikes and to enable the government to bring penal sanctions against strikers (Morgan 1992: 298–301). The bill caused wide opposition among trade unionists and even within the Labour party, and eventually it was agreed on 18 June that the TUC would monitor strikes and labour disputes (Morgan 1992: 301–302). In reality this was a defeat for Labour, and after this decision neither the government nor the TUC had any control over strikes (Morgan 1992: 303–304). According to Morgan (1992: 305) this was a further sign that British social cohesion and governability were in question, and the unofficial strikes continued.

Although Britain in the late 60s was still a welfare state with full employment, the country seemed to have lost its way. The government's reform proposals were met with resistance and

were generally not realised. Britain's overseas role was also unclear and there were many embarrassing issues concerning the British overseas policies (Morgan 1992: 305–308). Britain's withdrawal from Suez, as well as restricting the passport rights of Asians from Kenya and Uganda, caused difficulties and Britain's weapons trade with the South African Nationalist Government was a cause of conflicts within the government – in the late 60s, Britain almost sold Buccaneer aircrafts and helicopters to the South African government. As if this was not enough, Britain chose to support the central Nigerian government during the war between Nigeria and Biafra contrary to other European nations such as France and Portugal. Furthermore, Britain's incapability to do anything about Ian Smith's illegal government in Southern Rhodesia decreased Britain's prestige. (Morgan 1992: 308–309).

The end of the 60s was a paranoid time in Britain with talk about plotting against the government and Wilson thinking that the BBC was prejudiced against him. Despite this, the government had regained some of its status by the early months of 1970, and made investments in new technology such as the Concorde and a high-speed train. There were also plans to reform the social security system and changes were made to the educational system to create comprehensive secondary schools and to abolish the 11-plus examination. (Morgan 1992: 311.)

After the economy had finally started to recover, from April to September 1969, for the first time in two years, there was a balance of payments surplus and by the end of 1969 Britain's balance of payments had returned to black (Morgan 1992: 281). In early 1970, Britain was able to pay its debts to the IMF and Bank of International Settlements ahead of schedule. It seemed that Labour's victory in the next election was certain, but perhaps because of the balance of payments deficit reported for May and announced on 16 June, and due to Labour's unenthusiastic campaign, the Tories unexpectedly gathered the majority of votes and Labour went into Opposition. (Morgan 1992: 312–314.). Although the six years of Labour rule brought many social reforms and at least a temporary relief to the economic situation, the period was generally considered one of decline and retreat (Morgan 1992: 281).

2.5 1970–1974 – Conservative rule and increasing violence

During the Conservative term from 1970 to 1974, wages, especially those of manual workers, rose rapidly, but exports were stagnant. Unemployment was rising, economy was in recession, and the government was forced to nationalise prestigious companies, such as Rolls Royce, that were in financial trouble. The inflation of wages increased to 20 per cent by 1971, which led the

government to introduce the Industrial Relations Bill to control unofficial strikes. The bill was very similar to Barbara Castle's *In Place of Strife*, but the government was forced to suspend it in May 1972. (Morgan 1992: 322–325.)

Furthermore, the six-week long coal miners' strike in January 1972 forced the government to make concessions to the miners. These included a raise, more holidays, overtime compensation and better pension arrangements. This was a blow to the Heath government, because it seemed that the Industrial Relations Act had no effect on strikes, and the government had to turn to greater interventionism. In 1972, the government also introduced a three-stage Prices and Incomes Bill, which went fairly well until the third stage in autumn of 1973, when the standstill in wage increases was condemned by the trade unions and especially the miners. (Morgan 1992: 326–327, 329–331.)

If the Labour government had been powerless against the violence in Northern Ireland, the Heath government did not do much better. During the Conservative rule, the situation in Ireland got gradually worse, especially after 'Bloody Sunday' on 30 January 1972, when 13 Catholic civilians were killed in a clash between demonstrators and British troops (Morgan 1992: 332–333). Although the government made some efforts to include Catholics to the local politics and a power-sharing agreement was made between Unionists and Nationalists in late 1973, the objectives concerning the employment and education of Catholics were not met, mainly due to the fact that the majority of skilled jobs were held by Protestants and the general economic situation was getting worse due to the decline of textiles and other industries in the North (Morgan 1992: 334–334).

Their domestic policies failing, the Conservatives could have succeeded at least overseas. As Morgan (1992: 337–339) shows, this was not the case: the Conservative government was unable to solve the conflicts in Rhodesia and South Africa or even warm Britain's relationship with the United States. Britain also resumed arms sales to South Africa despite the troubles within the country. Although Britain upheld the sanctions against Rhodesia, they were breached regularly without any consequences. The most important changes in foreign policies were probably the decision to withdraw the troops from east of Suez in mid-1971 and to make the immigration policy a little more permissive in 1972. Perhaps the greatest success for the Heath government was Britain's entry into the EEC – in October 1971 the parliament accepted Britain's entry, and Britain finally became a member on 1 January, 1973. (Morgan 1992:

337–339.)

Despite Britain's new position as a part of the European community the general sentiment was that Britain was still an outsider. Although the British spent more vacations in Europe than ever with over 7 million trips taken abroad by 1971, and although many aspects of culture such as the popular culture, restaurants, and academics were influenced by the Continental Europe, Europe was still distant to the British, and most of the influences came from the United States. For some, Britain joining Europe even felt like a loss of the Commonwealth. (Morgan 1992: 341–343.)

Although the Heath government seemed increasingly under siege and not really in control of the economy in late 1973, the Conservatives were still considered the stronger candidate in the next general election as Labour was torn by internal disputes and seemed more like a party dwelling in the past than one promising a bright future. However, the situation was rapidly changed by the Yom Kippur War between Israel and Egypt in October 1973, which raised the price of oil four-fold. (Morgan 1992: 346.) According to Morgan (1992: 347), other factors contributing to the downfall of the Conservatives were the continuing trouble in Ireland and the quick deterioration of the relationship between the government and the miners in November after the miners demanded a large wage increase. When the situation did not progress, a three-day week was declared on 13 December. (Morgan 1992: 347).

With the oil prices soaring up and a shortage of coal, the Conservatives had no choice but to call a general election. The election was set to be held on 28 February, a few weeks after the beginning of the national coal miner's strike, which was announced to start on 9 February, 1974. The Conservative campaign did not go well. The public blamed the government for the record trade-deficit reported in February 1974, although the main reason for it was the high crude-oil price. It was also reported in February that Britain had suffered a balance-of-payment deficit of 1.5 billion in 1973. All this was enough to grant Labour victory by a small margin and to return Wilson to Downing Street. (Morgan 1992: 347–351.)

The events of 1973–1974 marked the dissolution of an ethical system and the solidarity of the 40s and 50s – Britain seemed to become more violent and the miners' strikes in 1972 and 1974 suggested a growing mood of confrontation (Morgan 1992: 354–357). Violence and sexual assaults, including domestic violence and rapes, increased, the number of violent crimes being

almost 90,000 in 1974 (Morgan 1992: 355). Morgan suggests that one reason for increased domestic violence was the more aggressive approach taken by the feminist movement in the 70s, which generated social and personal tension within families (Morgan 1992: 355–356). Morgan states, however, that this more aggressive approach copied from the United States had also beneficial effects on sexual discrimination and inspired influential feminist publications, such as Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* (1970). (Morgan 1992: 356.) Throughout the 70s, the general mood of the youth was also still that of the 'permissive age' (Morgan 1992: 355).

2.6 1974–1976 – Financial crisis and increasing polarisation

To avoid crisis with the labour unions, the new Labour government made its priority to set aside the Industrial Relations Act and to abolish Pay Board, but during the seven months of the first Labour government selected in 1974 there were no major decisions made concerning Europe, Ireland or devaluation. The government continued to fight the inflation by freezing private and council rents, raising taxes and by foreign borrowing. (Morgan 1992: 359–360.)

In October 1974, a new general election was held, in which Labour won by a narrow majority, after which the Wilson Government concentrated more on staying in power than on innovation. Despite Labour's cautious policy, there were some improvements in Britain's foreign relations. The Anglo-American relationship, for example, improved when Foreign Secretary Callaghan formed a good relationship with Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of State. (Morgan 1992: 361–362.) The government wanted to renegotiate the terms of joining the EEC, and the public opinion had already started shifting towards acceptance of Europe. The government declared that Britain's membership was to be decided by a referendum and provided £125,000 to fund both pro- and anti-market campaigns. In the referendum held in 1975, a majority voted for Britain staying in the EEC, but despite this, the Labour government and the Labour party remained opposed to the EEC and joining the European monetary system in the years to come. (Morgan 1992: 364, 367.)

One of Labour's initiatives to maintain its support, especially in Wales and Scotland, was the devolution of Wales and Scotland. After much debate, a bill for devolution of Wales and Scotland passed the second reading in December 1976, but the issue of devolution was not very realistic at the time, and thus raised little interest outside Scotland. Eventually the devolution plan was forgotten. However, the debate created further division and frustration within the

United Kingdom during the later 1970s. (Morgan 1992: 368–371.)

A more serious problem was presented by Northern Ireland which threatened both the political and social stability of the nation. The Labour government showed interest in resolving the situation in Ireland, but the government's statements of how this would be carried out and what the role of the British troops would be were contradictory. As a conciliatory action, the government ended the so-called 'Diplock courts', but the new approach taken by the government angered the militant Protestants in particular. The tension in Northern Ireland began to grow, and when the Ulster Defence Association was founded, it was clear that by no means did the whole Protestant population support the idea of sharing power with the Catholics. On 15 May 1974, the Ulster Workers' Council organised a strike which brought Ulster's economy down. This caused the attempts to bring unity to the Ulster area to fail and made Northern Ireland ungovernable. Six months after it was signed, the Sunningdale agreement had become history. The government called for a Constitutional Convention, where local politicians could agree on the future of Ireland, but the IRA answered to this by extending its attacks on British mainland, and battles also spread to West Belfast. (Morgan 1992: 372–373.)

The violence in Belfast ghettos kept getting worse through 1976 until Northern Ireland was considered a military rather than political problem, and as the IRA's actions got tougher, so did those of the security force. The Ulster problem also affected Britain's foreign relations with the United States and with the International Court of Human Rights, which condemned many of the actions taken by the British troops in Northern Ireland. Although the violence felt distant for most British living outside Northern Ireland, it also generated a feeling of threat, unease, helplessness and failure, which were the prevailing feelings of the nation in the 70s. (Morgan 1992: 374–375.)

In 16 March 1976, Harold Wilson resigned and was followed by James Callaghan. Wilson's resignation was preceded by Britain sliding into financial trouble. Rapidly increasing wages and inflation of over 20 per cent forced the government to raise taxes by £1.25 billion and cut public spending by over a billion in the April 1975 budget. The efforts to fight inflation were further helped by the trade unions agreeing to a wage-restraint policy in September 1976. The final blow came in the form of a strike of the National Union of Seamen that plunged the economy into crisis, leaving the government only with the option to take a three million dollar loan from the International Monetary Fund. In addition, the Chancellor of Exchequer Denis

Healey announced that in 1977–78 there would be a cut of one billion pounds to public expenditure and a further cut of £1.5 billion in 1978–1979. With these actions the government managed to stabilise the economy and there was no need to reduce social-security benefits or housing benefits. (Morgan 1992: 381–384.) Bernard Donoughue later wrote of this period that the doctrines of Thatcherism were first launched by Callaghan, the Bank, the Treasury, the IMF and the US treasury in the late 1976 (Morgan 1992: 385).

Towards the end of the 70s, the number of radical and militant movements among trade unions increased, and movements such as militant women's and feminist movements became more active and took over Labour's constituency parties that were seen as corrupt, decaying and chauvinist. Due to the ideological nature of the new members, Labour was moving towards far left at the grass-roots level. (Morgan 1992: 388–389.) At the same time the Conservatives started to move to the extreme right – a change that was expressed by, for example, Sir Keith Joseph in his speeches, in which he asked for immigrant restriction, restraining the birth rate, and even sterilization, of the poorest classes, as well as preventing interracial relationships. After Margaret Thatcher took over the Conservative Party in February 1976, the party started moving to a more radical direction, supporting monetarism, tax cuts and denationalisation, although Thatcher stated that she tries to distance herself from the strict ideologists such as Sir Keith Joseph. (Morgan 1992: 391–392.)

The drifting of the two major parties to different extremes tore the nation apart (Morgan 1992: 393). Morgan (1992: 394–395) points out, however, that in 1974–76 the population was increasing, house ownership rose, and agriculture was thriving. There were plenty of festivals, theatre, opera and music, but still many theatres were in financial trouble and arts were suffering from the economic constraints and the value added tax imposed on theatre takings. Despite this, other arts, including the film industry, started recovering. (Morgan 1992: 394–395.)

Morgan (1992: 394–395) explains that the increased yield in agriculture was mainly made possible by new mass-production techniques and the fact that more chemicals and fertilizers were used in farming than before. Both the new farming methods and the rapid growth of cities, especially in East Anglia, gave birth to numerous protest movements. These movements were concerned about environmental matters, but also about towns and rural areas merging into one urban area. This was not only an indicator of the fast development, but also the growing

articulateness of the middle class. (Morgan 1992: 394–395.)

Despite the economic situation, the quality of life was advancing, especially in southern and eastern parts of the country. Nevertheless, at the end of 1976, after the IMF crises, the answer to social progress and cohesion no longer seemed to be in the hands of the state. Discontent was not, however, visible and did not come out as riots. The change came from within and took the form of populism, a revolt against ‘national efficiency’ and technocracy of the post-war era. (Morgan 1992: 395–396.)

2.7 1977–1979 – The last years of Labour

During the early months of 1977 there was modest economic recovery, but unemployment kept rising until it was 1.5 million in mid-1977. By the end of 1978, there were nine oil fields producing oil in the North Sea and Britain was becoming self-sufficient. In addition, North Sea gas and new nuclear power plants secured the British energy position. By the mid-1978 there had already been a notable recovery, with inflation decreasing from the 25 per cent in mid-1975 to 7 per cent and a balance-of-payments surplus of £1,000 million. (Morgan 1992: 399, 401–403.)

In 1977–1978, Britain opposed all relations with South Africa and established the Gleneagles Agreement that was designed to oppose Apartheid. The situation in Rhodesia (still ruled by the Ian Smith government) was also still unresolved. However, on 24 September 1976, as a result of the pressure from South Africa and the guerrillas fighting against Smith’s regime, Smith announced that in two years there would be a majority rule in Rhodesia, and in April 1979 Bishop Mozirewa became Prime Minister. (Morgan 1992: 407.)

Although Britain participated in the negotiations in Southern Africa, in the end the solution was not brought by Britain’s efforts. It also seemed that Britain was leaving its other colonies, such as Gibraltar and Hong Kong, on their own. In Falklands Britain, however, still managed to show its imperial power by stopping the Argentine military junta. The situation in Northern Ireland was also in deadlock. Although in 1978 the number of casualties was the lowest since 1970, the situation was maintained by the use of military power and by taking tough legal measures. Finally, in early 1979, a new wave of violence broke out, and by the end of the

decade Ulster had become violent and isolated from mainstream British social development. (Morgan 1992: 407–409.)

Even though the Scottish and Welsh devolution bills became laws in 1978, it also became apparent that the devolution of Wales and Scotland was not going to take place. There was a referendum on the issue in both Wales and Scotland, but in both areas the opponents of devolution were more numerous. One reason for the low interest in voting on the matter was the so-called winter of discontent, the winter 1978–79, during which the social stability and economic recovery built during Callaghan's premiership were lost and 1.5 million public sector employees went on strike. (Morgan 1992: 411, 717, Savage 1991: 540.)

In the late 1978, the middle class began to fight against the strict government control and started an aggressive campaign for privatization. In September, Ford workers rejected the government-proposed 5 per cent wage increase and demanded a raise of £20 a week; the Transport and General Workers Union agreed on a 17 per cent wage increase. The workers returned to factories, but this sent other workers the message that the government was not going to follow the 5 per cent guideline, setting to motion a chain of strikes and claims for higher wages. The strikes continued until March 1979 and brought pay rises to firemen, bakers and heating and ventilation engineers, lorry drivers and public service workers, among others. As the result of the strikes, the whole nation was shut down, rubbish was piling up on streets and schools were being closed because the caretakers were absent. In a general election held in May 1979 after a no confidence vote by the House of Commons, Labour finally lost to the Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher. (Morgan 1992: 418–421.)

The 1960's had been a time of hope in a sense that although the country was doing badly, the British had thought that they were doing well personally. By the 1970s, however, both private and public expectations were declining and national self-esteem was low, and by the end of the 70s, the national unity of the post-war years was gone. Yet, a poll commissioned by the EEC in 1977 revealed that the British were generally happy about living in Britain. (Morgan 1992: 433.)

Despite the general mood, the 1970s brought also positive progress: the arts flourished and British higher education was considered very good, even on international standards. The general belief was that the welfare society was not dead, that there were better opportunities for people regardless of class and race, and that women's position in education and working life had improved during the 70s as a result of both social advance and the feminist movement. In addition, redistribution of taxes increased the income of the poorest part of the population and the number of home-owners rose to 52.8 per cent by the end of 1975. From the initiative of Barbara Castle, a pension reform was introduced in 1978, which ensured earnings-related pension to approximately 12 million people not covered by other pension schemes. (Morgan 1992: 423–425.)

Yet there was a downside to all this. The wealth and the benefits of the earnings-related pension were concentrated in south-east England, especially in the Greater London area (Morgan 1992: 425) and the new pension system, free health service, and the growth of larger secondary schools benefited mostly the white middle-class. By the end of the decade, it had also become apparent that the welfare state had not been able to narrow the gap between the classes or keep the pensions and benefits on a par with inflation and was therefore not serving the particular groups in need. The number of one-parent families and divorces increased, and replacing child allowances with child benefits in 1975 meant that those not able to support themselves became more dependent on government support. Although the purchasing power of people had increased, unemployment and relative poverty rose throughout the 70s. These developments affected the black families in particular. (Morgan 1992: 426.) There had been a shift away from working in industrial professions and an increasing number of people worked on other fields, such as tourism. Public expenditure grew throughout the 70s, but money was not invested in public sector, which caused the condition of telephone lines, highways and cities to deteriorate. (Morgan 1992: 429.)

Demographically the population was aging and, partly due to the new career opportunities and the growing sense of independence among working women, the birth rate was decreasing. This was compensated by the growing numbers of the non-white population, who also started having a growing impact on society, especially in sports and the entertainment industry, although the majority of the white population saw this as an undesirable development. (Morgan 1992: 431.)

2.8 Late 1979

The change from Labour rule to the Thatcher government meant replacing the so-called 'dependency culture' by free enterprise and competitiveness. From the beginning of Thatcher's premiership, the roots of Thatcherism lay in monetarism and trying to fight inflation instead of unemployment, and in acquisition instead of production, with a goal of creating a business culture. The new budget, introduced by Thatcher's government in June 1979, included cutting income tax and raising the value added tax. This budget led to rising unemployment, inflation and a decrease in GDP in 1979–1981. (Morgan 1992: 437, 441–443, 445–446.)

The result of the Thatcher government was mass unemployment in large areas of Britain – in the black ghettos of Merseyside and Tyneside there was almost complete deindustrialization. Still, in the early 80s, a large part of the community (blacks in the urban ghettos, young unemployed in the North and many in Scotland) remained passive. Cultural life was vigorous and sculpture revived, but the new generation of authors and playwrights was not politically active and concentrated more on introspective analysis, although there were a few intellectuals and critics who resisted the competitiveness promoted by the Thatcher government. Despite the general passiveness of the public, things were about to change. The growing unemployment made the integration of the immigrants to society difficult, and the alienation from the police, the government, and the social structure left the situation prone to a racial explosion. Finally in the summer of 1981, violence broke out in the black ghetto areas. Furthermore, the negative social and economic aspects were not limited to ghetto areas, but had also been impacting Northern Ireland since 1979. The living standards had improved in Britain, but the quality of life had degenerated and violence had increased. (Morgan 1992: 439, 457, 466–467).

Britain was losing its position as a world power in 1970–1980, but the polls show that the public thought that it was a time of content. By the end of the 70s, the conflicts in Britain's colonies were also over and new conflicts were not to be expected. For ordinary citizens, it was also a time of prosperity. Yet, according to surveys, most people also thought that the fortunes of the country were bad and getting worse. (Morgan 1992: 508–511.) The government seemed to have lost control of the economy as well as the situation in Ireland, and the gap between the wealthy and the poor, north and south, and the employed and the unemployed, was widening. Although the dress and speech of young people in particular indicated that society had become more

classless, the divide between different groups still existed (Morgan 1992: 514–515). Women’s position was one clear indicator of this: although women’s rights and possibilities had improved during the 70s, even in the late 80s a large portion of women were still working in low positions as part-timers in non-permanent jobs (Morgan 1992: 515). Hebdige (1988: 27) points out that also among sub-cultures there was a shift in women’s position. He states that in sub-cultures, especially among the working class, girls and women have been usually silenced or presented as accessories while the focus has been on men. In the late 1970s Punk movement, girls started to play with the traditional iconography related to ‘fallen’ women and entering the spotlight, but refusing to become subjects to the male gaze.

Morgan’s opinion (1992: 467) of the first four years of Thatcherism is that it resulted in “an intensification of social division and varied economic expectations in different parts of Britain”. This was the social setting that gave birth to Punk Rock, a musical movement that, despite fading after only a few years, had a lasting impact on rock music.

3. FROM EARLY PUNK ROCK TO THE BANSHEES

3.1 The rise and fall of Punk Rock

In this section I will briefly go through the history of punk rock from its birth in America to the first British punk bands and the evolution of punk in Britain into Post-Punk, new wave and other subgenres. It is, of course, as impossible to state the exact time of birth for Punk as it is for any other style of music, but at least it is possible to discuss the various factors that influenced its birth. According to Spicer (2006: 6), punk ideology borrowed from the Dadaists, Pop Art and the Situationists. Spicer argues that Punk shared the anti-art and anti-bourgeoisie ideology with Dadaism, and the intention of breaking down the barrier between art and everyday life with Pop Art. The most important influence, however, was that of the Situationists, an international radical group of anti-capitalist artists, political activists and philosophers, formed in the late 1950s. The Situationists criticised capitalism by creating interventions called *situations* in cities. The aim of these interventions was to make people ‘experience’ their lives instead of being mere passive consumers. Bringing art and life closer to each other was also a part of the Situationist ideology. (Spicer 2006: 6.) The credit for inventing the term Punk Rock is nowadays given to Dave Marsh, who claims to have first used it to describe the music of ? & The Mysterians in the Detroit-based rock magazine Creem, one of the most influential rock magazines at the time (Blake 2006: 14).

In the UK, Malcolm McLaren, fashion designer Vivienne Westwood and artist Jamie Reid were the people in the heart of the punk movement, or at least in the heart of the visual side of it. They were all well-versed in the Situationist concepts and knew how to apply them in the surrounding world. (Spicer 2006: 6.) McLaren and Westwood opened their first fashion shop, *Let It Rock*, in Chelsea's King's Road in 1971, selling Teddy Boy clothing – clothing partly inspired by the styles worn in the Edwardian period (Larkin 1992: 172). Jamie Reid was responsible for the cut'n'paste artwork of the Sex Pistols albums, which is still imitated in Punk Rock album covers, punk fanzines and other Punk-related publications. Reid's work was the perfect embodiment of Punk's DIY ideology in that he created the artwork with practically no money by cutting up newspapers. (Blake 2006: 162).

It wasn't only the gloomy outlook for the future that made the youth interested in the rebellious force of Punk. Another factor contributing to Punk Rock's fascination was that it was straightforward, raw, and the youth could identify themselves with it. By the latter half of the seventies, major bands like Led Zeppelin, The Rolling Stones and Queen had become distant giants, and their music almost a parody of their former achievements. As if this was not enough, also Disco and Adult Oriented Rock, a new style of soft rock that had emerged in the early 70s, had deteriorated the credibility of rock as a part of youth culture. (Spicer 2006: 6.) In other words, music and especially rock music had become the kind of capitalist spectacle that the Situationists had been opposed to.

Even though there were several so-called Proto-Punk bands, such as The Kinks, whose music could be considered an early version of Punk Rock, the one band that is thought to have had the greatest impact on Punk, at least in terms of attitude, was The Velvet Underground. Formed by Lou Reed and John Cale in New York in 1965, The Velvet Underground did not make Punk music, but their attitude and their experimental, at times brutal, sound inspired the first generation of Punk rockers years after the band itself had split up (Spicer 2006: 10–11, 339). Although not all of their songs were eardrum-tearing terror, they also had songs like *Heroin* from their first album *The Velvet Underground and Nico*, released in 1967 and *Sister Ray* from the critically acclaimed *White Light/White Heat* (1968) that climax with a squalling wall of noise. After John Cale's departure in 1968, The Velvet Underground took a softer approach to their music, but the first two albums were enough to set the mood for the rock'n'roll of the next decade. (Spicer 2006: 340).

One of those influenced by The Velvet Underground was James Newell Osterberg, now better known as Iggy Pop. Being impressed by the stage antics of Jim Morrison and the music of The Velvet Underground he formed The Stooges (first called the Psychedelic Stooges) in Detroit in 1967. (Larkin 1992: 143, Spicer 2006: 307.) In an interview by Dorothy Sherman, Pop said that he wanted to “do something as different as possible from anything going on at the time” (as quoted by Nielsen and Sherman 1988: 10). The Stooges got a record deal in 1968, largely because of the recommendations by another Ann Arbor / Detroit band MC5, named after the motor city. By 1974, the Stooges had decided to quit, partly because they had grown tired of touring without much success, partly because of their increasing problems with drugs. (Nielsen and Sherman 1988: 19, 72–73.) Although The Stooges failed to attract large audiences, they managed to impress enough young people who were in a band or who started a band because they wanted to ‘find their own Iggy’. These people included members of punk bands The Clash, The Damned and Generation X, Ian Curtis of Joy Division, and members of the Sex Pistols. (Trynka 2007: 7).

In 1971, a group called New York Dolls emerged in New York (Spicer 2006: 212). The Dolls were not particularly good musicians, and although their debut album was a critical success, the two albums they released failed commercially (Spicer 2006: 212–213). The band mixed an androgynous stage show with simple and powerful rock songs, and despite their musical shortcomings they achieved two things. Firstly, their dirty street rock appealed to yet another generation of young musicians, who would later front the Punk Rock movement. Among them was Mick Jones of The Clash, who said that he “really went for it after seeing Johnny Thunders [of New York Dolls]” (Robb 2006: 76, Spicer 2006: 212). Secondly, their attitude, energy and looks made an impression on Malcolm McLaren, who was so excited about the band that he followed the Dolls on their tour for a while. McLaren soon changed the whole catalogue of his store, abandoned his Teddy Boy clientele and began to sell black fetish clothes, the same kind that New York Dolls wore (Antonia 1997, Blake 2006: 80, Savage 1991: 87–88).

By 1974, the story of New York Dolls was practically over, but there was already a wave of new groups rising from the US. These groups included Ramones, the Patti Smith Group and Television. The Ramones started to attract the attention of the music press through their live shows, which often took place at a New York club called CBGB, and finally signed a record deal with Sire Records in 1975. They released their self-titled debut album in 1976 and played their first shows in England the same year. (Melnick and Meyer 2003: 62, Spicer 2006: 258).

Although many of the bands that would be fronting the Punk Rock movement in England had already been formed by that time, members of most of the bands came to see the Ramones when they performed in England. Captain Sensible of The Damned commented the concerts later: “When the Ramones came over – that was a bit of revelation. Everyone sped up after that Dingwall’s gig” (Robb 2006: 200–201).

Perhaps the most iconic of the 70s punk bands was the Sex Pistols. Although their career lasted only three years (not including their recent comebacks) and despite the fact that they released only one album, *Never Mind The Bollocks Here’s the Sex Pistols*, and a handful of singles, the Sex Pistols are undoubtedly the most influential Punk band of the era. They started out as Swankers (and later The Strand) in 1972, with the line-up of Steve Jones, Paul Cook and Warwick Nightingale. Contrary to common belief, Malcolm McLaren did not create the band out of nothing. Blake (2006: 26) points out that it was actually guitarist Steve Jones who talked McLaren into managing the band, although McLaren had a great influence on the band’s line-up, music and image after he had taken over.

First McLaren fired Nightingale and replaced him with Glen Matlock, who had been working part-time in McLaren’s shop. After trying to find a suitable singer for the band with no success, McLaren asked John Lydon (later named Johnny Rotten by Steve Jones) to join the band, because McLaren thought Lydon’s style was perfect for the band. (Blake 2006: 26). The Sex Pistols played their first concert in 1975, and despite being not very proficient as musicians, they attracted a small group of devout followers (Spicer 2006: 281-282). They finally made their breakthrough after playing at a Punk festival organized by McLaren and Ron Watts at the 100 Club in London. The event got wide press coverage and the Pistols were signed to EMI. The media coverage of the 100 Club Punk Festival also helped to turn Punk Rock from an underground cult movement to a real movement acknowledged by the mainstream. In November 1976, the Sex Pistols released their first single *Anarchy in the U.K.* They also appeared in an early evening TV show hosted by Bill Grundy. The unfortunate event ended in Steve Jones calling Grundy a “fucking rotter” and other names and Bill Grundy muttering “Oh Shit” to himself off the microphone.¹ Bill Grundy was temporarily suspended from television and the Sex Pistols had become a household name. It is also notable that among the entourage

¹ See Full Bill Grundy with the Sex Pistols and Siouxsie Interview, 1 December 1976. Youtube [Online] <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SvN1BWD2a5k>

of the Pistols on this show were the future Banshees Steve Severin and Siouxsie Sioux. (Spicer 2006: 29, 281, Blake 2006: 32.)

In February 1977, Matlock left the band and was replaced by John Simon Ritchie (Sid Vicious). This was a great loss for the band because Matlock had been responsible for much of the songwriting and Ritchie could not play bass at all. Parting ways with Matlock did not, however, stop the band from finishing their only album, which was released in October. It helped that many of the songs had already been released as singles. With Vicious' worsening drug addiction making him useless and the tension between the other members getting intolerable, the band split after their concert in San Francisco on January 14, 1978. Despite having only released a handful of original songs, the Sex Pistols had without doubt a huge influence on the next generation of musicians – members of their fan group the Bromley Contingent alone included future musicians such as Billy Idol, and Siouxsie and Steve Severin of the Banshees. Garnett (1999: 21–23) goes as far as to say that the Pistols (up until 1978) and the phenomenon that was born around them were the epitome of Punk – they were a negation of pop that became big enough to have an impact on the mass culture, and they took their critique of pop industry and the refusal of pop culture industry to such extent that they made the other 'critical' artists and activists from Frank Zappa to Patti Smith seem tame and pretentious.

Punk emerged from both frustration and anger towards politicians and the music industry, and from the so-called 'politics of boredom' as a form of self-expression for the young. In Britain, the unemployed youth had nothing to look forward to and the music charts were topped by compilation albums and songs from the 1960s. There was an atmosphere of violence that was intensified by the heat wave of 1976 (Savage 1991: 191, 240). In the mid-70s, the US was still in suffering from the shock caused by the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War and these events created both resentment towards the government, and a feeling of a change that was coming (Spicer 2006: 3, Savage 1991: 130–131). One thing Punk Rock shared in both countries was the resentment of the status quo in popular music (Laing 1985: 14).

Punk Rock and the Punk movement have been subject to a lot of study, the first studies originating from the late 70s. Most of these studies have, however, concentrated on the Punk style and fashion (e.g. Hebdige 1979) as well as on the body, and on what the members of the subculture want to express through their clothing, behaviour and body modification. Some attention has also been paid to other aspects of Punk, such as Punk art, record covers, fan zines,

etc. (for example Savage 1991) and photographs of Punk subculture (Hebdige 1988) but also these have been sociological and historical in nature, while much of the other literature on Punk relies on interviews. Laing (1985) takes a semiological approach to the power of Punk Rock in one of the few attempts to analyse the power and meaning in Punk Rock by analysing how Punk Rock lyrics differ from other popular music of the same era, how Punk Rock generated meanings, what these meanings were and how they were consumed by the audience. Laing also analyses other aspects of Punk that contributed to establishing the discursive formation of Punk Rock, from clothing to stage performances.

Although it has become almost 'common knowledge' that Punk was first and foremost a fashion movement, it was not totally apolitical. Sabin (1999: 4–5) argues that although the birth of Punk is usually credited to Situationism and people like Malcolm McLaren and Vivienne Westwood (although they undoubtedly had an influence on the Punk movement), Punk was not only about fashion and music; it was also a cultural and political movement that influenced other movements such as anarchism, green radicalism and even neo-fascism. Reid (as quoted by Sabin 1999: 23) mentions that he saw the Sex Pistols' album art as a vehicle of communicating the leftist ideas he had formulated in the 60s and 70s to people whom the left-wing politics of the day could not reach. Savage (1991: 163–164) also suggests that almost as a rule American pop products underwent a transformation when they crossed the Atlantic, assimilating the old social structures and becoming a means to construct social identity and manifest your social group. Laing (1985: 115, 126, 130–131), however, proposes that Punk was never really politically 'spontaneous' and that its political stances would be often open for both left-wing and right-wing interpretations.

Like most writers, Savage (1991: 30–36) tracks the roots of Punk Rock to the situationists, but notes that they failed to bridge the gap between pop culture and revolutionary theory, mostly because the Anglo-American music industry and the dream of 'youth culture' were too powerful to overthrow. As a result of the economic decline that started in 1966, the post-war consensus started to deteriorate and Britain started moving back from libertarian society to authoritarianism (Savage 1991: 43) with the appearance of violent extremist groups such as the Angry Brigade, and the growing polarization of society into extreme left and right. Savage (1991: 77) suggests that the collapsing economy, rise of oil price, the miners' strike of 1974 and the feeling that the consumer ideal was over also affected the mood of the pop music in the following years, and by the mid-70s the rebellious youth were seen as problems, not consumers.

Despite the claimed situationist origin, there was no coherent ideology behind punk. The Sex Pistols, The Fall and the Banshees, for example, represented the nihilistic ‘no future’ style of punk, while The Clash were more radical and politically active. (Spicer 2006: 5.) For many, Punk was a just way to fight boredom by any means possible, including drug abuse. In the heyday of the first wave of Punk, during the record hot summer of 1976, the substance of choice for many, especially within the group gathered around the Sex Pistols, was amphetamine sulphate that rapidly became popular in the UK in 1975 (Savage 1991: 185, 192). One of the core ideas of this group was the rejection of all beliefs and values (Savage 1991: 195). Lawley (1999: 101), however, suggests that although the members of the Punk movement expressed their resentment towards ‘hippies’, Punk’s questioning of authorities and mistrust of the establishment actually derived from the 1960s’ counter-culture.

By early 1977, as the government was struggling to stay in power and Punk Rockers could be seen in every major city, it started to seem as the political and social order were breaking up. The scapegoating of the youth had given the Punk movement even more momentum by reinforcing their assumed role as outsiders. At the same time, the new movement started to seem intimidating to the parts of society who wanted to maintain status quo. (Savage 1991: 323.) The Sex Pistols’ single *God Save the Queen*, released a week before the Queen’s Jubilee in June, reasserted these fears. The single that called the government a “fascist regime” (Savage 1991: 348) was a direct attack towards the current state of things and put into words the feelings of others who thought that the country could not continue on the path it was on. This escalated to the point where the national newspapers accused the Sex Pistols of leading a conspiracy against the English way of life (Savage 1991: 365).

British society was changing, however, and Punk Rock was not immune to these changes. With the rise in popularity of the National Front and the Conservative party, racist rhetoric was becoming more acceptable and the fear of fascism became once more a reality (Savage 1991: 480). Fascist symbols were regaining their old meaning and the Punks who didn’t want to become associated with these ideas had to react and abandon these symbols. The Banshees’ song *Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)* from 1978, for example, is a reaction to the popularity of the National Front and an attempt to control the damage done to the reputation of the band by their earlier flirtation with Swastikas and other Nazi symbols (Savage 1991: 485).

Laing has drawn an interesting comparison between the subject-matters of the lyrics of the 50

best-selling singles and the first five popular Punk bands in the UK in 1976. This comparison shows that while the two most popular themes in pop music were *Romantic and sexual relationships* and *Music and dancing*, the most popular themes in Punk Rock songs were *First person feelings* and *Political and social comment* (Laing 1985: 27). Although this is not a very comprehensive comparison, it shows that Punk Rock was much more concerned with social issues than the average pop groups. It's also notable that, according to Laing (1985: 28), only a few of the Top 50 songs fit the category of *first person feelings*, lyrics that focus on "the singer's own emotions or situation". On the other hand, the percentage of songs where the topic is a second or third person is approximately the same in Punk songs and the top 50 singles.

It has become a popular thing to say that Punk Rock died after it became commercial and that its era ended with the Sex Pistols – or that if Punk did not die with the Pistols, it was finally dragged to its grave by the Pistols' bassist Sid Vicious when he switched his instrument to a harp in 1979. In a recent interview, Chrissie Hynde of The Pretenders said of the Sex Pistols that "... musicianship killed off punk. Because as soon as they learned how to play, they couldn't play punk anymore" (Robb 2006: 149). It would be tempting to agree with Hynde, but as Sabin (1999: 4) points out, Punk Rock did not really 'die'. After going overground, becoming commercialized and losing its energy in the late 70s, Punk went back underground and evolved into different genres, such as Oi!, anarcho-punk and the neo-fascist punk movement (Sabin 1999: 4).

Laing (1985: 131) has analysed the way Punk operated and divided into different genres after the first wave of Punk ended in the 1970s. Laing recognizes two ways in which Punk Rock either constructs or dissolves identity. Laing (ibid.) parallels these with Barthes' terms *plaisir* 'pleasure' and *jouissance* 'bliss', a text of pleasure being a "text that contents, fills, grants euphoria; the text that comes from culture and does not break with it" while a text of bliss "unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions". According to Laing (1985: 131), the social-realist branch of Post-Punk had to stay in the realm of *text of pleasure*, because in order for the song of opposition to have maximum impact, the oppressed and the oppressor had to be presented in the same discourse and they had to be identifiable. Laing suggests that this was the reason for the eventual dilution of Punk Rock – over time the semiotic meanings of Punk Rock became symbolic and were assimilated into established discourses. Laing concludes that in the Punk Rock genre, the avant-gardist branch of Post-Punk (which

Siouxsie and the Banshees represent) became to represent *jouissance*, the site where structures of meaning as well as systems of ideology are challenged.

It should also be kept in mind that Punk was an international movement that was not limited to the United States and Great Britain, and that the birth of the Punk movement cannot be attributed solely to the bands or people mentioned in this short section. There were many other influential artists, but the ones highlighted here were chosen because they were central to the British Punk Rock movement and the Post-Punk scene following it. There are also some problems with accounts of Punk Rock's musical and other influences such as the one above. Firstly, there is the risk of generalisation and oversimplification; although the above list of artists is considered to be the 'official canon' of Punk Rock, there are many other artists that cannot be listed here simply because of the scope of this study, and there are also differing opinions about which artists really had an impact on Punk Rock. Secondly, the fact is that although a few key people were aware of the Situationist movement, the majority of the teenagers and young adults participating in the Punk movement had never heard of Situationists, and therefore it is debatable whether the situationist ideas really had a significant impact on how Punk Rock developed.

Without analysing the evolution of Punk Rock too deeply, it seems that there is a pattern in how rock music evolved into Punk Rock and how Punk turned into something new. Joey Ramone said of the Ramones and rock music: "We're really just one link in the chain. I always thought it was cool to see how it went from generation to generation, like those family tree things" (Robb 2006: 57). A part of the pattern was also that the careers of many of the most influential bands were short, and even fewer of those bands ever made it big. Malcolm McLaren has said that it is better to be a magnificent failure than a mediocre success, because failures are more interesting than mediocrities and launch real changes in society (Siebertz 2006). Although it sounds like one of McLaren's patent slogans, when looking back at the history of Punk Rock, it does not sound so far-fetched after all. McLaren himself certainly seemed to live by this code: in 1969 he organized a festival at Goldsmiths (Savage 1991: 39) which was a disaster. Hardly any of the bands he had booked turned out and the result was a small-scale riot, but he still considered it a success – reality didn't matter as long as you made an impression (Savage 1991: 39). One way to interpret McLaren's statement is that the most important thing is that you must not let the fear of failure stop you from trying – taking risks mean that you either fail or succeed fabulously, but either way you are going to be remembered.

This outrageousness and indifference towards the norms was also a major part of the success of the Sex Pistols and it can be said to have played part in the story of Siouxsie and the Banshees as well. The Banshees' first performance was a failure and the swastikas and bondage clothing they wore brought them more negative than positive attention, but in the end it all worked in their favour. Savage (1991: 140) also points out that from the beginning, failure was at the heart of Punk: "to succeed in conventional terms meant that you had failed on your own terms; to fail meant that you had succeeded." If you want to take the idea even further, you could say that failure to meet the standards of society can spark off debate, change the way people think and thus cause changes in society.

3.2 Post-Punk and Gothic Rock

By the summer of 1977, Punk had started losing its credibility. Many former members of the Punk movement, as well as those who were just putting together their first bands, started looking for fresh ways to make music. Some wanted to keep Punk music raw and unpretentious, taking it into new directions such as Hardcore, while others tried to complete the musical revolution that was started by Punk through experimentation and combining different styles of music. (Reynolds 2005: 1.) The latter movement became later known as Post-Punk, although the term, as pointed out by Thompson (2002: 27) actually comprises various genres that emerged after Punk Rock, from the electronic sounds of Kraftwerk to the grinding rock of Pere Ubu. Generally those longing for the unpretentious Punk were working class, while many members of the Post-Punk movements were middle-class bohemians and art school students.

One of the reasons why Punk failed was that it could not accomplish what it set out to do. The Punk movement had promised to tear down the old power structures and give people creative freedom. However, as Punk bands were signed by major record labels that they were supposed to fight against, they got sucked into the system and, in the end the commercial success of Punk actually gave the record industry a much needed boost. The change finally came with Post-Punk in the form of independent record labels and concert promoters that challenged the old giants, giving artists the freedom Punk had failed to deliver (Thompson 2002: 45–46). While Punk Rock's unity did not last beyond the life of the movement, Punk's do-it-yourself mentality and the belief in the power of music to change things remained in the stylistically scattered Post-Punk era (Reynolds 2005: 21).

Even though experimentation and freedom of expression were the basis of the Punk ideology, Punk Rock had not evolved musically from the basic three chord rock. That was also one of the factors that eventually turned many Punk musicians, as well as those aspiring to be in a band, away from Punk and led them to seek something else. Even John Lydon had gotten tired of Punk by the time the Sex Pistols broke up. Reynolds notes that in July 1977, before the story of the Sex Pistols was over, Lydon talked on a London's Capital Radio show about his disappointment in Punk Rock's predictability. At the same radio show he played some of his favourite albums, which surprisingly did not include Punk albums, but consisted of music from progressive rock to reggae. After the Pistols broke up, he quickly formed a new band *Public Image Ltd*, which he announced to be "anti music of any kind". (Reynolds 2005: 15–16, 19.) Peter Murphy, the singer of Bauhaus, one of the most prominent Post-Punk bands of the late 70s, also said that although Punk served a purpose, he felt that it was missing something essential (Thompson 2002: 27).

The next step of the musical revolution did not, however, start only after Punk had faded into obscurity. The foundation for it had been laid out long before Punk had even reached its peak. In March 1977, Iggy Pop released his first solo album *The Idiot*, with which he set himself apart from the Punk rockers who were still treading the path he set with The Stooges. Although Iggy cannot by any means be credited for the whole Post-Punk movement, the album did influence many Post-Punk bands such as Joy Division, Siouxsie and the Banshees, Gary Numan and Bauhaus, and became a blueprint for their first efforts (Thompson 2002: 25-26).

Whereas Punk had borrowed its form from traditional rock'n'roll, the new Post-Punk movement started moving away from the white American rock tradition and found inspiration instead from the forefathers and mothers of Punk Rock, black American, Jamaican and African music, as well as the new European electronic music that had a cool, controlled quality to it. In addition to Iggy Pop, the new bands looked back to glam rock acts such as T-Rex, David Bowie, Roxy Music, and The Velvet Underground (Thompson 2002: 41, 44). Quite surprisingly, the name of Nico, a German-born actress, singer, model, and an original member of The Velvet Underground, also often pops up in discussions about artists who influenced Gothic music and Post-Punk. Siouxsie from The Banshees have cited her as a major influence and The Banshees invited Nico to tour with them in 1978 (Thompson 2002: 108–109). Peter Murphy from Bauhaus has said that Nico's *Marble Index* (1968) was the first gothic album, and even Ian Astbury from an early 80s Goth band The Cult acknowledged Nico's importance to the Gothic

genre (Thompson 2002: 107). Listening to *Marble Index*, one can easily see how Nico has influenced the genre. Nico's songs are dark and plain, based largely on the harmonium played by herself. She is backed up only by John Cale's experimental and minimalistic arrangements. There are very little rhythmic elements on the album, since no drums or percussions were used. The music is so abstract that it can hardly be called rock. It is, however, certainly Gothic. Lynskey summarized the mood of the album perfectly by saying that "if you're ever in the perfect mood to play *The Marble Index*, then it's probably the last thing you should be playing" (Lynskey 2008).

Jamaican Reggae and Dub had started gaining popularity in the 70s. Reggae's popularity was helped greatly by Trojan Records and Island Records which was founded in Jamaica and relocated to England (Shirley 1994: 14). Some Punk bands, including The Clash, and pop groups such as The Police incorporated elements from Reggae and Ska in their music (Spicer 2006: 240). But the sound of these Punk bands was still very typical to the genre with the emphasis on traditional rock 'n' roll and fat guitar sounds. Post-Punk, on the other hand, took the thin guitar sound of Reggae and Ska that left more space for drums and bass in the mix, lifting them to a more important role than mere rhythmic instruments (Reynolds 2005: 3). This style of guitar sound was common also to the four early Post-Punk bands that could be said to have influenced the Gothic movement the most - The Cure, Joy Division, Bauhaus and Siouxsie and the Banshees (one could also count The Birthday Party, but they moved to Britain from Australia in 1980, when the four British bands had already made name for themselves). Not all of the bands were into Reggae or Dub, though, and for example many of Joy Division's songs were stylistically closer to disco, which caused it to be dubbed 'Death Disco' by the press (Thompson 2002: 50).

Of these four, the influence of Dub was most clearly present in the music of Bauhaus. It was not as much the rhythms or the melodies that these bands adopted from Reggae, but the sound and the idea of extreme minimalism and space. The sound of Dub, which Bauhaus bassist David J described in an interview conducted by Shirley (1994: 14) as "something subterranean, dark, sexually charged, violent and completely compelling", can be heard in the music of Bauhaus through their career from their first single, *Bela Lugosi's Dead*. It combined a ticking boss nova rhythm, a repetitive bass line consisting of only a few notes, and Daniel Ash's screeching guitar topped with Peter Murphy's deep vocals reminiscent of Iggy Pop, declaring "Bela Lugosi's dead, undead".

Shirley (1994: 31–32) points out that by combining elements of Reggae with their own ideas to make a song over nine minutes long, Bauhaus created something dark and original that broke the barriers of typical new wave songs. On the cover of the single Bauhaus chose to print a still from a 1920s silent film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, which added to the Gothic feel of the song (Shirley 1994: 29–30). Bauhaus were always very style-conscious, making their live shows theatrical and (sometimes literally) violent events, with Peter Murphy thrashing away on stage like Iggy Pop and wearing make-up heavily influenced by the glam-era Bowie. This further built up their image as a Gothic band, although they also had a steady following among Punk rockers (Shirley 1994: 32–33, 85).

Among the four significant proto-Goth bands Bauhaus were, however, the last to release recorded material. By the time Bauhaus got together in November 1978 (Thompson 2002: 247), Joy Division and Siouxsie and The Banshees had all already released records and The Cure was about to follow in December. What's worth noting about these bands is that most of them were formed as early as in 1977, when Punk Rock had not even reached its peak, although they had to wait until Punk was over to have their records released. As long as Punk was selling, the record labels were not willing to sign new bands, especially ones that did not sound like any band before. When these four bands finally got record deals, all except The Banshees were signed to an independent label.

Robert Smith formed Easy Cure (later The Cure) in 1976. They won their first, albeit unsuccessful, record deal with Hansa in a talent contest in early 1977. After disagreements, they left Hansa and their first single *Killing An Arab* had to be waited until late 1978, when they signed a deal with an independent label called Fiction. (Thompson 2002: 65–66.) Although the single and the band's first album *Three Imaginary Boys* received praise from critics, they sold only moderately (Larkin 1992: 78). Musically their first efforts lay between Punk and Pop, but from their second album *17 Seconds* (1980) onwards they started taking their music into a darker and gloomier direction. According to Robert Smith (Paytress 2003: 96) the change was inspired by his time with the Banshees in 1979: "On stage that first night with the Banshees, I was blown away by how powerful I felt playing that kind of music. It was so different to what we were doing with The Cure...Being a Banshee really changed my attitude to what I was doing." The new style crystallised on their albums *Faith* (1981) and *Pornography* (1982). These albums lifted The Cure to the major league and influenced the sound of Gothic Rock, which by 1982 had evolved into a genre of its own.

Like many of the bands formed during the latter half of the seventies, Joy Division got together after a Sex Pistols concert. Being impressed by the Sex Pistols concert in Manchester in July 1976, Bernard Sumner and Peter Hook decided to form a band. They named the group Warsaw after a David Bowie track and recruited Ian Curtis (who had also been to the same Pistols concert) as a singer. By August 1977, the band's line-up was finalised when drummer Steven Morris replaced Steve Brotherdale. They released their first EP, a self-release called *An Ideal for Living*, in June 1978. (Thompson 2002: 40–42.) It helped Joy Division to get concerts and more exposure, which led to a record deal with a new Mancunian label called Factory Records. It also brought the band to the attention of John Peel, who invited them to record a session for his show. (Spicer 2006: 179.)

1979 was the year of Joy Division. They recorded two sessions for The Peel Show, one in January and one in November, and released their debut album *Unknown Pleasures* in June. The album was a critical success, dubbed immediately a masterpiece, and quite rightfully so. As a result, Joy Division toured extensively for the rest of the year. By 1980, it seemed that the band had it made. They had finished recording their second album *Closer*, had a US tour scheduled with a European tour following that. Then, on the eve of their departure to the United States, Ian Curtis committed suicide. *Closer* was released posthumously and became a critical and a commercial success. (Thompson 2002: 42, 50, 248–250.)

Despite releasing only two albums and a handful of singles, the legacy of Joy Division is undeniable. Neil Megson (better known as Genesis P-Orridge), a friend of Ian's, stated in 1982 that after Joy Division "there suddenly were 50 other groups who...have the same style [but] can't have the content because they're not Ian Curtis" (Thompson 2002: 51). Joy Divisions' power came from Ian Curtis' introverted lyrics combined with the bleak soundscape created by the others. Their sound resembled the other Post-Punk bands discussed earlier in that Joy Division also often pushed the guitar to the background, giving more space to drums and bass melodies that had a strong role in Joy Division's music. Producer Martin Hannett came up with the idea to use a lot of delay in the drums and to mix the guitar down (Rodley 2007), which made the albums sound atmospheric compared to Joy Divisions' live shows, where the sounds were raw and the music more aggressive.

What made Joy Division different from most bands that came after them were Ian Curtis' lyrics. They were stark descriptions of his inner life, which seems to have been very unhappy. This

was very different from Punk Rock's way of expression, and from other earlier forms of pop music, for that matter. Reynolds (2005: 4) points out that Post-Punk took influences from the modernists, ranging from borrowed band names such as Pere Ubu and Cabaret Voltaire to literary influences from writers such as William S. Burroughs and Philip K. Dick. The Cure's first single *Killing an Arab*, for example, is based on Camus' *The Stranger*. Reynolds (2005: 6) continues that Post-Punk abandoned Punk Rock's straightforward approach to political criticism and started commenting society through texts that dealt with personal feeling and experiences.

It is not clear when the term *Gothic* was first used to describe rock music, but as early as in 1967 John Stickney described the music of The Doors *Gothic Rock* in The Williams College News. In 1979, Martin Hannett, the producer working with Joy Division, described their new album *Unknown Pleasures* as 'dancing music with Gothic overtones' (Reynolds 2005: 352, Thompson 2002: 106.) In September 1979 also Tony Wilson, the owner of Joy Divisions label Factory Records, called their music 'Gothic' on the BBC2 programme *Something Else* (Thompson 2002: 106). Siouxsie and the Banshees had also described their second album *Join Hands* 'Gothic' in an interview in 1978 (Paytress 2003: 107).

It has to be remembered, as Thompson (2002: 14) points out, that although in 1979 the term Gothic was used to describe music, the term Gothic Rock did not become widely used until the early 1980s, and in 1979 bands making music described as Gothic were not called Goths. In fact, bands that had used the term *Gothic* about their own music later came to dislike the term, as Steve Severin of The Banshees later explained:

I was really upset that the Gothic name got perverted the way it did because, certainly going as far back as 1979, we were talking about Edgar Allan Poe and talking about Gothic things, even though what became a trademark Goth look wasn't even around at the time. (as quoted by Thompson 2002: 97.)

According to Thompson (2002: 97), many of the artists who had a great influence on the Gothic movement, such as Nick Cave (from The Birthday Party), The Cure and Bauhaus, have later denied that they had anything to do with what became later called as Goth Rock. Thompson (2002: 16) suggests that the reason for this is that even though these artists have not made music that could be considered 'Gothic' for decades, the Gothic label has followed them through their careers. In contrast, there were also people within the Punk scene who dressed in a fashion that would now be called Gothic. One of them was Dave Vanian of The Damned, who dressed up as a vampire not only during performances but also offstage. This encouraged some of the band's

fans to appear in concerts wearing similar outfits (Thompson 2002: 38), but despite Vanian's looks, The Damned were musically no more Gothic than the Sex Pistols.

3.3 Gothic subculture and ideology

As mentioned earlier, quite a lot has been written about the Gothic subculture, especially after the mid-1990s, but most of the authors concentrate more recent Gothic Rock, and only a few of those accounts can be considered academic studies. Most of the literature on Goths and the Gothic subculture concerns different groups and genres within the subculture, or fashion and style, and the authors are more interested in the contemporary Goth movement. Baddeley (2010), for example, is a recount of the history and possible future of the 'Gothic' look, and also *Gothic: Dark Glamour* (Steele and Park 2008) concentrates on Gothic fashion and its history.

There are a few recent studies, however, that strive to analyse the Gothic subculture and its ideologies. Goodlad and Bibby (2007: 1) trace the origins of Gothic rock to Punk and Glam Rock, Gothic literature, horror and B-movies, various religious mythologies and sexual cultures. Goodlad and Bibby (ibid.) argue that the Gothic style is an extension of Punk Rock's 'cut up' aesthetics and includes elements of fetish fashion, Asian culture, and religious and pagan iconography among other influences, but that whereas Punk Rock as a movement was 'antisequential' (an observation also made by, for example, Laing 1985: 25), Gothic subculture flirts with "death, darkness and perverse sexuality". Goodlad and Bibby (2007: 1) also note that unlike many other subcultures, the Gothic subculture has a dialectic relationship with the past, especially with gothic literature and art.

While Punk Rock was what Hebdige (1979) calls a "spectacular subculture" that could be commodified into the mainstream culture, Goodlad and Bibby suggest that the Gothic subculture is a mixture of spectacular subculture and a commodity-oriented subculture; as a spectacular subculture it resists the gender and sexual norms that uphold modern capitalism, but simultaneously it is a consumerist subculture obsessed with, for instance, clothing, music and accessories. Gothic subculture is therefore resistant to commodification because, instead of resisting consumerism and the capitalist mainstream culture, Gothic subculture offers alternative ways of participating in it. (Goodlad and Bibby 2007: 14–15). In terms of Goth identity, however, it is important that the participants believe that the subculture expresses authentic opposition to normative social practices (Goodlad and Bibby 2007: 34). Goodlad and Bibby (2007: 22–23, 35) also note that Goth's androgyny too is largely limited to men, which

indicates that like other genres of Rock music, Gothic Rock is at least partially male-dominated, although there are also examples of strong women (Siouxsie for one) in the Gothic subculture, and women's participation is greater than in many other subcultures.

In addition to non-conformity with social norms, members of the Gothic subculture also highlight their freedom to do what they want (e.g. freedom of expression and freedom from peer pressure) as well as their individuality. In reality this individuality is, however, limited to certain kinds of 'approved' items of clothing and certain kind of behaviour (Hodkinson 2002: 39–40, 77, Gunn 2007: 46). The same is true with discrimination in Gothic subculture – although racial discrimination and discrimination based on, for example, sexual orientation is uncommon, people who do not behave in the expected manner among members of the subculture may be looked down upon (Goodlad and Bibby 2007: 25, Gunn 2007: 46, Hodkinson 2002: 72). Hodkinson (2002: 71–72) also argues that in Britain, modern Gothic subculture transcends class and age, and that compared to many other subcultures, a large portion of aging members of the Gothic subculture remain members, suggesting that modern Gothic is more than just a youth subculture.

In addition to the aforementioned features, resistance of social norms in the Gothic subculture also includes dislike of mainstream trends, music and consumerism as well as appreciation of authenticity and contempt of 'part-timers' i.e. members who only participate in the scene on certain nights out. While Punk shares many of these ideals with the Gothic subculture (and it could be argued that they are typical for a number of other subcultures as well), Shumway and Arnet (2007: 139–140) point out that unlike Punk, politics are not usually foregrounded in Goth music, although modern Gothic clothes and accessories can be considered a commentary on middle-class repression, and as Powell (2007: 361) points out, an ironic representation of conventional religion. Most significantly, dressing up provides the youth an escape from everyday life, which can be "confusing to the youth" (Shumway and Arnet 2007: 139).

3.4 Siouxsie and the Banshees

Siouxsie Sioux (Susan Janet Ballion) was born in Southeast London in 1957. Her father was a Belgian doctor and her mother a French/English bilingual secretary; they met each other at Belgian Congo. Ballion spent her childhood and youth in London suburbs trying to fit in, but she found it hard with a last name that "no one was able to pronounce" and a family that did not fulfil the norms of English suburban life. One reason for this was that her father was an

alcoholic. She had two older siblings, who listened to The Beatles and R'n'B, so also Ballion listened to music from an early age. Siouxsie has mentioned that as a child her heroes were Julie Newmar as Catwoman and Emma Peel of the Avengers. (Paytress 2003: 16–18.) This partly explains why she came to like the fetish clothing sold at SEX after she had transformed herself into Siouxsie.

According to her own words, she formed her identity when she started going to London after leaving school and meeting other people who were interested in music and dressing up. She was not ashamed of being different and used to rent costumes so that she had something new to wear every time she went out. She later said that she “enjoyed being a freak in a middle-class suburb.” (Paytress 2003: 24.) According to Berlin, a member of the Bromley Contingent, inventing names for themselves was a part of finding their identities. Susan created for herself an alter ego, Siouxsie Sioux. She had always liked Indians and thought the name Susan was not exotic enough. (Paytress 2003: 20, 38.)

Steve Severin (Steven Bailey) was born in Highgate Hill, London in 1955. Bailey’s family moved to Bromley when he was ten. Although he was a good student during his first years at school, he got bored at education and turned into girls, drugs and music instead. First he discovered The Beatles and The Rolling Stones, then later Roxy Music and Bowie. He finished school in 1973 and worked at various clerical jobs until 1975, when he decided that he wanted to do something creative instead. (Paytress 2003: 24–27.)

Ballion and Bailey met at a Roxy Music concert in 1975 and Ballion was introduced to Bailey’s friends from Bromley and other London suburbs – the group that would later be dubbed *Bromley Contingent* by Caroline Coon from Melody Maker. In early 1976, they became fans of the Sex Pistols and started following them to concerts, making friends with the Pistols and getting to know their manager Malcolm McLaren. (Paytress 2003: 27–28, 37–39.)

On September 1976, Siouxsie and the Banshees played their first gig at the 100 Club Punk Festival in London. Siouxsie explained later that the Banshees were formed for “one night only” (as quoted by Thompson 2002: 43), because McLaren had said there was an open slot due to a cancellation. Siouxsie did not know where to find a band, but she signed up to play at the festival anyway and started looking for members the same evening (Osborn 2007). The line-up that night consisted of Siouxsie, Severin, Marco Pirroni (later a member of Adam and the Ants)

and Sid Vicious. They did not have time to practice any songs, and Pirroni was the only one who could actually play an instrument, so they ended making noise with Siouxsie singing *Knockin' on Heaven's Door* and *Lord's Prayer* on top of it. (Blake 2006: 34.)

Although the gig was supposed to be a one-time joke on the audience, both Siouxsie and Severin had hoped to find a way to make music, and Siouxsie had actually made demo tapes with the help of William Broad, also known as Billy Idol (Blake 2006: 118). After the 100 Club Festival, the two decided to continue with the band and started making songs of their own. Both Pirroni and Vicious had their own bands, so the Banshees continued playing concerts with a changing line-up until guitarist John McKay joined the band in July 1977 and cemented the band's first real line-up. (Paytress 2003: 55.)

In their early days, the band dressed in Swastika armbands and other Nazi paraphernalia, which later reflected negatively on their press coverage and made it more difficult for them to capture the interest of record companies. Although they did it just to annoy people and to get attention, they learned quickly that if they wanted to be taken seriously, they had to stop doing it. (Blake 2006: 118, Spicer 2005: 4.) The Banshees were by no means the only band that toyed with Nazi imagery. Bowie had caused a small scandal with comments about Britain needing fascist leadership, Iggy Pop sang about having visions of swastikas and "plans for everyone" on his 1977 album *The Idiot*, and Ian Curtis from Joy Division (whose name was a reference to forced prostitution in concentration camps) talked about Rudolph Hess in their concerts. As early as in 1974, Electric Eels from the United States used Swastikas and other racist symbols to stir outrage and McLaren's and Westwood's *Sex* sold a number of clothes with swastikas on them. (Reynolds 2005: 111, Spicer 2005: 178–179, Thompson 2002: 23, Savage 1991: 135, 240–241.)

By early 1978, the Banshees had recorded two sessions for the legendary John Peel Show and received some press coverage, but they had trouble finding a record label that would not only sign them but also give them creative freedom. Finally in June 1978, Polydor signed the Banshees, and they released their first single *Hong Kong Garden* in August 1978. (Paytress 2003: 66–67.)

Hong Kong Garden was an immediate hit and was followed by the Banshees' debut album *The Scream*, released in November 1978. *The Scream* was both a critical and commercial success,

which gave the band and the record company more confidence. However, they also needed to capitalize the first album's success fast. The band released the follow-up single *The Staircase (Mystery)* in March 1979. It did not succeed as well as *Hong Kong Garden*, which caused the record company to rush the band to record their second album *Join Hands*. The album was released in September 1979, and although many (including guitarist Kenny Morris) thought that it was not as strong as *The Scream*, it did well in the charts.

Despite the success, *Join Hands* was to be the last album the band recorded with the original line-up. Drummer Kenny Morris and guitarist John McKay left the band during the tour promoting *Join Hands*, being replaced by Robert Smith from *The Cure*, who were supporting the Banshees on the tour, and Peter Clarke (better known as Budgie), who would become a permanent member of the Banshees. After a successful career that lasted 19 years, the Banshees broke up in 1995.

Usually the music of Siouxsie and the Banshees is categorised either as Punk or Goth. The reason for the first is understandable, since the members were fans of the Sex Pistols and a part of the Punk movement. The Banshees have, however, expressed their dislike for being called a Punk band. The Banshees never claimed to be making Goth music either, as Steve Severin noted: "All the time the Gothic thing was growing up alongside us, but we were doing something completely different to what the audience imagined we were doing" (as quoted by Thompson 2002: 11). However, by naming the band after a Gothic horror movie *Cry of the Banshee* (1970) and taking inspiration to their songwriting from other horror movies and Gothic writers such as Poe, the band certainly set the context for such categorisation themselves.

In all fairness, the Banshees' first album with its instrumentation that included saxophone and its grandiose string arrangements that border threatening at times was already far from the music of the Sex Pistols and The Clash. Right from their first single, the Banshees' music also contains a lot of rhythmic elements, such as syncopation, which according to Laing (1985: 61) are suppressed in Punk music. One aspect which the Banshees' music shared with Punk Rock was Siouxsie's vocal style, which Laing (1985: 57) calls declamatory, a strong vocal style familiar from rock'n'roll and soul as opposed to a confidential vocal stance, an intimate style used in, for example, ballads and romantic songs. However, unlike many early Punk vocalists, Siouxsie switches between these two stances, even within a single song. All in all, the

arrangements on the Banshees' first two albums certainly contain many of the elements (for example the use of floor toms) that would later become defining characteristics of the Goth Rock genre.

4. DATA AND METHODS

4.1 Data

In this study I shall analyse selected lyrics from Siouxsie and the Banshees' first two albums, *The Scream* (1978) and *Join Hands* (1979). The albums contain a total of 14 songs with original lyrics but due to the scope of this study, I had to limit the amount of material presented here. I started to narrow down the material by conducting a preliminary analysis of the lyrics these two albums. The analysis revealed that there were four major themes in the lyrics: 1) opposition of authorities that are using their power to control people; 2) individualism and individual thinking as opposed to following ideologies blindly; 3) addiction to and dependence on different things both mentally and physically, and 4) confusion of people looking for their places in the world. Naturally these are not the only themes on the albums, but they are the ones that come up most frequently and seem to be central to both albums.

After the analysis, I chose four songs to be presented in this study, one representing each of the aforementioned themes. These songs are *Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)*, *Premature Burial*, *Nicotine Stain*, and *Suburban Relapse*. I chose these songs because I felt that they were the key texts that expressed these themes most clearly. Other songs that deal with these themes include *Icon* (individual thinking, authorities), *Regal Zone* (power and authorities), *Mother* (co-dependency), and *Jigsaw Feeling*, *Overground* and *Mirage* (confusion and identity). It is, however, noteworthy that not all songs on these albums reflect these four themes as clearly as the ones presented in this study and, as the above list indicates, that there is also overlap in the songs, as some songs manifest more than one theme. It could also be argued that themes such as anti-authoritarianism and individualism (or individualism and dependence) are opposites of each other or 'two sides of the same coin', and could therefore be included under the same heading. These themes are, however, only partly overlapping and the difference in the point of view warrants analysing each of them separately

I would also like to point out a few things about the context of these lyrics. Firstly, when these albums were released, Siouxsie and the Banshees were considered a Punk band because they

had been involved in the Punk scene and because the genre of Gothic Rock did not yet exist. Fairclough (1993: 80) suggests that the production and interpretation of certain discourses is determined by both the social practices the discourses are part of and the available resources (such as orders of discourse). Despite the fact that the Banshees were considered a Punk band, their record-buying audience was far wider than the Punk crowd, and I would therefore suggest that the interpretation of their lyrics would not be limited to the discourse of Punk Rock.

Secondly, there are certain semiotic (and extralinguistic) cues that may guide the listener's interpretations, such as the names and cover art of the albums, *The Scream* and *Join Hands*. The name of the debut album can refer to a number of things; the Oxford English Dictionary defines *scream* as a "shrill piercing cry, usually expressive of pain, alarm, or other sudden emotion" and could thus be even considered a reference to the movie from which the band took their name. According to Siouxsie, the cover photo of swimmers submerged in water is a nod to the 1968 movie *The Swimmer*, an allegorical story about the failure of the American dream and psychological problems (Paytress 2005: 73). *Join Hands* can be interpreted as a call for peace and unity, especially when the album begins with a song called *Poppy Day*, which is based on the war poem *In Flanders Fields* by John McCrae. The cover of the album includes an image of four soldiers dressed in World War I uniforms and a Poppy, a symbol of Remembrance Day. Naturally these cues are of no value to the members of the audience who listen to the songs on a radio or at a concert, but they do guide the record-buyer towards a certain mind-set.

4.2 Theoretical framework and analytical tools

This study employs methods of critical discourse analysis (CDA) on analysing the lyrics of Siouxsie and The Banshees. CDA is an interdisciplinary (or transdisciplinary, as defined by Fairclough (2005)) approach to texts that can be used to define the relationship between society and the text, power relations of the actors within a text, and also to reveal possible ideologies behind the text. The study will be mostly based on the work of Norman Fairclough, one of the leading theorists on CDA. Although Fairclough might not have thought about the study of lyrics or poetry when formulating his theories on CDA, they can be applied to this field as easily as on any other form of discourse. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 38) point out that when studying song lyrics, other semiotics, such as music itself, can be taken into account in the analysis. Including these other aspects such as rhythm and the variations of the singer's pronunciation of words could bring additional insight to the songs, but I choose not to consider these aspects since the focus of the present study is on the lyrical motifs of the songs. Before the

actual analysis, we need to discuss CDA and its central concept, discourse. They will be approached as presented by Fairclough (1993), and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999).

4.3 Critical discourse analysis

The concept of discourse is ambiguous and different disciplines define it different ways. Stubbs (1983: 1) describes discourse as “language above the sentence or above the clause”, a definition often used in traditional linguistics. However, this definition is not sufficient, because it ignores the context – the fact that discourse is real-world language, not an abstract language system. In other words, discourse is not independent of the context of its use, but language and the situation (or the social context) in which a discourse occurs are inseparable. Fairclough considers discourse not merely as language use, but as “language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice” (1992: 28).

In order to situate language in its social context, Fairclough has introduced a three-dimensional model of discourse to replace a traditional model that consists of two levels, *text* and *discourse*. To these two levels, Fairclough adds a third, *social* level. According to Fairclough’s model (1993: 71), a social practice can be either partly or wholly constituted of discourse. The three-dimensional model (Fairclough 1993: 73) below shows how a text (in this study Gothic Rock lyrics) is a part of a discourse, which in turn is a part of a social practice (SP) and mediates between text and SP.

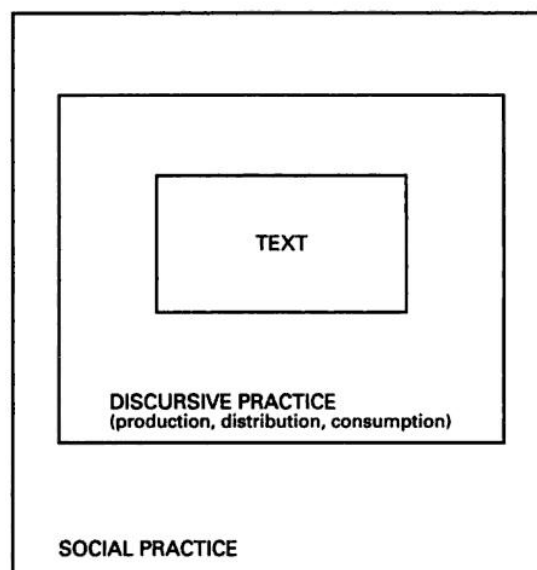


Figure 1. Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of discourse (Fairclough 1993: 73)

Social practice is the event which either reproduces or contests social structures and relations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 21–22). The implication of this is that discourse is where power relations, social structures, and systems of knowledge and belief are negotiated. Discourse is dialectical by nature, meaning that discourse is interaction between the producer and the receiver of the text (for example a speaker and a listener), but there is also a dialectical relationship between language users and discourse, as well as between discourse and society. According to Fairclough (1992: 8–9), this means that discourse is not only shaped by power relations and ideologies, but shaping discourses can also be used to contest and change existing power relations. Discursive changes can also point to tensions in power structures and they can indicate resistance to existing social structures or social change that might be about to emerge.

A set of discourse practices may become *naturalised* meaning that it is taken as given among a certain group of people. Naturalisation, or *hegemony* (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 24), is social domination based on consent rather than coercion, relying on ideologies in achieving and maintaining domination. On the other hand, these social practices can be contested by other discourses with different ideological investments (more on discourse and power relations in Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

The constant negotiation of power relations results in a relatively stable order of discourse – a socially ordered set of discourses and genres related to a certain social field, such as Gothic Rock. The order of discourse is “characterised in terms of the shifting boundaries and flows between them” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 58). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 41) also suggest that in addition to ordinary face-to-face conversation, in late modernity new forms of discourse have emerged. These include mediated discourse (for example letters) and mediated quasi-interaction such as monological interaction between a small group of producers and an indefinite number of receivers, made possible by books, TV, recorded music etc. All discourse does not, however, constitute changes in society (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 23), and the only way to ascertain that it does, is to analyse the relationship between discourse and other moments of social practices. This is what this study aims to do by analysing the discourse in relation to the British society in late 70s.

Fairclough (1999: 203) presents three reasons for close textual research: theoretical, methodological and political. The theoretical reason is that through analysing discourse it is possible to understand the social practices it is embedded in and constitutes. The

methodological reason is that texts can be used as evidence when claims of social structure are made. The political reason deals with the possible critical aims of social sciences. Fairclough explains that since in modern Western societies power is often exercised and negotiated through texts, there is a need for 'critical language awareness'. Fairclough (1999: 204) also points out that texts are "particularly good indicators of social change". Since the aim of the present study is to examine how the British society is depicted in the lyrics of the Banshees, Fairclough's model can be used to achieve this goal.

Analysing a text on textual level, however, is not enough to find the additional meanings behind the text. Stubbs (1983: 3) points out that often what is said is not what is actually meant. For example, if a Zen master tells a student: "If you meet a Buddha, kill him", it does not mean that the student should go Buddha hunting. It can therefore be concluded that language does not reflect reality, which is an important starting point in CDA. Instead, by participating in a discourse, a speaker constructs reality in a way that is, or might be, defined or limited by social structures or ideologies. These values and ideologies are encoded in the language of speech-communities and can be either reproduced or contested by participants. Fairclough (1993: 9) explains that 'critical' in CDA means showing these hidden connections and causes, and showing the ways in which hegemonies are reproduced, contested and transformed. This also incorporates studying the 'ideological potential' of discursive practices. Fairclough (1993: 91) defines discourse as ideological when it either sustains existing power relations or actively transforms them. Fairclough (1993: 71) also notes, that it is crucial to make a difference between text and discourse. Although textual features such as vocabulary and grammar can be considered the foundation of critical discourse analysis, these features only have meaning for critical discourse analysis when we take into account aspects of discourse such as text production and consumption (Fairclough 1993: 71) As this study aims at exposing the power struggle and discursive change in Gothic Rock lyrics, this emphasis on discourse as social practice makes CDA a valuable tool for this study.

CDA has been criticised for various shortcomings, especially for being biased and unobjective, and for stating the obvious by projecting images of society onto the stretches of discourse to be analysed and thus analysing the discourse from a predefined stance (Blommaert 2005: 32). However, I don't see this as a problem in this study, because the aim of this study is not to pass value judgments over the discourse to be analysed. Instead, the intention of this study is to analyse whether or not there are underlying ideological representations of the British society in

the lyrics of Siouxsie and the Banshees and if this is the case, show how the British society is portrayed in these songs.

Blommaert (2005: 1) points out that critical discourse analysis should not only criticise power, but also be an analysis of power effects. I find that the present study is exactly that – an analysis of the artists' reaction to the current state of the British society and the artists' depiction of the power relations impacting their lives that does not take a stand on the ethical viewpoints related to these issues. Blommaert (2005: 3) also argues that in addition to language, discourse consists of other kinds of semiotic instruments, such as different elements of layout in an advertisement. In the case of music, it could be argued that the music itself and the way it is performed, including the way the vocalist pronounces certain words, or the vocalist's accent, as pointed out by Laing (1985: 58–59), is equally important to meaning as the lyrics. Because I lack the necessary skills to analyse music, I shall have to limit my analysis to the linguistic aspects, but I see potential here for a complementary study.

Finally, Blommaert (2005: 33) notes that when CDA is used to analyse discourse on the explanatory level, the level of analysis where social theory is employed to produce an ideology-free analysis of the discourse, there is the danger that the voice of the analyst overpowers the voice of the subject. Although Blommaert is mostly referring to real-life discourse with this comment, I feel that this is a valid concern also in the case of the present study, especially because the material to be studied is poetry and therefore open to a number of interpretations. One could argue, of course, that in the case of poetry, different interpretations are accepted, or indeed, expected, but in the case of politically charged discourse such as Punk Rock lyrics there is also the assumption that the writer wants to convey a certain message. In my opinion, the only way to ensure that the interpretation conveys the voice of the subject is the careful analysis of the metaphors and intertextual properties of the text while taking into consideration the historical and social context of the text's production. This is what I attempt to do by discussing the social and political atmosphere that led to the birth of Punk Rock and then the history of Punk Rock as a musical genre.

Music is interesting as discourse because the contexts of producing and receiving music can change – it can be either produced live in front of an audience or it can be recorded and broadcast, and consumed by the audience from for example portable media or the Internet. In other words, the same piece of music can be in the form of both face-to-face (quasi-)discourse

and mediated quasi-discourse. Whether concerts are monological by nature can be debated, but it can be argued that in rock concerts the participation by the audience is an equally important part of the whole experience. Thus, when Punk Rock gave everyone the possibility to create music, it also gave everyone (including the illiterate) a possibility to participate in a social and political discourse, and an audience and a channel to get their voice heard, for example, on the radio.

4.4 Analytical tools

This section presents the analytical tools used to analyse the lyrics and introduces their theoretical background. I intend to analyse the lyrics by looking at metaphors, linguistic transitivity and intertextuality. The scope of this study necessitates that the discussion on these tools has to be limited to their use in this analysis, but I encourage the reader to refer to the books listed in the bibliography.

4.2.1 Metaphor

It would be unimaginable to carry out a linguistic study of poetry without studying metaphors. The use of metaphors is not, however, limited to poetry and metaphors should not be considered mere stylistic ornaments. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) argue that metaphor is actually a representation of human thinking and indispensable for both imagination and reason. Metaphors are present in our everyday language use and some of them are so naturalised that people do not often notice when they are using them, but they structure the way people think and act. This makes analysing metaphors useful in all kinds of discourse analysis as it can help to reveal ideological assumptions and cognitive structures within the examined discourse.

I will begin by first discussing theories of metaphor briefly and then my approach to and views on metaphor. I will end this chapter by explaining why including metaphor analysis in the analytical framework of CDA is useful and how this will be achieved. I intend to analyse the metaphors in the data by applying what Goatly (1997: 118) calls a “comparison theory” as Goatly’s version of the theory complements CDA and Halliday’s systemic-functional grammar. I will also utilise the categorisation of base metaphors presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) in the analysis. Goatly (1997: 8) defines metaphor in the following way:

Metaphor occurs when a unit of discourse is used to refer [...] unconventionally to an object, process or concept, or colligates in an unconventional way. And when this unconventional act of reference or

colligation is understood on the basis of similarity, matching or analogy involving the conventional referent or colligates of the unit and the actual unconventional referent or colligates.

A colligation in Goatly's definition is a type of collocate, a syntactic relationship between two words. Goatly's version of the comparison theory combines two previous theories, the *interaction* and the *substitution* theory. The interaction theory recognises two distinct subjects in a metaphor, the Topic term and the Vehicle term. In a metaphoric sentence, such as *Life is like a piano – what you get out of it depends on how you play it*, the conventional reference (the Vehicle term, or V-term) is *a piano*, and the unconventional reference (the Topic, or T-term) is *Life*. In addition, the interaction theory uses a so-called Ground term (G-term), which indicates the similarity/analogy between the Topic and the Vehicle. In the above example the G-term is *what you get out of it depends on how you play it*. However, a metaphor does not have to contain a G-term, in which case the person interpreting the metaphor would have to infer the meaning from the features of the Topic and the Vehicle (e.g. in the sentence *Life is like a piano*).

According to Goatly (1997: 118), a metaphor is “an elliptical version of a simile or comparison”, and can be considered both interaction between the Vehicle and the Topic, like the interaction theory explains, and a comparison. Goatly divides types of comparison to antecedent similarity, attributional similarity and analogy. Antecedent similarity is similarity between V- and T -terms that the interpreter can infer without trying to actively interpret the meaning. An example of this would be calling *a domestic cat* that has just caught a mouse a lion – a similarity which the interpreter understands easily because both *cat* and *lion* are members of the feline species and both are hunters. Attributional similarity requires a Ground term to make the metaphor interpretable like in the above example *Life is like a piano*. Although it is possible to find a number of reasons why life could be like a piano (e.g. the duality of black and white keys compared to happy and sad times in life, etc.), without the G-term *what you get out of it depends on how you play it* it is very unlikely that the interpreter finds the correct interpretation. Unlike antecedent and attributional similarity, analogy does not suggest a similarity between the V-term and a T-term of a clause. Instead, analogy is a similarity in the relationships between parts of an expression. Goatly (1997: 122) gives an example of an analogy between a hydrogen atom and the solar system, where the similarity is not based on the similarity of the nucleus of the atom and the sun, but the similarity of a system where smaller bodies (electrons and planets) orbit a heavier object.

While similarity is the key to understanding metaphor, from a critical point of view we must also find out why certain metaphors have been chosen to be used in a discourse. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 149–151) explain, using a metaphor is always a question of selection. When God's words are described as *honey to my mouth* in Psalms 119: 103 (King James Bible Online 2014), the writer uses a metaphor of words or ideas being liquid and highlights aspects of religion that fit the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD and more precisely INTERESTING, PLEASURABLE IDEAS ARE APPETIZING FOODS. In this case, words of God are sweet, desirable and even nourishing (to the soul), while the writer simultaneously hides other aspects such as the experience of religion limiting personal freedom. As mentioned above, metaphors are structured by ideologies and cultural experiences, and they can be used to reproduce dominant ideologies. In this sense metaphors are like discourse within discourse, and like discourse, resisting metaphors can also contest and try to denaturalise dominant discourses.

The Banshees' song *Icon* presents such rearticulation of experience related to religious doctrines by describing them hanging *like vicious spittle*. This expression retains the previous metaphor of God's words as a liquid that flows, and also shares the root analogy IDEAS ARE FOOD, but uses the subcategory DISTURBING IDEAS ARE DISGUSTING FOODS (where *foods* can also refer to inedible substances that are disgusting to eat). This allows the writer to highlight such aspects of religion that make it disgusting and unwanted, thus resisting the ideological position of religions. The interpretation of the metaphor can, however, be extended further; spitting can, for example, be considered an act of contempt and therefore spittle hanging from the lips of a clergyman could also be interpreted as contempt, insults or hate speech aimed at other religions or non-believers.

As the previous example shows, metaphors are more than mere similarities of two concepts; they are constitutive and, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 151) point out, can create new similarities. While the comparison theory as such is a useful tool for CDA, I would also like to emphasise the constitutive aspect and the idea expressed by Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) that “metaphor is a matter of thought [...] about society, about human character”. By studying the change in metaphorisation of domains of experience we get a glimpse of the changes within them.

4.2.2 Systemic-functional grammar and transitivity

Systemic-functional linguistics (SFL), which can be largely attributed to Michael Halliday, sees language as a system for expressing meaning and considers text a semantic unit instead of a grammatical one (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 535). SFL is based on a grammar that suits the needs of critical textual analysis particularly well because, like CDA, systemic-functional linguistics emphasizes the dialectic between the semiotic and the social, seeing language as a semiotic form of social action. As Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999: 139–140) point out, the language theory of SFL complements CDA and takes the view that language is both “shaped by the social functions it serves” and constructs the world, meaning that the language system is structured but simultaneously open to change.

Although context is at the heart of SFL and it views all texts in the context of use, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 143) have a few concerns about it. Firstly, they argue that SFL tends to simplify the complexity of the texts' contexts and not take into account how social practices other than the semiotic internalise language or how language constitutes the context for these social practices. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (*ibid.*) also argue that SFL neglects the orders of discourse or the social structuring of semiotic hybridity of texts. Despite these shortcomings, SFL is still a valuable tool for critical discourse analysis because it focuses on how language is used, much like CDA. SFL provides a multitude of tools for textual analysis, but I shall focus on transitivity, an area of SFL that best suits the purposes of the present study.

Transitivity is a grammatical system that expresses different experiences using a set of process types (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170). It gives language users a number of different ways to represent information and to express different points of view (Hewings and Hewings 2005: 58). As Fairclough (1993: 178–179) points out, transitivity has received a lot of attention among critical linguists and critical discourse analysts, because by analysing transitivity it is possible to work out the ideological, social, cultural and political factors that affect the representation of processes in texts. Transitivity can also help analysts to see how a text is structured and to work out the agent, the object of action and the result. Transitivity can therefore help the present study to both reveal the ideological strata of the lyrics and to examine whether the lyrics concentrate on the ‘inner lives’ of the characters, on social issues and power struggle, or perhaps both, and to show whether the characters and narrators are active agents or objects in the narratives.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 170) divide the processes (in the English transitivity system) into three main categories: material, mental and relational processes. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.), these processes, which are realised by either verb groups or nominalisations, express different domains of experience. Material processes represent action, i.e. someone or something doing something. A material process, such as *Matt stole money from the bank* contains the process (*stole*), the participants (*Matt* and *money*) and the circumstances of the process (*from the bank*), of which the process and one participant are always obligatory. In the previous example, *Matt* is an Actor, “the one who does the deed”, and *money* is the Goal, the entity that undergoes the process (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 179). Every material clause needs an Actor, but the Goal is not obligatory. The Actor can, however, be omitted in passive transitive clauses such as *Mike was shot*. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 180.)

Mental processes include verbs related to the experiences of our consciousness, such as cognition, perception and feelings. An example of a mental process is the line *I can feel my lungs collapse* in the Banshees’ song *Nicotine Stain*. Mental clauses are grammatically different from material clauses (for a detailed explanation see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 197-201). They also differ from material clauses in that they do not express acts and therefore require different participant roles that separate them from material clauses. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 200–203) use the roles of Senser and Phenomenon, where a Senser is an entity with a consciousness and Phenomenon is the object of sensing. It is notable that the *Phenomenon* may not only be a thing, but also an act like *my lungs collapse* in the previous example.

The third main process type is the relational process that expresses being and having. It is important to note, however, that *being* in this case does not mean existing as in clauses such as *there was a table in the room*; these are what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 213) call existential clauses. In contrast to material and mental clauses, relative clauses always have two participants, between which the relational clause sets up a relationship, e.g. *Metal is tough*. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 215) divide relational processes into three types, intensive, possessive and circumstantial, and separate each of these into two different modes, attributive and the identifying. Table 1 shows the different types and modes of relation:

Table 1. Types and modes of relation (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 216)

	attributive <i>'a is an attribute of x'</i>	identifying <i>'a is the identity of x'</i>
(1) intensive 'x is a'	Metal is tough	Copper is a metal
(2) possessive 'x has a'	John has a dog	The dog is John's
(3) circumstantial 'x is at a'	The party is on Saturday	My limbs are like palm trees

Relational processes are a complex matter, but due to the scope this study I shall summarise the main points here. As Table 1 shows, the identifying intensive process *Copper is a metal* differs from the intensive attributive *Metal is tough*. The first clause identifies or defines *Copper* as a certain type of metal, whereas the latter example does not specify the type of metal. Instead, the attributive clause assigns a *quality* to metal. Because relational clauses are again different from material and mental clauses, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 219) call the participants of identifying clauses the Identified (*Copper* in example 1) and Identifier (*a metal* in example 1) and the participants of attributive clauses Carrier (*Metal*) and Attribute (*tough*).

In addition to the aforementioned main process types, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 171) distinguish three other process types: verbal, behavioural and existential. I shall not discuss behavioural and existential process types here as they are not relevant for this study. Verbal process types are fairly common in the material to be studied, but at the moment it is sufficient to say that they are processes of saying, such as “You always said I'd be blind without them.”

As already stated, transitivity is a valuable tool for CDA, as it is based on functional linguistics and can therefore be used to analyse how language is used and to what purpose. By analysing whether a character/narrator of a text is represented as an Actor in material processes, i.e. an active participant, or as a Goal, a possibly involuntary object of actions, we can reveal ideological and social structures represented by the text. Because transitivity analysis concentrates on the linguistic features of the text, it does not actually reveal *why* the author of a text has made certain linguistic choices. For this, the texts have to be interpreted in social context, and for that end CDA and the social scientific theories of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) will be utilised.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 149) mention one further concern about SFL, namely the way SFL handles intertextuality, arguing that it may reduce “the social structuring of the

semiotic to its linguistic realisations.” Therefore, Fairclough (1993: 85) suggests that in order for intertextual analysis to be used to study cultural and social changes, the analysis of discursive change has to take into account social and political theories. I shall discuss intertextuality in more detail in the following chapter.

4.2.3 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

Intertextuality refers to dialogicality of language and the view that all texts reactualise other texts. This means that all texts are historical by nature, borrowing from previous texts and reworking them, thus contributing to the processes of change. (Fairclough 1993: 101–102). An example of intertextuality could be a film adaptation of a novel and in turn, reviews of the film in newspapers. Simultaneously, discourse can also be a combination of different genres (or orders of discourse), which manifests itself, for instance, as the use of different conventions and structuring principles within a single text instead of lexical items (such as direct quotes) borrowed from another text.

To differentiate the latter from “manifest intertextuality”, Fairclough (1993:117–118) uses the term interdiscursivity. Fairclough (1993: 102–103) notes that although intertextuality shows that texts can be productive and restructure existing conventions, productivity of texts is limited by power relations. The study of intertextuality should therefore be complemented with the study of how power relations shape social structures, which helps to understand contesting of orders of discourse and hegemonic struggle in them. As Fairclough (1993: 147–148) shows, intertextuality can be used, for example, to study how the discourse of counselling and discourses from private life may change the discourse of medical interview.

Fairclough (1993: 85) also notes that in addition to intertextuality within the text, interpretation of a text is also shaped by other texts the interpreter brings to the interpretation process. This is evident, for example, in how the translations and interpretation of the Bible have changed in different times in accordance with changes in society and how the different interpretations of the Bible have spawned different sects of Christianity in different locations.

For the present study, intertextuality and interdiscursivity open a door to examining the different orders of discourse within the lyrics of Siouxsie and the Banshees. As a genre, Gothic Rock is influenced by romantic poetry and gothic literature as well as various genres of films, including horror movies. Gothic Rock lyrics (especially those of the early bands such as the

Banshees) are also expected to reproduce or rearticulate the orders of discourse of Punk Rock. Rock music in general has a certain set of conventions (such as patriarchy) which Gothic Rock shares with more popular genres of rock music and which, despite rock music's reputation as rebellious, have become a part of generally accepted popular culture and thus a part of the hegemonic machinery represented by various institutions, including record companies. One of Fairclough's goals in CDA is the study of social change, which is (as stated above) largely a product of power relations between different groups and classes of people. In this light, it is interesting to see how the early Gothic Rock lyrics respond to the discourses prevalent in the British society, as CDA's expectation is that the lyrics reveal Gothic Rock's relationship to the values of the society it was conceived in.

5. ANALYSIS

In this chapter I present and discuss the results of the analysis. This section is further divided into four sections, each of which discusses one song representing one theme. The lyrics are reproduced as they appear on the album covers, but a few changes have been made to them according to the actual recorded performance, where some words have been changed and a few have been added.

5.1 Anti-authoritarianism – Metal postcard (*mittageisen*)

Authority, or more precisely opposing authorities, was one of the central ideologies of the Punk movement. It is also one of the most frequent themes on the first two Banshees albums where the authorities exerting power over others range from the state to individuals.

The song *Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)* paints a macabre picture of a family having lunch and watching television. Even if the listener knows nothing else about the context of the song, the title of the song, which is a play on German words *Mittagessen* (lunch) and *eisen* (iron), places the events of the song in Germany. The song has three verses which each are followed by a repeated chorus. The opening stanza sets the scene of a family gathering:

Reunion begins
with a glass of mercury
whilst television flickers
for another news bulletin
flints light up the eyes
of the seated family

When broken down, the first stanza consists of three material clauses (beginning with phrases *Reunion begins*, *television flickers*, and *flints light up*), and the Actors in all three phrases are

inanimate. It is not explicit who the narrator or the addressee of the text is, and it could be argued that the performer and the narrator (and similarly the addressee and the listener) of the song, i.e. the external level of the lyrics and the internal level of the lyrics, are indistinguishable. Following the practice used by Laing (1985), I shall hereinafter use the terms *énonciation* to refer to the external level, or the performance of the lyrics, and *énoncé* to refer to the internal level, the statement made by the lyric. The implication of this type of narration is that the narrator is describing an event, or perhaps an image, to an audience. With this type of subject positioning, the listeners can identify the narrator with the singer and the addressee with themselves. In addition to the inanimate actors, there is one participant that could be considered animate – the family. However, instead of being Actors, they are the Goal in the only transitive clause in the first stanza, indicating that they are passive recipients. This impression is emphasised by the fact that the family is described as being *seated* (by someone), not for example *sitting around a table*.

At first glance the second stanza looks like a set of instructions:

With a clockwork jerk
pluck cogs from fob watches
for dinner on Friday
then recoiling say excuse me
“Must go recycle
my precious machinery”

The quotation on the final line, however, makes this interpretation unlikely. Instead, it seems that the subject (either *they* or *you*) has been deliberately left out. If the omitted pronoun was *they*, this stanza would continue the style of the first stanza, i.e. it could be an account by the narrator to the listeners. If the omitted pronoun, on the other hand, was *you*, as in *[you] plug cogs*, there would be a shift in the addressee from an unknown third person to the members of the family. Either way, the family is now presented as active participants, who *pluck cogs* and *recycle*.

In the third and final stanza there is yet another shift in the subject and the addressee of the *énoncé*.

It's ruling our lives
there is no hope
thought I'd drop a line
the weather here is fine
but day and night it blares
commanding through loudspeakers:-

Here the point of view is that of a member of the family and the addressee is unknown, although it can be deduced that the final stanza is addressed to the narrator of the first two stanzas. The lines “thought I’d drop a line / the weather here is fine” emulate a typical greeting on a postcard and are seemingly produced by a member of the family – as if the narrator was now looking at the back of a postcard sent by the family. Despite this, the Actor on the first line is not the family but an unidentified *it* whereas the Goal, the object of ruling, is *our lives*, making the family again a subject to someone else.

The chorus that is repeated after each verse introduces yet another voice, the voice in the news bulletin on the television and on the loudspeakers:

Metal is tough, metal will sheen
 Metal won't rust when oiled and cleaned
 Metal is tough, metal will sheen
 Metal will rule in my masterscheme

The identity of this speaker is also unknown. The chorus consists of relational and material clauses in which Metal is the Carrier and the Actor respectively. The only indication to the identity of this third subject is that s/he has a *masterscheme*. Since the title hints that the song is placed in Germany, with a little knowledge of German history we can conclude that it is a voice of a fascist state or leader. Whereas in the first verse the listener could identify the ‘I’ of the lyric with Siouxsie, in the chorus it is obvious that the ‘I’ of the *énonciation* is different from the ‘I’ of the *énoncé*. Laing (1985: 72) argues that this kind of unsignalled shifting of subject and addressee is typical of Punk lyrics, whereas most popular songs have a single point which is addressed and a single point from which the lyric is delivered. By denying the listeners an easily recognizable position, the song provides *jouissance* for the listeners, privileging the semiotic over the meanings of the symbolic and thus challenging the dominant values.

Having specified the actors and their roles in the narrative, I shall next look at the ideologies expressed by the lyrics, and in order to analyse the ideologies, it is necessary to examine the metaphors. Identifying metaphors can prove difficult in an unconventional narrative such as this. The opening line “[r]eunion begins with a glass of mercury” seems to be metaphorical because obviously no one in their right mind would drink mercury. But when thinking about commonly known properties of mercury (poisonous, liquid in room temperature, metal, known as quicksilver), the metaphor does not make much sense in the given context. Contrastingly, the second stanza with phrases “pluck cogs from fob watches” and “must go recycle” looks like a description of recycling metal parts from watches except for one odd sentence, “for dinner on

Friday”, that does not fit the imagery of the rest of the stanza. Since it must be assumed that each phrase has a purpose, the most feasible interpretation would be the literary one – that the family eats metal for dinner. From this point of view, it then seems plausible to interpret also *glass of mercury* literally. This would mean that phrases that seem metaphorical should in fact be taken literally and phrases that seem non-metaphorical are in fact metaphors. According to this logic, the phrase “must go recycle my precious machinery” would therefore not refer to recycling metal in the conventional way, but rather to recycling consumed food in the natural way, by going to the toilet.

Furthermore, there is another set of metaphors in the second stanza that deserves a closer look, namely the words used to describe motion. The actions of the family are described with phrases *clockwork jerk*, *pluck* and *recoiling*, which create a strong image of mechanical, repetitive and even violent movement. The reference to clockwork has two functions in this stanza. Firstly, the reference to clocks and watches is another allusion to Germany, known for producing quality watches. It also refers to the phrase *run like clockwork* which is usually a positive expression indicating precision and regularity and the fact that things are going according to the plan. Here it suggests that the actions of the family follow a certain routine – one that is quite possibly not determined by themselves. These metaphors correspond with a root metaphor FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE ABSENCE OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT, in this case the jolting and repetitive movement of the family being obstructed movement (as opposed to flowing movement) or involuntary movement. This can be further extended to another idea that is common in western philosophy – the notion that freedom of action is freedom of thought (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 190), suggesting that from the narrator’s (and performer’s) point of view the family is acting against their will.

This idea of the subjects being manipulated is also expressed by the last phrase of the first stanza, “flints light up the eyes of the seated family”. It is not explicitly stated what these flints are, but from the context we can conclude that *flints* either refers metaphorically to the light from the television set or to something, perhaps actual flints, the family sees on television. *Flints light up* therefore works on both literal and metaphorical level. As a metaphor, *light up* can mean *to make cheerful* or *to animate* as in the clause *her eyes lit up with joy*, the suggestion being that the family is excited about the fascist propaganda they see on the television and accept it passively.

As to why the Banshees chose to write a song about fascism in the late 70s, examining intertextuality can provide some answers. On the record sleeve, the band dedicates the song to John Heartfield, a German Dadaist who is known for his anti-fascist photo montages. Even though the ideological standing point of the song can be somewhat deduced from the lyrics, this knowledge confirms that the song is an anti-fascist statement. The song refers to a particular piece of art, one of Heartfield's most well-known photo montages, called *Hurrah, die Butter ist Alle!* (Hurray, the Butter is All Gone!). The montage shows a National Socialist family eating a bicycle and includes a quote credited to Hermann Göring, one of the leading members of the Nazi party, which roughly translates as: "Iron ore has made the Reich strong. Butter and dripping have at most made the people fat" (John Heartfield's Official Website 2014). Göring allegedly gave this speech during a food shortage to defend government spending on rearmament.

One of the reasons for writing the song was, as previously stated, the emergence of the National Front and the fact that due to the Banshees' habit of wearing Swastikas and clothing associated with Nazis they started to attract members of the NF to their shows. For a band that was aiming for mainstream success this kind of attention was unwanted and they needed to sever themselves from the right-wingers. Laing (1985: 68) and Whiteley (2000: 111) have both analysed *Metal Postcard* briefly, Laing from a linguistic point of view and Whiteley using methods of musicology. While Laing considers the song a direct reference to concentration camps and as a commentary on the "role of television as 'conditioning'", Whiteley draws a parallel to the National Front and the Banshees' reputation as right-wing sympathisers. While both accounts are valid and it is possible that the authors did not even mean for the analyses to be comprehensive, I feel that these interpretations fall short because they do not go beyond the level of text (or music).

Although the National Front was probably what gave the Banshees the impetus to write the song, the NF were not the only right-wing organisation gaining more supporters in the late 1970s – the popularity of the Conservatives, led by Margaret Thatcher, was also increasing and the party was moving towards the extreme right. On 19 January 1976, some 40 years after Göring's speech, Margaret Thatcher used the same 'guns and butter' rhetoric in her speech titled *Britain Awake*, which earned her the nickname 'Iron Lady'. In her speech, Thatcher criticised Labour for cutting the defence budget while the Soviet Union was strengthening their

army: “The Russians are bent on world dominance [...] They put guns before butter, while we put just about everything before guns.” (Thatcher 1976.)

In the last stanza, there is a sudden shift to another order of discourse outside the conventions of Rock music – i.e. that of greetings used in postcards. The phrase “thought I’d drop a line / the weather here is fine” seems out of place in the context of the song, but it does make sense within the contexts of Punk Rock and Fascist Germany. Laing (1985: 68) suggests that the line is about holiday-making like the Sex Pistols’ song *Holidays in the Sun* which mixes references to holidays, concentration camps and the Berlin wall. While the two songs share similar themes, I argue that their subject matter is not the same. According to John Lydon (Sex Pistols Official 2012), *Holidays in the Sun* was inspired by the Pistols’ trip to Berlin during a time when London felt like a prison to the band. Since *Metal Postcard* is clearly not about going on a holiday, it is difficult to see any real connection between these two songs apart from the references to Fascist Germany. Instead, I suggest that the line “the weather here is fine” that Laing (1985: 68) calls “a clichéd postcard message” refers to letters German and Jewish prisoners sent from concentration camps to their families. This kind of greetings seem to appear in a number of such letters² despite of what the weather and conditions on the camps really were, and I suspect they were added to the letters either in fear of censorship or to keep the recipients from worrying. A similar idea is expressed in a less well-known Sex Pistols song, a controversial number called *Belsen was a Gas*, which describes the fate of the Jews in concentration camps: “Life is fun, and wish you were here, / Was what they wrote on postcards to who they held dear” (Savage 1991: 249).

Whereas *Belsen was a Gas* is now widely considered a politically incorrect pun, the Banshees used the same idea but expressed it in a more subtle form. Unlike the Pistols’ song, *Metal Postcard* is devoid of all direct references to Jews or the holocaust apart from the adjective *sheen* in the chorus that creates (perhaps a non-deliberate) allusion to the word *sheeny*, a derogatory term for a Jew. On the other hand, the phrase “Must go recycle my precious machinery” seems to emulate British upper class speech as opposed to the more casual register of the rest of the song. This ambiguity leaves more room for interpretation and allows the band

² See Prisoner Letter from the Dachau Concentration Camp. *History In Ink* [Online]. 31 July, 1938. http://www.historyinink.com/1019302_Dachau_concentration_camp_letter_7-31-1938.htm and Prisoner Letter from the Notorious Auschwitz Concentration Camp. *History In Ink* [Online]. 26 July, 1942. http://www.historyinink.com/935308_WWII_Auschwitz_letter.htm

to draw parallels between history and the modern British society. It can therefore be argued that *Metal Postcard* is as much a commentary on the political atmosphere of late 1870s Britain as on the late 1930s Germany – a reminder of the consequences of following authorities and their propaganda blindly, and of the dangers of an authoritarian society where everyone is being monitored. It is also, as Laing points out, a commentary on the power of media in influencing the public opinion in a country where, according to a British Communications Committee's report (2010), there was one television set for every three people in the early 1970s.

5.2 Individualism – Premature burial

A number of songs on the first two Banshees albums are about individualism, nonconformity and thinking for oneself. Within the analysed materials, one of the songs advocating these ideas most prominently was *Premature Burial* which is inspired by Edgar Allan Poe's short story *The Premature Burial* (1844). Because the song is a mixture of different orders of discourse ranging from gothic horror stories to pop music and B movies, it has been interpreted in very different ways. I shall use these interpretations as the starting point of my analysis.

Park (2008: 133–134) considers the song a direct interpretation of Poe's story, explaining that the song is a contemplation of inevitable death and the feeling of futility of a person who has been buried alive. Van Elferen (2012: 142–144), whose analysis is based as much on the music as on the lyrics of the song, sees the song as an allegory of self-entrapment where the narrator questions "her own being if being relies solely on her own perception". According to Van Elferen, the repeating phrase *We're all sisters and brothers* is the voice of the narrator's self-doubt that is vocalised by a group of zombies. Van Elferen (ibid.) also adds that this repetition emphasises the timelessness of the grave. It is interesting to note that although Van Elferen's interpretation of the general message of the lyrics is less literal than Park's, the rest of Van Elferen's interpretation is very literal as she places the events of the narrative to a catacomb and suggests that the zombies mentioned in the lyrics are real.

Both of these interpretations leave a number of questions unanswered. In this chapter I shall discuss them and try to provide my own interpretation. Poe's short story is a first person narrative of a man who suffers from catalepsy and is mortally afraid that he will be buried alive during one of his spells. In Poe's *The Premature Burial*, the narrator describes one of his nightmares, in which he sees into the graves of people who have been buried alive, and hears their wailing. Although the Banshees' song contains elements similar to this scene, it is not an

exact retelling of it.

Similarly to *Metal Postcard*, the first stanza sets the scene for the song.

This catacomb compels me
Corroding and inert
It weights and tries to pull me
Must I resist or re-assert?

Like Poe's short story, the song is narrated in first person but the addressee of the *énoncé* seems to change between an unknown group of addressees and a single unknown addressee who can be identified with the listener. Despite the narrator being the protagonist of the narrative, she is an active agent in only two phrases of the song, *Clawing from the inside / Drowning in your chant*, neither of which are self-initiated actions but rather ones dictated by necessity as the protagonist is trying to claw her way out of a coffin or a tomb. Furthermore, the protagonist is the Goal of most of the material processes (e.g. *This catacomb compels me, It weights and tries to pull me, [I have been] Ejected to this state of being*) in the song, emphasising the feeling that she is being victimised. It is also noteworthy that the Actors in these processes are either inanimate or unknown.

The personification of inanimate objects serves two purposes. Firstly, it links the narrative to the conventions of gothic literature where supernatural elements, such as inanimate objects becoming alive, are common. Secondly, when the Actor is made ambiguous by hiding the Actor in a sentence or sharing the responsibility for various material actions to a number of Actors, such as *[t]his catacomb, blissful suffocation and thoughts*, the role of the Goal is emphasised even more. There is, however, a change in focus and the attitude of the narrator in the last stanza of the song, beginning with the narrator's claim "I'm not your sister / Or your brother" and culminating in the narrator's final exclamation "I can't relate to you". Albeit a mental process, this is the first phrase in the lyrics where the narrator takes a stand as an active agent to defend her opinion. In the first and the third stanza, the narrator still questions her actions, but in the last stanza she has finally chosen her side. This sudden change of attitude reflects the ending of Poe's short story, where the protagonist finally decides to abandon his fears after having to face them.

In the last stanza, the point of view of the narrative also changes from a narrative told by the protagonist to a dialogue between the protagonist and the crowd identified as "the unchanged and unchangeable". This change is indicated by the absence of the word *singing*. The

behavioural process *singing* is used to mark the speech acts of the “unchanged” in the chorus that is repeated between the stanzas:

The unchanged and the unchangeable
 Doing the zombierama
 Singing Oh come and be like me,
 We're all sisters and brothers

In the final stanza, this marker is not used, suggesting that the dialogue between the two parties is no longer reported speech, but a direct conversation between the protagonist and the “unchanged”.

The narrative of *Premature Burial* can therefore be interpreted as a gothic tale, like Park and Van Elferen have done, but although there is a danger of reading too much into the lyrics, I propose that the song contains a parallel narrative in addition to the one about premature inhumation. To find out more about this alternative narrative, it is necessary to examine interdiscursivity and metaphors within the song. I do not find it necessary to analyse each metaphor in the song, but I shall look at those that are the most important in analysing the ideologies of the lyrics.

As already noted, the song has been mainly influenced by Poe's *The Premature Burial* and gothic literature in general. This is evident from a number of keywords in the song that have been borrowed from Poe's story, such as *catacomb*, *catalepsy*, *despairing*, *suffocation* and *pain* (see, for example Poe 1994: 354–363). However, the song also contains a number of elements not present in Poe's *The Premature Burial*, which neither Park nor Van Elferen pay attention to.

One of the key phrases to this narrative is the line *Doing the zombierama*. Since Poe's story does not contain references to zombies (although there is the aforementioned passage that describes the protagonists' dream about graves and the wailing of the dead) this line obviously falls outside the discourse of Poe's story. *Doing the zombierama* is a reference to a genre of novelty dance music represented by songs such *Do the Funky Chicken* (1970) and *The Loco-Motion* (1962). One common feature of these songs is that they often contain a phrase such as “Do the Funky Chicken” which the singer uses to encourage the audience to participate in the dance. A particularly unique feature of this genre is that the songs are often written to establish a new dance style, which is usually a simple sequence of movements that is easy to learn and that the audience can perform in unison. The unchanged dancing zombierama can therefore be seen as a metaphor of group mentality.

In the genre of modern horror, zombies have become known as cannibalistic corpses that stalk the living in hordes. This view was popularised by relatively recent horror movies such as George R. Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) and especially its sequel *Dawn of the Dead* (1978). Previous to that, zombies had been portrayed in horror movies such as *White Zombie* (1932) according to Haitian folklore as magically resurrected people. The important aspect in Haitian folklore as opposed to the portrayal of zombies in modern horror is that the Haitian zombies are slaves of the person who has resurrected them. Considering that the Banshees were fans of the 'old school' Hammers-style horror (see, for example Thompson 2002: 42), it is more likely that they refer to the zombies of Haitian folklore. In *Premature Burial*, the *unchanged* are thus compared to a group of mindless slaves who follow each other in groups and carry out someone else's will. The lyrics also mention that they are sisters and brothers which emphasises their unity and similarity.

The identity of the *unchanged* and the *unchangeable* is not revealed in the song, but considering the previous observations I suggest that the term refers to a certain ideological group or the mainstream society in general. The term *unchanged* is also a reference to Poe's short story, where the protagonist uses the word *changed* to describe prematurely buried people who, when exhumed, seem to have changed position inside the coffin after being buried because they have struggled to get out. According to this logic, the *unchanged* would then either refer to prematurely buried people who have not moved after being buried or to people who have really been dead at the time of their burial. If we, however, look up the literal meaning for the words *unchanged* and *unchangeable*, i.e. 'a person who has not changed and cannot be changed', Collins English Dictionary offers two definitions: *conservative* and *conformist*.

One of the central themes in Poe's short story is the fear of suffocation, and suffocation is also one of the key components of the metaphors used in the Banshees' *Premature Burial*. In addition to references to suffocation caused by being buried alive, the song contains a number of other metaphors related to suffocation. In the fourth stanza, there are two metaphors, "Drowning in your chant" and "Thoughts come flooding through me", which both are based on a root metaphor IDEAS ARE LIQUID:

Clawing from the inside
 Drowning in your chant
 Thoughts come flooding through me
 Despairing unity

“Drowning in your chant” expresses the idea that the singing of the *unchanged*, the call to become one of them, is overpowering. The next line, “Thoughts come flooding through me”, is ambiguous as it does not specify whose thoughts it refers to, but since the previous line creates a connection between the voice of the unchanged and liquids, and the next line *Despairing unity* also refers to the conformity of the unchanged, it is justified to assume that the thoughts mentioned on the third line are those of the *unchanged*. Flooding contains both the implication of drowning (and thus suffocating) and being subjected to the thoughts of the unchanged without being able to resist. The last line of the stanza, “Despairing unity”, reinforces both the feeling of distress in the face of drowning and the narrator’s detestation of conformity.

The theme of suffocation recurs in the sixth stanza, but in contrast with the fourth stanza, it is described as being *blissful*:

Red and white carnations
 Can't intoxicate my brain
 This blissful suffocation
 It is driving me to pain
 Oh what a bloody shame

If the lyrics were interpreted literally, suffocation could perhaps be considered blissful, as death would end the suffering of the person locked in a tomb and free her from earthly worries. In the light of the previous observations about the use of the suffocation motif as a metaphor for the pressure to conform, this implies that to succumb to conformity would be the easy choice, a path to a life without worries, and hence a tempting option. The next line “It is driving me to pain”, however, sees the protagonist make her choice to resist the pressure – this is the turning point in the narrative where the protagonist realises that she cannot choose a life of conformity.

The narrative in *Premature Burial* consists of three parts, the self-doubt, epiphany and decision. The first stanza places the events in a catacomb, which itself acts as a metaphor. Based on the root metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS (see Lakoff and Turner 1989: 7–8), the catacomb manifests the protagonist’s feeling of entrapment when faced with the decision of whether or not to conform with the expectations of others. Furthermore, the metaphor of the catacomb is extended by the actions it performs (it *weights and tries to pull* the narrator). These actions are based on another common metaphor BEING CONTROLLED IS BEING KEPT DOWN, which in turn is based on the root metaphor FREEDOM IS UP. The catacomb therefore is not only a metaphor of the narrator’s state of mind, it also comprises the need to meet the expectations of the narrator’s peers or perhaps society that the narrator finds restraining. Similarly, the term

catalepsy in the third stanza expresses the limitation of the narrator's freedom, again based on the metaphor FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE ABSENCE OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT.

In *Premature Burial*, Siouxsie and the Banshees combine discourses of the 19th century gothic literature, 20th century horror movies and popular music to create a narrative that expresses the conflict between meeting external expectations and maintaining individualism. The song uses imagery related to funerals and being buried alive to compare conformity to being a living dead, and to compare peer pressure or oppression to suffocating. The song does not contain social criticism in the way *Metal Postcard* does; instead it is like a depiction of hegemonic struggle where the narrator's position shifts from being the underdog to voicing her opinion. Although the song is not a social commentary as such, it does share the ideas of individual freedom and the freedom to express one's opinion with Punk Rock. Based on these observations, it would be tempting to draw conclusions about the British society in general and about the need to conform in order to survive in it, but it is debatable whether the lyrics actually warrant making such assumptions.

5.3 Addiction and dependence – Nicotine stain

The third theme that stood out from the Banshees' lyrics was addiction and dependence – dependence on medicine and medical treatment, co-dependency in a relationship, or nicotine addiction like in the song *Nicotine Stain*.

Like the two previous examples, also *Nicotine Stain* contains a number of different subjects and addressees, some of whom are ambiguous. The song begins with the narrator describing her relationship to smoking:

It's just a habit
when I reach to the packet
for my last cigarette
until the day breaks
and then my hand shakes
but it's just driving me insane
when the smoke gets in my brain
I can't resist it

Similarly to *Premature Burial*, the narrator of the song is the Actor in only a few material processes despite being the main subject in the first half of the song. These processes include “I reach to the packet” and “[I] Cough up and shift it”. In the second stanza, the narrator is mostly

present in relational clauses and one mental clause that describe her physical and mental state, such as “I’m so congested”, “I’m so useless” and “I can feel my lungs collapse”.

Compared to the aforementioned processes, the other agents, many of which are adverse effects of smoking, are active participants in material and behavioural processes. Examples of these include “smoke gets in my brain” and “catarrh rests on my chest”. The fact that the narrator or certain body parts of the narrator are Goals in these processes indicates that the inanimate entities are agents that the narrator, the smoker, has no power over. Personification of inanimate entities, such as *catarrh*, also helps to concretise them, making them adversaries that can be fought.

In addition to the effects of smoking, there is one more inanimate agent that has been personified, namely cigarettes. In the final verse of the song, there is another shift in the subject of the *énoncé* as the ‘I’ of the *énoncé* suddenly changes from the smoker to the voice of cigarettes. It could also be argued that the addressee or group of addressees has shifted from the listeners to a wider audience such as an entire nation, as the cigarette urges the addressee to use itself as a weapon in war:

I'm so useful
if you don't want to fight
just give your foe a fright
say you'll drop me
on every country
see all will be stone dead
when the nicotine stain spreads
just light me

In the two previous songs analysed, the Goal has indicated the oppressed party. In the third stanza of *Nicotine Stan*, however, the cigarette is the dominant participant despite being positioned as the Goal in phrases such as *you'll drop me on every country* and *light me*. A number of phrases in the final stanza, including the ones where the cigarette is the Goal, are imperative clauses uttered by the cigarette itself, which suggests that the cigarette is the entity in power, the one laying down the rules.

The chorus is the most ambiguous part of the song in terms of defining Actors, subjects and addressees. The phrases “Wallow in that ash bath / soaking up the fumes” look like imperative clauses, but they could as well be indicative clauses where the Actor (either ‘I’ or ‘you’) has been omitted. There are a number of possibilities for assigning different roles to the participants

in the chorus – the voice in the chorus could belong to, for example, the cigarette speaking to the smoker, or a third party trying to make the protagonist of the first stanza feel guilty for smoking. Knowing the identity of the chorus' narrator is not, however, necessary for analysing the power relations in the song. The ambiguity of the narrator in these parts seems like a deliberate attempt by the writer to prevent the chorus from revealing the 'plot twist' of the last stanza where the narrator suddenly changes.

Even without analysing the song thoroughly, the references to catarrh and death make it fairly obvious that the song is not glorifying smoking. The feelings smoking and its health effects evoke on the human narrator become evident through utterances such as *I'm so congested*, *I'm useless*, and *I can't resist it*. In addition to the narrator's direct expressions of her feelings of inadequacy, some essential ideas in the song are expressed metaphorically and leave room for interpretation. I shall look at a few key metaphors next to find out more about these ideas and ideologies.

The most complex metaphors in the song are in the chorus:

Wallow in that ash bath
soaking up the fumes
and see the nicotine stain
start to spread

There are various possible interpretation for this phrase depending on who or what the 'I' or the speaker is assumed to be. One possibility is to assume that this is a third party addressing the smoker and that this is an indicative clause where the pronoun *You* has been omitted from the beginning of the sentence: "[You] wallow in that ash bath soaking up the fumes." The first thing that seems peculiar in this stanza is that the two verbs, *wallow* and *soaking* are related to bathing – an act of purifying – but as a result, the stain spreads instead of disappearing. This creates an image of human body acting as a sponge that soaks impurities from cigarette smoke, which is actually quite an accurate description of what happens, for example, to a smoker's lungs. The phrase "wallow in that ash bath" also structurally resembles the idiom that is used to refer to an act of indulging in a harmful activity or, for example, a negative feeling, as in the phrase *He really likes to wallow in self-pity*. The implication of this interpretation would be that the speaker disapproves the addressee's habit of indulging in smoking.

The action of wallowing in ashes could also be interpreted as an expression of repentance and a way of asking for forgiveness. The Bible, for instance, contains a number of passages where

people ask for forgiveness by dressing in sackcloth and sitting in ashes. One example is in Luke 10:13: “they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes” (King James Bible Online 2014). If the song is referring to this idea, it would compare smoking to repentance, which is contradictory to the message of the rest of the song. However, this interpretation would be plausible, if the speaker in the chorus was the cigarette. This explanation would place the cigarette in a position of a God who can grant absolution for smokers like God does to the remorseful people of Nineveh in Jonah 3:3–10. Considering the context of the rest of the song, which describes the harmful effects of smoking, this interpretation would make a cigarette a God that misleads its followers.

Perhaps the most important metaphor in the song is the one that appears in the title, *Nicotine Stain*. The phrase *nicotine stain* has a double meaning: in the beginning of the song the meaning is literal and refers to stains smoking causes to teeth and fingers. One reason for the song’s brutal portrayal of smoking might be the change in attitude towards smoking in Britain in the 1970s. According to Berridge and Loughlin (2005: 960), Britain started aggressive campaigning to educate the public about the dangers of smoking in the early 1970s. They explain that although the connection between smoking and cancer had been proved in the 1950s, health education concerning smoking had been subtle during the 1950s and 1960s. Since the early 1970s, the Health Education Council started pouring money into mass media advertising and the style of the advertising became more direct. One of the slogans used in the advertisements was “You can’t scrub your lungs clean” and the text was accompanied by an image of cigarette-stained hands. (Berridge and Loughlin 2005: 961.) Since these campaigns were highly visible in the media in the 70s, it is possible that they have inspired the song.

In the last stanza, however, the meaning of the phrase *nicotine stain spreads* becomes metaphorical, referring to the global spreading of the smoking habit. In this stanza, the cigarette is suggesting that it could be used as a weapon to scare the enemies of the addressee like a weapon of mass destruction. The fact that cigarettes are compared to weapons not only emphasizes the fact that the dangers of smoking were well-known in the 1970s Britain, but it is also a commentary on the way tobacco industry becomes globalised regardless of the health impact of smoking. The mentioning of war and enemies in the last stanza is also indicative of the late 1970s political atmosphere. Although Britain was not at war when the song was written, the situation was volatile both in Ireland and in the Falklands, and there were unrests in various other places such as Rhodesia and Iran. Although *Nicotine Stain* does not refer to these events

directly, the band has stated that the conflicts in Britain and Iran influenced their songwriting (Paytress 2005: 77).

Despite being fairly straightforward and using language that is perhaps less poetic than in the two previous songs, *Nicotine Stain* is layered with meaning. It uses a matter-of-fact style similar to anti-smoking advertisements to underline the negative effects of smoking, but simultaneously uses a supernatural element, familiar from Gothic literature, to highlight the benefits of cigarettes. The song is a cautionary story, but it does not preach or patronise the listener. Instead, the juxtaposition and the ambiguity of different voices and addressees challenge the listener to think about and question the impact of smoking and the tobacco industry on individuals and nations. However, the song is not only about smoking; the meaning can be extended to include other habits and forms of addiction that are difficult to get rid of and possibly disapproved by society.

5.4 Human confusion – Suburban relapse

The fourth theme that occurs regularly on the first two Banshees albums is human confusion. By this I mean mental confusion of the protagonists, such as search for identity, or questioning one's authenticity or faith, and these feelings are expressed in a number of songs either directly or through the agents' actions.

The song *Suburban Relapse* is a depiction of a nervous breakdown and its consequences in a British suburb. The lyrics provide very little information about the context or the identity of the characters apart from the lines "I was washing up the dishes / minding my own business / when my string snapped". These phrases implicate that the story takes place in a domestic environment and that the two characters are likely to be a couple, suggesting that the song is about the aftermath of domestic violence. Although the lyrics do not specify the sex of the characters, for the sake of simplicity I shall hereinafter refer to the protagonist as she. It seems to be a safe assumption considering that the story is located in the 1970s British suburb and the protagonist is doing housekeeping. Compared to the songs in the three previous chapters, the positioning of the subject and the addressee is much easier to follow, as neither the subject nor the addressee change in the course of the song. In essence, the song is a monologue by the protagonist to an unknown addressee, whom the protagonist has treated violently:

I'm sorry that I hit you
but my string snapped
I'm sorry I disturbed your cat-nap

but whilst finishing a chore
 I asked myself "what for"
 then something snapped,
 I had a relapse...A Suburban relapse

Although the song does not have the subject or addressee shift that Laing (1985: 72) argues is typical of Punk songs, the positioning of the characters is typical of Punk Rock in other ways.

According to Laing (1985: 26), the Punk Rock approach to music is "autobiographical" and transparent. Laing explains that one of the devices for achieving this is writing the lyrics from the view point of first person feelings. The difference to other popular songs using this device is that in Punk Rock these feelings are predominantly negative and aggressive while the 1960s Psychedelic Rock, for example, dealt with positivity. (Laing 1985: 28–29.) While *Suburban Relapse* is not an aggressive or angry song, the suburban anxiety and the shame of violence it expresses are without a doubt within the range of negative feelings. Choosing the first person point of view also adds an air of 'authenticity' to the song and provides a shock effect. Although the listeners will probably not think that the song is autobiographical in reality, the first person perspective allows them to identify the violent subject of the *énoncé* with Siouxsie. In comparison, *Tommy Gun* (1978), a song about a terrorist by another British Punk band The Clash, places the terrorist as the addressee of the singer's criticism: "tommy gun / you'll be dead when your war is won / tommy gun / but did you have to gun down everyone?" Although The Clash's song also addresses the terrorist directly, the effect is that the violent character is kept distant from the listener and represented as the 'other' while most listeners can identify themselves as the singer, the voice of the common man.

The positioning of the subject in the lyrics of *Suburban Relapse*, however, gives the violence a voice (and face) in the form of the singer, bringing it closer to the listener. Contrastingly, the positioning of the addressee in *Suburban Relapse* has an opposite effect. Laing (1985: 70) points out that in Rock music there has been a tendency to keep the audience of the performance and the addressee of the *énoncé* in parallel. Thus, by making the addressee of the *énoncé* as vague as possible (by using, for example, second person singular *you* in love songs), the songs can appeal to the widest possible audience. *Suburban Relapse*, however, does the opposite; although the addressee of the *énoncé* is a second personal singular *you*, only members of the audience who have been victims of violence can identify with the addressee. As it is also unlikely that the majority of the audience can (or would want to) identify themselves with the

protagonist of the song, the violator, the song is clearly aimed at a limited audience. Laing (1985: 68–69) suggests that this is typical feature of Punk Rock lyrics.

Another aspect where *Suburban Relapse* differs from the other songs analysed in this study is that in *Suburban Relapse* the protagonist is an active agent in most of the processes, including material, mental and relational processes, whereas in the other songs the protagonist is the Goal and therefore the object of actions. One of the few other active participants in the material processes of the lyrics is an inanimate entity *string* (or *my string*). By making it an active participant in the narrative, the narrator transfers the responsibility for igniting the violence to this third party, which suggests that despite being seemingly in control, the narrator is not the one making the decisions, or at least does not admit she is.

The song is structurally simpler than the previous examples and contains more repetition and fewer metaphors. One of the keys to interpreting the lyrics is the aforementioned metaphor *my string*. It parallels *patience* to a *string* that snaps. The metaphor PATIENCE IS A STRING is in turn based on the root metaphor THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT, identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 28). The purpose of metaphors is not simply to state that A is similar to B. Instead, a metaphor can be used to transfer qualities of one entity to another to highlight certain aspects of the latter, as in the example *my string snapped*. Not only does this metaphor inform the listener or reader that the protagonist ran out of patience, but it also implies that the string, i.e. the protagonist's patience, was stretched until the tension became too strong to bear. The metaphor also contains an implication of the result: when a string snaps, it happens fast and can cause a violent backlash.

The third implication of the metaphorisation of the protagonist's feelings is that they become personified. Personification can serve a number of purposes, but here it is used to transfer responsibility of the narrator's actions to another entity, the *string*, as suggested above. Instead of saying *I lost my temper* or *I got angry*, the narrator blames the string for initiating the violence. The reason for this can be, for example, that the narrator feels that she was not in control of her actions, which is often the case when a person becomes extremely furious. It is also possible that the narrator is trying to make an excuse by saying that this is not how he or she normally behaves.

The transfer of responsibility is also emphasized by the song's title *Suburban Relapse*. As well as indicating the location of the song's events, the title also indicates the cause. The word *relapse* is mostly associated with the recurring of an illness or a drug or alcohol addiction. It could be interpreted as a suggestion that the narrator's violent behaviour is also recurring. Whatever the case is, the cause of the narrator's 'illness' is suburbia and the tension it causes. There are also a few other hints for the reasons of the events in the first stanza: "I'm sorry I disturbed your cat-nap / but whilst finishing a chore / I asked myself "what for". It reveals an unequal situation where the addressee is napping while the protagonist is doing household work. One possible explanation for the song's events is that the protagonist gets tired of doing all the work around the house and feels trapped in the role of a suburban housewife, but sees no way out of the situation until the tension finally erupts into violence. Mullender (1996: 16, 43), points out that one of the reasons for domestic violence is the need of the violator to gain control of one's partner and that the loss of memory of the event is also common. It could be argued that there is no point in analysing the psychology of a fictitious character, but a work of fiction can be as accurate a portrayal as an account of a real event.

Suburban Relapse is structurally divided into two parts – the first part contains the reasoning behind the protagonist's actions and the second part, beginning with the line "Should I?", describes her mental state as she gradually becomes more disoriented:

[Should I?]
 Throw things at the neighbours
 expose myself to strangers?
 kill myself or...you?
 now memory gets hazy?
 I think I must be crazy

In the last stanza the narrator lists a number of possible actions that the protagonist thinks could allow her to break free from the confines of suburban life, beginning from small things that would arouse disapproval in the neighbourhood and getting gradually more severe until the final option is murder, at which point the narrator begins to question her own sanity. The narrator's confusion is also emphasized grammatically by the change from using declarative clauses in the first part of the song to interrogative clauses in the latter part. This is further underlined by the use of question marks. There is one even at the end of a declarative clause "now memory gets hazy?", as if to express that the narrator was unsure about whether what she experiences is real.

The song does not contain similar literary references as, for example, *Premature Burial*, but like the other three songs, it does reflect the social reality of late 1970s Britain. As Morgan (1992: 355) suggests, domestic violence increased drastically during the 70s, partly because of the tension that the demands of the women's rights movements were causing within families. It does not, however, mean that feminists are to blame for the increase of domestic violence. Rather, the violence was a result of the inability of people to adapt to the changes in society. One result of the feminists' work and a proof of the increase in domestic violence was the *Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act* of 1976, which improved the rights of those at risk of violence.

An interesting aspect of the song is that although it presents an important social issue, it does not directly condemn domestic violence. Unlike realist Punk Rock songs, such as *Tommy Gun*, it does not oppose a certain entity, institution or idea directly in a manner that Laing (1985: 71) calls "lyrics of denunciation". Neither does it follow the protest song tradition, which according to Laing (1985: 29) relies on persuasion like John Lennon's *Give Peace a Chance*. Laing (ibid.) notes that these kinds of songs are often addressed to a like-minded audience like Bob Dylan's *Blowing' in the Wind*, which is addressed to "my friend". Instead, by placing the listener into a situation where identification with the characters is difficult, *Suburban Relapse* abstains from giving the listeners ready answers and forces them to form their own opinion of violence. Although the song does not condone domestic violence, it aims to show that the distinction between 'good' and 'evil' in conflicts such as this is not always clear-cut.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 The Banshees in relation to Punk and Goth Rock

The aim of this study was to find out whether Gothic Rock, especially the early songs of Siouxsie and the Banshees, continue the legacy of Punk Rock as a socio-political music style that reflects and criticises the surrounding society, or whether it concentrates on reflecting the inner lives of the songwriters. I also wanted to find out how the Banshees' songs portray the British society in case the songs have political or social undertones.

During this study it became evident, however, that the juxtaposition of inner values and socio-political awareness in analysing Punk Rock, or any other musical style for that matter, is fruitless. Contrary to popular belief, not all Punk Rock is political to begin with, and

additionally, one of the main differences between Punk Rock and other political musical genres is that Punk Rock often bases criticism of different institutions and issues specifically on the inner life of the songwriter by expressing first-person feelings. Furthermore, late 1970s Punk Rock was not a homogenous genre and, although music is difficult to classify precisely in reality, Punk Rock could be roughly divided into realist and avant-gardist branches.

Although the early songs of Siouxsie and the Banshees are not political in an obvious manner and lack the direct social criticism of realist Punk Rock, they deal with a number of issues of the British society, such as the increased popularity of right-wingers and the increase in domestic violence. The songs also reflect other aspects of society, social changes and life, such as the increasing awareness of health problems caused by smoking, the importance of individualism and freedom of thought and speech, and the suffocating atmosphere of suburban middle class life. The Banshees do this by using the narrative methods of avant-gardist Punk, such as unsignalled shifting of subjects and addressees, which forces the listeners out of their comfort zone by robbing them of easily identifiable positions and undermining structures of meaning.

This development to a more subtle social commentary was by no means arbitrary. Lawley (1999: 101) proposes that Punk was a child of the sixties counter-culture. While the protest songs and idealism of the sixties were generally based on persuasion and the power of the masses, Punk relied on individualism and denunciation of power structures, albeit doing so, as Hebdige (1979: 86) points out, using “some of the preferred meanings and interpretations, those favoured by and transmitted through the authorized channels of mass communication”. Siouxsie has said (as quoted by O’Brien 1999: 186) that the Banshees wanted to take “the whole thing to its logical extreme”. When at one end of the Post-Punk spectrum were the overtly political genres of Oi! and Anarcho-Punk, the other end encompassed a group of aspiring musicians whose approach to music was, as Reynolds (2005: 06) summarises, “personal is political”. They thought that realist Punks were too literal and that they were “preaching to the choir”, as described by Reynolds (2005: 6). The Banshees were not by any means the only ones who took this approach – among other British Post-Punk bands who were interested in social issues and politics were Scritti Politti and the Gang of Four, who were versed in Marxist ideas and Godard’s film theory and applied them to songs about love and personal relationships (Reynolds 2005: 6–7, 59).

While this next generation of bands moved away from the direct political finger-pointing, also the perspective shifted from that of Punk. Reynolds (2005: 64) notes, for example, that while many of the Gang of Four's songs are written from the first person perspective, they felt depersonalised and there was a sense that the protagonists were at the mercy of "impersonal social forces". Delta 5, a group closely related to the Gang of Four, also used distancing effects, such as lack of gender specificity, in their songs (Reynolds 2005: 66). Distancing, in this case, refers to distancing the subject of the *énoncé* from the singer, not necessarily preventing the audience from identifying with the protagonist of the song. Gender ambiguity is also a notable feature of the Banshees' lyrics, but I would argue that it does not cause a similar distancing effect as that described by Reynolds. The thoughts of the smoker in *Nicotine Stain*, for example, could easily be identified with Siouxsie or any other smoker, and despite the fact that the narratives of the Banshees' songs are often fantastical, the songs have that feeling of authenticity that is typical of Punk Rock. Nevertheless, the sense of the protagonists being controlled by external forces is present in all of the four songs analysed in detail in this study.

What really sets the Banshees apart from Punk bands and the political Post-Punk acts is the use of fiction and the discourse of horror stories, films and even Christianity as elements of social commentary. One impact of this is that whereas Punk rock was regarded as 'authentic', i.e. as stories of real life experienced by the narrator, the 'I' in the music of the Banshees is clearly a character in a fictional world where supernatural phenomena exists. I suspect this and the fact that the Banshees' songs do not articulate the 'preferred' meanings Hebdige mentions have contributed to the Banshees' reputation as apolitical. It is easier to take the songs literally and even misinterpret them by ignoring the different voices within a single narrative than to work out the meaning. With the social or political standpoint hidden behind Gothic tales, the Banshees' songs are like modern fables without a moral.

There have not been enough studies on Gothic music to compare the values and ideologies in the Banshees' songs with ideologies in the songs of modern Gothic bands or the Banshees' contemporaries. The subculture has also diversified immensely during its 30-year existence, both in terms of musical styles it encompasses and in terms of ideologies. Modern Goth rock can be anything from acoustic Neo Folk to Rock music with electronic or heavy metal influences, and the Goths themselves can be anything between an occasional clubber to a devoted pagan. I also feel that due to the limited scope of this study, the results of the analyses are not sufficient to draw definitive conclusions about the ideological content of the Banshees'

production. Generally it can be said, however, that the values in the Banshees' songs correspond to the values attributed to modern Goth by Goodlad and Bibby (2007), Gunn (2007) and Hodkinson (2002).

Of the values identified by the aforementioned studies (see pages 41–42), the four songs analysed in this study express middle class repression, individualism, freedom, and opposition of gender and social norms particularly strongly. Obsession with consumerism, however, is one theme not present in the four songs analysed in this study. A preliminary analysis of the songs from *The Scream* and *Join Hands* that were excluded from this study suggests that many of those songs also conform to the ideologies of modern British Goths. This is not surprising, considering that many of those values derive from Punk Rock. There is one idea connected to modern Goth culture, however, that seems to contradict what the Banshees tried to achieve with their music – escapism. Both Shumway and Arnet (2007: 139–140) and Reynolds (2005: 354) suggest that one of the main attractions of Goth subculture is the possibility to escape the everyday English life. Yet, the music of the Banshees, despite flirting with the otherworldly, is highlighting the issues of society, not toning them down. In this sense, Siouxsie and the Banshees seems to be a kind of bridge band between Punk Rock and the Modern Goth subculture.

6.2 The methodology and results in a wider context

Critical Discourse Analysis was chosen as the theoretical framework of this study because power struggles were one of the expected features of the texts. It proved a good choice and the chosen tools served the study well. The texts were somewhat complex because of their tendency to switch between different actors and other unconventional structural features, but the analysis of transitivity helped with these issues. It allowed to bring to light the power relationships as well as ideological and social structures in the texts, which in turn helped with the interpretation, especially in cases where the writer did not provide much context.

The most important tool for this study (or any study, as Fairclough 1999: 203 argues), was intertextual analysis. It both helped to position the analysed text in context with other texts and discourses and to make conclusions about the production of the text under analysis. Intertextuality was also an important aid when studying the metaphors within the text. I feel that metaphors were a crucial key in analysing what the writer wants to express through language. One of the interesting realisations was that although each song contains power struggle, in

many cases between the norms of the British society and an individual, the song *Nicotine Stain* is, in a way, an exception; as an anti-smoking song it actually defends the government's healthcare policies, i.e. the hegemonic values, by underlining the dangers of smoking and taking a stance against the tobacco industry. Siding with government policies is not usually expected of Punk bands, but it indicates that the Banshees did not write songs about social or political issues merely for the sake of resisting the government or other hegemonic institutions. Instead, their social commentary seems to be based on their opinions regardless of who might agree with them, and if anything, *Nicotine Stain* is a commentary on the weakness of human nature.

One of the concerns Blommaert (2005: 35–36) presents about the validity of CDA as a tool is that it could be unusable as such in societies outside the First World sphere of influence, for example in countries where the illiteracy rate might be high or where most people do not own a television. In these societies the discourse products are very likely to be different from the Western discourse. While this is not a concern for the present study, I can see how the methodology of the present study and CDA might not be suitable for analysing, for instance, protest songs in countries outside the Western cultural sphere, such as Japan or Syria. Similarly, it might limit applying the findings of this study to the discourse of Gothic Rock created in countries where the influence of Anglo-American culture is less prevalent.

Another problem with the present study is that it analyses the lyrics as poems without the accompanying music, the nuances of the singer's voice in vocal music, the tempo and other musical qualities. Unfortunately the scope of this study does not allow for a musical analysis and the analysed materials have been decontextualized in that aspect. I have relied on previous musicological analyses (Whiteley 2000 and Van Elferen 2012) where available, but I feel that whereas this study could have benefited from the point of view of musicology, those previous musicological studies fall short because of the lack of linguistic analysis. Combining these two fields would therefore be preferable, if not essential, when analysing vocal music. Because the articulation of ideologies is, however, primarily a linguistic endeavour and it can be argued that texts are less open to interpretation than the semiotic signs of music, I feel that CDA and the selected tools have been a sufficient for the task.

As mentioned previously, it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions about the relationship of the Banshees' music with the British society or the modern Gothic subculture based on the

analysis of four songs alone. A comprehensive linguistic, and preferably interdisciplinary, analysis of the first two Banshees albums and the accompanying singles would be needed in order to achieve that. One of the prominent features of modern British Goth subculture is the members' relationship to religion and paganism, and it would be interesting to see how the Banshees' lyrics contribute to this relationship. In the material of the present study, only the song *Nicotine Stain* utilised religious imagery, but the use was very superficial. Song titles such as *Icon* (1978), *Spellbound* (1981) and the album title *Juju* (1981), however indicate that the Banshees do have religious, although not necessarily Christian, themes in their work. As there also seem to be ideological differences between the early Banshees songs and the modern (post-1990s) Goth subculture, it would be worthwhile to analyse more recent Banshees albums to find out whether the lyrics of the newer songs reflect this change in the subculture's values.

The Banshees' career spanned until 1996, five years longer than Thatcher. Although The Banshees' first albums still offer quite a lot of material to be analysed, their later albums also present interesting material for similar studies. One area of interest is how the Banshees' lyrics evolved in the course of their career. As a continuation of the present study, it would also be interesting to see how the long period of Thatcherism shows in their work. Blommaert (2005: 37) has criticized CDA for its lack of historical analysis and for considering developments that have happened over a relatively short period of time, such as 30 years, as 'historical'. Rock music is, however, a young art form that changes rapidly, and in that context, studying lyrics an artist has produced over a timespan of twenty years should provide interesting data about the changes in society – especially when the artist's career covers a period of time from pre-Thatcherism to the years following her resignation.

Goth rock has come a long way since its inception in the late 1970s, diversifying both stylistically and thematically. This provides an abundance of material for analysis, ranging from the other proto-Goth bands of the late 1970s to modern gothic bands. In the case of modern Goth Rock, a lyrical analysis could provide insight into, for example, whether the criticism and rebellion of Punk Rock has remained a part of Goth Rock on the 21st century. The methodology of this study could also be applied to other genres of contemporary music; in addition to Goth Rock, other genres of independent and alternative music could be analysed to reveal the undercurrents of the contemporary society.

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APPENDIX 1: Metal Postcard (Mittageisen)

Dedicated to John Heartfield

Reunion begins
 with a glass of mercury
 whilst television flickers
 for another news bulletin
 flints light up the eyes
 of the seated family

Chorus: "Metal is tough, metal will sheen
 Metal won't rust when oiled and cleaned
 Metal is tough, metal will sheen
 Metal will rule in my masterscheme"

With a clockwork jerk
 pluck cogs from fob watches
 for dinner on Friday
 then recoiling say excuse me
 "Must go recycle
 my precious machinery"

Chorus:

It's ruling our lives
 there is no hope
 thought I'd drop a line
 the weather here is fine
 but day and night it blares
 commanding through loudspeakers:-

Chorus:

APPENDIX 2: Premature Burial

This catacomb compels me
 Corroding and inert
 It weights and tries to pull me
 Must I resist or re-assert?

The unchanged and the unchangeable
 Doing the zombierama
 Singing Oh come and be like me,
 We're all sisters and brothers

Ejected to this state of being
 Don't bury me with this
 I'm in a state of catalepsy
 Can I really exist?

Clawing from the inside
 Drowning in your chant
 Thoughts come flooding through me
 Despairing unity

The unchanged and the unchangeable
 Doing the zombierama
 Singing Oh come and be like me,
 We're all sisters and brothers

Red and white carnations
 Can't intoxicate my brain
 This blissful suffocation
 It is driving me to pain
 Oh what a bloody shame

The unchanged and the unchangeable
 Doing the zombierama
 Singing Oh come and be like me,
 We're all sisters and brothers

I'm not your sister
 Or your brother
 Don't bury me with this
 Join hands—join hands
 We're all sisters and brothers
 Sisters and brothers
 I can't relate to you
 You're no relation of mine

APPENDIX 3: Nicotine Stain

It's just a habit
when I reach to the packet
for my last cigarette
until the day breaks
and then my hand shakes
but it's just driving me insane
when the smoke gets in my brain
I can't resist it

Chorus: Wallow in that ash bath
soaking up the fumes
and see the nicotine stain
start to spread

I'm so congested
cos north, south, east and west
catarrh rests on my chest
congealed and twisted
cough up and shift it
but I can feel my lungs collapse
sinking deep into my lap
I'm so useless

Chorus:

I'm so useful
if you don't want to fight
just give your foe a fright
say you'll drop me
on every country
see all will be stone dead
when the nicotine stain spreads
just light me

APPENDIX 4: Suburban Relapse

I'm sorry that I hit you
but my string snapped
I'm sorry I disturbed your cat-nap
but whilst finishing a chore
I asked myself "what for"
then something snapped,
I had a relapse...A Suburban relapse

I was washing up the dishes
minding my own business
when my string snapped
I had a relapse...A Suburban relapse

[Should I?]
Throw things at the neighbours
expose myself to strangers?
kill myself or...you?
now memory gets hazy?
I think I must be crazy
but my string snapped
I had a relapse...A Suburban relapse