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20. **Glocalization, bricolage**
21. **and black metal: Towards a**
22. **music-centric youth culture**
23. **simultaneously exemplifying**
24. **the global and the glocal**
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37. **ABSTRACT**

38. *This article aims to show how youth subculture is mapped onto both 'global' and 'glocal' terms. The progression of the article is as follows: from a basic overview of youth subculture, black metal and current research, it then begins to slowly unpack; using familiar examples of globalization, in business and of culture. The article introduces how globalization and bricolage have intertwined to create 'glocalization', and how this new way to view global communities has pushed our current ideas of youth subculture towards evolution. The article hopes to encourage re-analysis in how we think of youth subculture; away from monolithic tribes towards more subtly nuanced groupings.*
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49.

50. The study of youth subculture, that being studies of the bonds that young
51. people create interactionally, the problems that they face and the solutions
52.

KEYWORDS

black metal
subculture
glocalization
bricolage
globalization
youth

they attempt to utilize to overcome them provides an interesting and important anchor point for us as researchers. From this anchor point we can then reach towards increasing an understanding of a state in the human life cycle that is both inevitable and transitory. Youth study proffers a difficulty in that we cannot supply our experiences and anecdotes as youth today are different from what we remember and may change again tomorrow. Youth is a fluid concept, to such a degree that at times it can feel like generations separated by 20–30 years cannot understand each other at all. To put it simply, in order to do youth subculture research justice, researchers would usually dissect a youth subculture to closer analyse its component features, and then ask questions about a particular group's formation in order to analyse it further as a whole. This style of inquiry will be followed within; however there is one vital difference – at the centre of the article, is not the subculture itself, but the practice of globalization and glocalization as applied on to a subculture. To be able to adequately present an argument for the necessity of this thematic realignment the order of the article is as follows. For the purpose of ensuring that readers can read this article clearly, it will be split into three component parts – the initial discussion on subculture and youth movements, their formation and reasons behind their existence; secondly, a review of literature appertaining to globalization, glocalization and bricolage, paring the concepts apart and presenting them in a logical order (towards the microcosm) and thirdly applying what has been gathered on the subjects of glocalization and bricolage directly onto the black metal subculture itself. Hopefully uncovering the nuances of the needs and desires that belonging to this grouping fulfils for its devotees at the expense of any other potential cultural grouping. Inversely, through investigation this article offers arguments as to why new youth movements arise and how they differ in form and function from previously available cultures, in line with ideas of glocalization and bricolage.

The geographically comparative element of this research is principally to offer explanations as to how even subtle differences in locality can result in divergence in youth culture as features correspond and synchronize, 'glocalizing' youth movements wherever they appear. Local components such as economy, social cohesion, religion as well as any concurrent cultures will help to shape and hybridize the youth output. Through this research, it is hoped that we can isolate some of these features and map out the differences their inclusion makes to the overall subculture.

To outsiders, the black metal subculture is an almost invisible niche in the wider heavy metal subculture. Albeit for a few years during the 1990s when the stories of numerous transgressions broke from out of Norway, and the subsequent moral panic of 'teenage Satanists', the black metal subculture has remained shadowy and homogenous in the stereotypical way it has been portrayed. The 'Black Metal Inner Circle' in Norway presented only a single face of a subculture (and it is debatable as to whether it actually existed as a conscious entity, or a more fluid description of a few central subcultural members), and the participants found themselves subject to generalization stemming from this perspective. However, in a different area affected by subtle changes in physical and political environment, this article posits that such transgressions would never have occurred; all preceding events and structures in Norway at the time, led towards an atmosphere where the transgressions were to be expected. The local differences can be studied and analysed to predict, for example, the attributes of a youth cultural movement once it arrives in a particular area in future.

1. **Part I: Considering subculture and youth deviance**

2. The young are too often labelled in less than glowing terms by agents of both
 3. media and Government, but the negative behaviour which is highlighted
 4. and disproportionately displayed is hardly ever addressed. In the case of the
 5. London Riots in 2011, 1292 of those rioting and looting received sentences
 6. cumulative of 1800 years (Davey 2012). Hardly any of those sentenced lived
 7. out their sentences to the full, which leaves the impression that the whole
 8. measure was to make an example of the looters, both shaming and scar-
 9. ing them from transgressing again (BBC News 2011), taking a noticeably
 10. tough stance, as well as administering this brand of justice incredibly quickly
 11. (Beckford 2012). However, the landscape that these young people live in
 12. has not changed at all. The ASBOs (Anti-social Behavioural Orders) used to
 13. control anti-social behaviour sat that time (primarily that of youths), or more
 14. accurately, criminalize nuisance (bridging the gap between nuisance and
 15. actual criminal activity), were another example of punitive measures being
 16. enforced over any attempt to understand why such attitudes of nihilism and
 17. destructiveness arise. In beginning to address such problems that affect the
 18. young, we are potentially curbing the expansion of ill-feeling that may lead to
 19. further youth revolt.

20. The wave of nihilism and destructiveness in latter day youth subcultures
 21. is an important feature that begs for analytical deconstruction. Attitudes that
 22. can be described as anti-social are a common feature of youth subcultures, as
 23. one theory for the rise of subculture is the unification of those with similar
 24. aims, who feel tighter bonds to their brethren than to those of the surround-
 25. ing cultures (Hebdige 1979). The black metal subculture possesses features
 26. common to this trend, but due to their overtly visible elemental differences
 27. and extremities of behaviour and philosophy, this article argues that it is not
 28. only a prime example of youth culture, but placed in a great position to under-
 29. stand youth behaviour. Whereas the Norwegian scene existed within a cycle
 30. of criminal transgression, the UK scene purported a more ideologically trans-
 31. gressive outlook. It can be observed how attitudes that appear negating and
 32. destructive appear in multitudinous examples.

33. Analysing this particular subculture and applying it to other similar youth
 34. movements, the possibility is that it will be seen that each has at its root a
 35. certain dissatisfaction with other local cultures. This can culminate in resist-
 36. ance to or negation of and the symbolic distancing of oneself from such a
 37. culture, dependent on the movement one aligns with. The feature to watch in
 38. the evolution of these musical youths is the extremity and divergence that each
 39. sample seeks out. Studying this difference provides an insight into whether it
 40. can depend on the level of dissatisfaction inherent in the movement, or simply
 41. the desire to advance and deviate further from what has existed before, in the
 42. belief that by intensifying the message of dissatisfaction, it will be heard or at
 43. least the aggressions of the individuals will be expunged. One or more of the
 44. above may be found to be the rationale behind youth music. Earlier examples
 45. such as the punk scene produced a sonic template and allied it with an atti-
 46. tude that defied and showed a front of resistance to the Thatcherite politics of
 47. the day. The manner in which this resistance was executed was so visceral that
 48. the reverberations lasted for decades to come (one needs only to look at the
 49. young bands of today, or the album art produced in homage to their prede-
 50. cessors or even the numerous 'punk' clothing revivals to see how a subculture
 51. could take hold of the collective conscience). The music reflected the anger
 52.

that the youth felt in their everyday lives, the collective disdain in many ways forms the basis of these subcultures. Future youth movements cannot truly state their disgust with society using a previous movement, so many evolve new musical genres with which to shock and engage their audiences.

Essentially, nihilism and destructiveness are nothing new in youth subcultures, but in black metal the collective use of such parameters, and degree of engagement with them, posited in this article, is a new and unique entity. 'Black Metal Theory' is an ever-increasing body of philosophical work, analysing the ideas and the esoteric nature of black metal in all its forms. These writers focus not only on the commonality of tropes of black metal, but also individual idiosyncrasies from each scene or even each individual performer. It will also become apparent that the symbolic distance that the black metal culture places between itself and the wider world exemplified by a clash of ideologies and an almost entirely inaccessible musical output help to reinforce a barrier keeping the wider population out, as Anton LaVey once articulated that: '[t]rue Satanists are born, not made' (Baddeley 1999: 94). This sentiment holds true here.

The question is important to continued study of subcultures as a whole, as the result would be an early step into realizing that seemingly monolithic subcultures can differ in surprisingly varied ways. Therefore, any 'solutions' to youth problems identified by researchers in one area will not necessarily alleviate the issue in another area, or in the worst-case scenario exacerbate it. For example, pocketed iterations of the black metal subculture which prior to the digital revolution found subcultural interactions a slow and laborious process, youth members in quieter, generally stable countries (Norway, United Kingdom, France, etc.) would have found very little in terms of common ground with the values of the third world nations' black metal output. Solutions that are available to youth movements in some areas would be impossible to implement in others due to economic or social restraints. Or they would just be irrelevant and a figurative waste of resources.

Here, the task at hand is attempting to provide the place-specific nature of youth subcultures through black metal. For a brief moment compare Norway and the United States for example, where the cold, bleak, anti-Christian world-view of the Scandinavian subculture fits perfectly well when occupying its own space. When the genre was transported overseas to the United States, such anger at Christianity and sonic templates reminiscent of a harsh northern forest seemed alien to them, thus inciting at best, ridicule (Echtra 2012). However, over time, other scenes have transformed the meaning behind the original Northern Darkness, and applied it to their own personal struggles. Each time heralding the creation of a sound that is relevant to them. The US example leapt on the ecological aspect of Norwegian black metal, and brought that to the forefront. Resulting in the formation of the subgenre of Cascadian black metal, where members of the subculture take a far-left view of the land they inhabit. By singing its praises in ritualistic tones quite often with extremely experimental musical forms and instruments (such as Echtra, Fauna and Agalloch – famously strike a hollowed out deer skull in one composition: 'The Lodge' [Agalloch 2002] as percussion) and condemning those that damage it. Elsewhere, in other black metal subcultures ecology has remained on the back foot as bands reinterpret black metal's thematic palette in order to rally against their own 'demons' – racial, eschatological, etc. An argument can be made to suggest that black metal forms a proposition and a tool to reflect anger and unrest, in much the same way as the punk era before it.

1. Thus, viewing such a variant subculture monolithically would be inherently
 2. wrong, an injustice to its members and pivotally failing to see the individuali-
 3. ties necessary for deep study.

4. Addressing youth subculture in late modernity, i.e. from the late 1960s
 5. onwards, usually associated with the continuation and advancement of highly
 6. developed modern societies (Lash 1990), although as in Wilson, 'modernity'
 7. is described as possessing more zeitgeist qualities than of a genuine epoch
 8. (Wilson 2005) cannot be done without reference to the numerous works
 9. already in circulation covering a vast range of youth subcultures. Members
 10. of such subcultures can be identified by researchers and each other by the
 11. symbolic use of consumption choices such as music and clothing amongst
 12. other visible 'marks' (Hall and Jefferson 1993). The 'uniform' of the subculture
 13. maintains high importance to all involved. Those who express a desire to enter
 14. the subculture do so by obtaining the correct style, the correct CD collection
 15. and the correct mannerisms. Once entering a subculture, certain members will
 16. inevitably try to attain more subcultural capital, through going to the 'cool'
 17. places, meeting the right people, and trying to raise their own profile amongst
 18. their chosen group (Huq 2006). If, like many, the subculture is based around
 19. music, members who wish to attain such subcultural capital will attempt to
 20. befriend the bands, actively participate with the operation of the scene, or
 21. form bands themselves.

22. Riesman defined subculture as a destination for those who did not
 23. passively accept commercially provided style and meanings – instead opting
 24. for 'minority style' and interpreted this with subversive values (Riesman 1950).
 25. Hebdige expanded this view, and argued that a subculture was subversion
 26. to normality, and a grouping of like-minded individuals, who feel let down
 27. by the societal standards of the majority 'dominant culture' (Hebdige 1979).
 28. There is thought to be three stages of a subculture; formation, crystalliza-
 29. tion and eventual fragmentation (Otnes 1999). The forming of the subculture,
 30. where rules and subversive norms are forged, is followed by the crystalliza-
 31. tion, where concrete rules maintain the identity, style and societal rules of
 32. the subculture. This is where the subculture will either augment in size as
 33. prospective members see it as interesting or aligned with their views will
 34. converge and begin the task of assimilating to the accepted styles. Finally, the
 35. subculture fragments, as ideological differences begin to surface – members
 36. become bored of the current strain of styles or the group naturally drifts apart
 37. and becomes something unrecognizable from the original subculture (Cohen
 38. 1972). This process continues ad infinitum and one can retroactively trace
 39. subcultures to their point of origin (Jenks 2005: 32). Music-centric subcultures
 40. make this process easier, as their musical output normally forms a recogniz-
 41. able subgenre of a previously existing style.

42. While ever-changing in their formation, youth subcultures have contin-
 43. ued to unite (and disunite) youth communities since the term was pioneered.
 44. Belonging to a subculture can be empowering to its members, giving a sense
 45. of identity and belonging; forming a union between young people with a
 46. common taste/shared interest. Often, the ties that bind the resulting faction
 47. are stronger than the bonds to the dominant culture, as the youths feel more
 48. connection to those within the group than others, who do not understand
 49. the memes,¹ usually members of ideologically opposed youth groups or
 50. adults who 'just don't get it'. A subculture can form the basis of a rebellion, a
 51. much needed sense of unity outside of the regulated institutions that society
 52. places on them, a place for outsiders to belong or an attempt to understand

1. Ideas, behaviours or styles transmitted from person to person within a culture, see Dawkins (1982: 192).

the world; individually or collectively. These youth subcultures in late modernity have often gathered around a single focal point of a genre of music; that they have either created or adopted as their own. Throughout the mid- to late twentieth century, music has helped define what it is to be young; it is often cited as an important part of a young person's formative years, helping them to make sense of the world that they are slowly being introduced to. The following section will attempt to analyse the different trends and explain their function internally and in a wider-social setting, in accordance with chosen pre-established research.

Moving towards music-centric youth subcultures

Youth cultures are a much-documented part of the social sphere (Parsons 1964); research into their existence is numerous and has evolved along with the subcultures themselves. A limited few are seen as passive, especially those with ideals entrenched in consumerism, such as the current 'hipster' subculture. The perception of this subculture, as an example of passivity, may be assumed to be that the predominantly middle-class members of this iteration are seen as an aspiration to many members of society, being upwardly mobile, in possession of the expensive 'alternative' consumer products and simultaneously a pseudo-ethical lifestyle, consisting of a good diet and healthy demeanour (Haddow 2008).

Many more, however, are perceived as dangerous and demonized by society, particularly by the press and authority figures. Unfortunately, due to the ages of those involved in youth subcultures, who may feel their existence as a necessity, such groups are often met with disapproval. Demonizing youth subcultures often masks a demonization of youth. Cohen's work on mods and rockers, and their violent clashes in Brighton provides an insight into how the dominant culture responds to the perceived risk to its hegemony. The term 'folk devils' embodies manifestations of the media's (representing the opinion of the dominant culture) fear of outsiders or deviants, mostly used a scapegoat for societal ills by marginalizing groups, notably youth subcultures. It is at this point in the evolution of youth subculture (mods, rockers) that any dissection of trends and styles must begin. Both groups adopted very individualistic images and styles for themselves; to be identified as members of their groups by outsiders and each other, in a manner reminiscent of tribal culture the two groups interact with each other more willingly than outsiders or rivals; and attempt to progress within the hierarchy by acquiring subcultural capital.

The genres of music that the opposing groups listened to and aligned themselves with (almost exclusively) reflect their styles: the aggressive appearance of the rockers, long greasy hair, leather jackets and copious amounts of studs, band patches, denim and a common tendency to ride motorbikes display the values which they regard as important in what would later evolve into 'heavy metal'. Since the early 1960s new bands such as The Rolling Stones, MC5 and Golden Earring would start to reflect this new attitude and the styles of their fans would evolve along with them in tandem with a genre that was becoming known for hyper-masculinity and musicians with increasingly feral styles playing increasingly heavily distorted instruments and pushing the boundaries of what is acceptable to current ears as music. Enthusiasts are numerous (Epstein and Pratto 1990: 67–76), and usually adolescent, white and male (Weinstein 2000: 30). The mods were an altogether opposed proposition, smart, tailor-made suits and booted in their appearance; their music

1. tastes were more omnivorous (and multicultural whereas rockers' consumption was explicitly 'white' music) consuming ska, soul R&B and beat music.
 2.
 3. The mod look and sound betrayed its origins as London-centric; stylish and adapted perfectly to the 1960s idealized 'urban cool' of a city that was rapidly
 4. becoming a hotbed of youth style and culture (Fowler 2008: 134).
 5.

6. The consumption trends that validate youth subcultures have more or
 7. less remained static throughout their evolution – a subculture is not complete
 8. without a list of the 'identifiers' or recognizable traits. A subculture can be
 9. identified by their music, their clothes and their stimulants of choice (or
 10. rejection of). All youth subcultures follow the same pattern of emergence,
 11. albeit to different degrees, dependent on popularity. Each begins as under-
 12. ground phenomena and subsequently augments as more young people see
 13. the grouping as a solution to their current situational problem or a chance
 14. to identify with like-minded individuals and 'belong' to something. Once a
 15. subculture has become clearly visible at street level, it is very common for
 16. clothing companies to begin adapting the styles for commercialization, along-
 17. side subcultural members designing their own creations for sale via sites such
 18. as 'etsy' and 'eBay' until the youth market for such products expire. Some
 19. companies that have began this way and are seen to have truly captured the
 20. subcultural 'zeitgeist' as 'Drop Dead Clothing' (owned by Oli Sykes of 'Bring
 21. Me The Horizon') can rightfully claim that they are a heavily profitable busi-
 22. ness. Consequentially, with the results of these expanding the subculture as
 23. larger numbers can participate in the appropriate styles, however, separating
 24. the new commercialized products from the original roots movement.

25. It is fair to say at this point that members of youth subcultures are given
 26. mixed messages when it comes to commercialization of these tropes. One
 27. must question the hypocrisy inherent in a youngster being able to buy 'punk'
 28. clothes in a high-street chain shop and being moved on/harassed by security
 29. for 'looking like a troublemaker', possibly resulting in an anti-social behaviour
 30. order being distributed. On the one hand, youths are told their movement
 31. is subversive and frowned upon, and on the other ripped t-shirts with punk
 32. slogans are on sale in high-street shops that these young people frequent.
 33.

34. **Categories of youth subculture and their application to the black** 35. **metal subculture**

36. The black metal subculture itself is an extreme music-centric subculture which
 37. promotes anti-social ideologies. I believe that this subculture has been under-
 38. utilized as a study focus, even though the cultural history is quite well known,
 39. having achieved notoriety in the early 1990s. As a modern subculture, it is
 40. quite niche that has crystallized from fragments of the more visible and there-
 41. fore researched heavy metal group. Writers such as Arnett (1996) have fulfilled
 42. extensive subcultural studies on linking heavy metal fandom to alienation and
 43. isolation of its listeners; however the black metal scene was notably absent
 44. from his work, although as an extreme of the genre, one would expect the
 45. extremes of example interviewees in his study to at least be aware of the
 46. genre. Connecting listening to heavy metal and alienation is by no means a
 47. new idea, but what Arnett did uncover, albeit unconsciously at the time, was
 48. the vast spectrum of subcultural membership. Thornton (1995) devised the
 49. idea of 'subcultural capital' with which one could raise the status of them-
 50. selves within a group or against other groups. However, the most interesting
 51. part of Arnett's work is the dedication of each interviewee to the subculture.
 52.

It can be assessed as a cross-section beginning with fringe membership right through to more hardcore dedication. Also, some can be completely satisfied maintaining their position on the edge instead of trying to attain more subcultural capital. It is from this aspect of Arnett's work, that the importance and value of scene members from all areas of the spectrum as being equally valid to research, studies solely reliant on the most adamant fans will only really tell a fraction of the overall narrative.

Hebdige's ideas on the disparity between subculture and dominant society can be used here to an interesting effect. As previously mentioned the black metal culture is notorious for the ideological distance it has placed between itself and the mainstream. A clash of world-views, including some that are justifiably objectionable – as opposed to those that just contrast with the status quo, as it were. Considering Hebdige in tandem with Maffesoli's work on neo-tribalism (1996), one can see that the same ideology that separates the black metal faithful from the wider world is the same ideology that binds the individuals together; essentially where he supplies the idea that bonds between individuals inside a neo-tribe share, can be far stronger than their remaining ties to the mainstream culture. By transgressing societal rules, the youths make a claim to sovereignty, thus changing themselves in their own minds into something beyond what is understood to be humanity (think: *ubermensch*); thus this newly evolved race finds stronger common ground with each other, and more disdain for the general public. The more one feels that one transgresses the more subcultural capital they feel that they have attained. In consequence the individual will be rewarded by ascending the hierarchy. Varg Vikernes being a notable example of member of the movement who has gained a position at the peak of the hierarchy due to his transgressions (of course, we have to include the music of Burzum in our definition of transgression).

Subcultural research into black metal is sparse; the growing influence of 'Black Metal Theory' and the 'Black Metal Theory Symposium' (Masciandro 2010; Shakespeare 2012) attaches itself to esoteric and philosophical themes that have grown *from* the black metal scene. The retrospective drives and motivations that have helped to mould the scene have been omitted. As stated by Masciandro: '[t]he Symposium is dedicated fans of black metal, speaking to other dedicated fans of black metal, we know why we're here' (Masciandro 2010). Weinstein (2000) in what many regard of the 'definitive' study on heavy metal music and the 'metalhead' culture, left the genre to a minor mention amongst two pages, in an otherwise groundbreaking, detailed account, possibly due to the erroneous view that it is little more than an offshoot of the more easily recognizable grouping, which leads to identification of a subculture, as put forward by Hall and Jefferson (1993). Although, Weinstein's original text from 1991, of which the 2000 edition is an update implies that the event horizon of black metal had yet to break. However, this article takes the position that the black metal subculture is significant enough, ideologically and conceptually to deserve its own works. Primarily considering the Norwegian black metal subculture of the 1990s can only offer so much, but when focusing on the transnational attributes of black metal (the accessibility as a genre to perform and intertwine elements from one's own culture), particularly in the United Kingdom, it can be seen that the ideas entrenched into the foundations of black metal as a whole lead to localized similarities and differences which contribute to how each manages to exist in a different space.

1. Kahn-Harris (2007) provided an insight into the cultural styles of the extreme
 2. metal subculture, but only in the intention of transposing their experiences in
 3. the real, through concerts, music consumption, etc., he failed to address the
 4. philosophy of black metal, the ideas that bleed into the genre and therefore
 5. the subculture. My intention is to fill this gulf, connecting ideology to subcul-
 6. tural experience.

7. It is of equal importance to discover more about how the youth culture is
 8. shaped and moulded by the experiences that living in a certain locality creates.
 9. To consider the skinhead subculture for a moment, as an example of a white
 10. working-class movement that became divided into three further groups, due
 11. to political differences. From one white working-class movement influenced
 12. by equal parts 'rude boys' (Jamaican immigrants) and English 'Mods' in their
 13. fashion, music and other consumption choices (Brown 2004), sprung forth a
 14. racist group, an anti-racist group and an apolitical group (Hamm 1993). Politics
 15. of class and race were later added to the subculture, as the group spread
 16. national and internationally, coming into contact with other different socie-
 17. ties/cultures thus causing the off-shoots, i.e. many of the racist 'skins' although
 18. sharing a taste in music with Jamaicans, indulged in 'Paki-bashing' (Pearson
 19. 1976). This example highlights the local differences that can influence youth
 20. culture right up to a point where the group politics become diametrically
 21. opposed. It is obvious that differences in economy and culture will influence
 22. formations of youth culture, but what is less obvious and less researched is the
 23. extent of how local differentials will affect a single generalized youth move-
 24. ment such as black metal when it emerges in new areas.

25. As a youth subculture is predominantly a solution to the predicaments of
 26. youth by youths. It is not uncommon for the emotions/activities inherent etc
 27. to become viewed negatively by the dominant culture, as these are groups
 28. who by forming a subculture are in effect criticizing the dominant culture.
 29. Youth subcultures have long held subversive tropes that are perceived to be
 30. nihilistic and destructive, or in effect, are. If we are to take the most obvious
 31. example of this, the 'punk' subculture; we can see how the subversive nature
 32. of the subculture was a reaction to a political system that promoted qualities
 33. that were incompatible with the beliefs of the young people. The subculture
 34. was built on dissatisfaction, the style and music reflected this (Savage 2005:
 35. 188). Rejecting the dominant culture's fixation on safe 'corporate' musicians
 36. like Elvis, The Beatles or The Rolling Stones, on the Clash's single '1977', for
 37. music that was harder, faster, more aggressive and 'trimmed the fat' further
 38. than what had preceded it. Punk dress is still a mainstay in fashion, and
 39. denotes edgy, alternative clothing, a far cry from the corporate/smart/casual
 40. dress of others. Those who did not fit in with the punk 'cultural rules' or
 41. adopted the style, but not the meaning, were derided as 'poseurs', which is
 42. fairly ironic in itself as the idea of liberation and self-belief in 'punk' became
 43. a parody in that its rules became stricter than what it was meant to escape
 44. from. The nihilistic attitude summed up by Sex Pistols' refrain of 'No Future',
 45. became a rallying cry for punks and followers of the band, called the 'most
 46. thrilling thing in England at the time' (Stuart 2007) due to it being a street-
 47. level reaction, reflecting the unemployment, poverty and social unrest, that
 48. the political superiors were imposing on those below them. Those who got
 49. behind the band's rallying cry felt aligned to the punks' brand of class warfare,
 50. which quickly descended into nihilism as hope of reprieve from the political
 51. climate grew dimmer under Thatcherism.
 52.

Part II: The concepts globalization, glocalization and bricolage as fundamental elements towards explaining youth subculture: A paper within a paper

In order to embrace fully this hypothesis, it is necessary to engage with both 'glocalization' and 'bricolage' as theoretical concepts. From this point onwards, these two ideas will be addressed separately. A bricolage does not have to be the result of a glocalized version of a monolithic international subculture, and a glocalization can occur without a bricolage of local tropes (e.g. glocalization may take into account a single icon of local culture). However, before we can get to glocalization, it helps to look at the wider term that spawned it.

Globalization: An introduction

Globalization, the 'shrinking' of the world, typified by a synchronicity of culture, communication and business interests across nations with the intention of pushing them forward in prosperity. Driven initially by a trinity of international trade, military activity and missionaries (Mendis 2007: 19) and accelerated by technology, allowing for many prospects, but particularly enhanced communication over longer distances and the availability of information to the world. Globalization has had lasting effects on culture, the environment, national economies and prosperity worldwide (SUNY-Levin Institute n.d.). The roots of globalization are disputed, with academics agreeing that while information technology has undoubtedly placed a large wave of globalization in recent, modern times. Historically, exploratory journeys across vast oceans, such as the journey to the new world and the expansion of land by conquerors like Napoleon Bonaparte, can be counted among early acts of globalization (Gills and Thompson 2006). Preachers would travel great distances to deliver the word of God in foreign lands, not as a 'globalizing' tool, but to bring religion to the 'savages'. As powerful countries expanded their influence via empire building, trading, etc., the nations subject to these interactions found themselves indoctrinated with the dominant cultural norms of the host nation. Commodities and cuisine crossed national borders, allowing people of temperate climates to partake in the lifestyles of new lands and tropical areas. Eventually, the nature of globalization changed from the advent of military exercises and technology into the hands of the individuals (Mendis 2007: 21). The history of the world is littered with revolutions spurred on by a globalizing effect. Whether the results of globalization have been wholly for the common good, an exercise in incompetence, malevolent or somewhere in the centre of these axis is deeply subjective, and not to be discussed here.

Although empires have fallen, the trade and commerce that exploded during them have remained and increased, now offering financial benefit for both parties (Wolf 2014). In this way, the economies of countries within trade agreements have surged upwards. Labour exported to outside countries where employing staff is cheaper has also contributed to economic growth in what were previously termed LEDCs. Globalization has allowed more nations to benefit economically by creating an interdependence and allowing for industries to export goods further and further. As well as the pre-existing trade roots is the importance of trust in transactions, the 'neighbour' principle. As Wolf states: '[p]eople trade more with fellow citizens than foreigners' (Wolf 2014: n.pag). Not only does this indicate the willingness of people to trade with their neighbours, but the reticence to trade with strangers. Thus, some nations are

1. inexplicably left out in the cold – incentivising the need to become participants
 2. in the global village. Where nations are unable to join the global village, due
 3. to any number of reasons; inability to acclimatize to requirements on human
 4. rights, lack of industry (therefore not having anything to sell), a resistance at
 5. a political/sovereign level, there is a noticeable two-tier emergence of nations
 6. that trade amicably and those who do not (or cannot). As the general shift in
 7. international governance heads towards free-market economies, we have actu-
 8. ally began to see nations inside global collectives such as the European Union
 9. suffering as the schism between larger and smaller economies, or economies
 10. that have different central structures (industry, tourism, intangible goods/
 11. services) that have been intentionally forced together, diverge.

13. **Globalization of culture**

14. Following the expansion of trade, inevitably culture followed suit. Although
 15. no one can claim there is a truly global culture (Featherstone 1990). However,
 16. according to Featherstone, if our definition of culture expands to include
 17. the processes from which cultures evolve, the answer is more positive.
 18. Furthermore, he argues that globalization of this interpretation of culture is
 19. unlikely to negatively affect the sovereignty of nation states. This interpreta-
 20. tion goes beyond the binary homogenization/heterogenization of whether
 21. globalization of culture has to be repeated identically in multiplicity, we shall
 22. return to this idea later.

23. Tomlinson (2006) in his lecture series on ‘Globalization and culture’, as
 24. opposed to redefining culture, he looks at the definition of globalization as he
 25. understands it:

27. Globalization is a complex process because it involves rapid social
 28. change that is occurring simultaneously across a number of dimensions
 29. – in the world economy, in politics, in communications, in the physical
 30. environment and in culture – and each of these transformations interact
 31. with the others.

(Tomlinson 2006)

34. An important factor when looking at globalization is the way that the individ-
 35. ual areas process and direct the whole, and vice versa. We have already seen
 36. that trade lead to economic growth, and information technology has alleviated
 37. every facet, but now we will put culture under the microscope. Featherstone
 38. makes much of the connection between globalization, a state of ‘connectiv-
 39. ity’ and ‘accelerating connectivity’. This corresponds conveniently with Beyer’s
 40. (2009) viewpoint of:

42. The global in globalization refers both to a geographic limit, the earth as
 43. a physical place, and to an encompassing range of influence, namely that
 44. all contemporary social reality is supposedly conditioned or even deter-
 45. mined by it. [...] [M]odernization excluded various ‘others’ that were
 46. deemed either pre-modern/traditional or only on the way to modern-
 47. ization, globalization includes us all, even our ‘others’. Modernization
 48. temporalized its universalism: eventually all would/could become
 49. modern. Globalization spatializes it: the local has to come to terms with
 50. the global. It (re)constitutes itself in the way that it does this.

(Beyer 2009)

Beyer places globalization and modernization at odds, as he believes that modernization has been replaced by globalization in discourse. He points out that the weakness of modernization is the inherent exclusivity. As he terms it, the 'others' are left behind. Modernization as a temporal idea furthers this exclusivity, by dividing the modernizing process between different states, at different speeds. Allowing for states that wish to join 'modernity' as and when ready, which could lead to numerous disadvantages for states that are not early-movers, whether economically unable or otherwise. Plus modernization fails to encapsulate just how 'modern' is modern – modernity is relative to the previous iteration of culture, etc. if we are to define it by the parameters set in Everman's (1992) 'Modernity and Social Movements' where he relayed the origins of the term alongside its forefather, Marx, Weber and Durkheim and traps modernity as:

Modernity referred to a world constructed anew through the active and conscious intervention of actors and the new sense of self that such active intervention and responsibility entailed. In modern society the world is experienced as a human construction, an experience that gives rise both to an exhilarating sense of freedom and possibility and to a basic anxiety about the openness of the future.

Hence, modernity changes as often as our understanding, changes in human construction are constant and therefore, modernity must also be. Globalization adds a spatial aspect to this relationship, thus urging and pushing the global population towards complete 'connectivity'. It also includes all 'our others', those different from us in unspecified ways; culturally, economically and so on. It is felt that a more inclusive society is necessary for globalization and vice versa, but as we shall see, there are resistances.

Tomlinson (2006) contends that our concerns/fears of the end point of globalization of culture; a single, global culture, are rooted in our deductions from the economic sphere, where immensely increased levels of connectivity have already produced a radical shift in how the world operates. Although our perception of the world as becoming a singularity in economic terms is a simplification and consequently, at least partially – a fallacy; due to the increased exposure of national economies to the market forces of others, autonomy is restricted. It is not simply a case of the world becoming a 'single place'. In fact Tomlinson directly contradicts Beyer and denies the inclusiveness:

Despite its reach, few would dare to claim that the effects of globalization currently extends in any profound way to every single person or place on the planet. [...] This is a point that is frequently made by theorists of development: what used to be called the 'Third World' does not partake of the globalised economy or of globalised communications in the same way as the developed world. So we have to qualify the idea of globalization by saying that it is an uneven process – with areas of concentration and density of flow and other areas of neglect or even perhaps exclusion.

(Tomlinson 2006)

Instead of states losing their autonomies as the world becomes globalized, in many cases the Governments of these states have to restrict their own political machinations to actively maintain access to the globalized world. Just as

1. we can control our own personal levels of globalization by boycotting ‘gas-
 2. guzzling Humvees or Starbucks’ brand coffee’; Governments can theoretically
 3. decide just how far to accept the globalizing effects, this is called selec-
 4. tive globalization (Mendis 2007: 2). Unfortunately for those who resist, the
 5. Americanization of politics – by which it is meant the expansion of American
 6. values of trade liberalization, democracy and freedom – engenders more and
 7. more states to join or be left behind. Just like Tomlinson and ‘connectivity’;
 8. Mendis places the same emphasis on ‘freedom’. He indicates that freedom
 9. to travel, freedom to trade with all and freedom to express ideas openly as
 10. the driving forces of modern globalization. He implies that the interrelation-
 11. ship between globalization and freedom is reciprocal, states that have push
 12. towards globalization are increasing their freedom, and states that experience
 13. freedom and pulling in more and more globalizing features. Therefore, the
 14. inverse must also be assumed to be true. Nations that are not globalizing are
 15. not free, and the lack of freedom inhibits globalization.

16. Mendis (2007) makes sure we are aware that globalization is not just about
 17. push factors, but pull also. Governments actively pursue globalization; we
 18. should not immediately assume that globalization is forced upon us. Perhaps
 19. not forced, but certainly coerced, as states who do not globalize, as Tomlinson
 20. reminds us, get left behind in this ‘uneven process’. Let us not forget that free-
 21. dom to trade has been made easier thanks to the international de-regulation
 22. of financial rules and banking policies, lead by America, which when de-regu-
 23. lated too far were a principle cause of the spectacular global recession of the
 24. late 2000s (Giannone et al. 2011).

25.

26. **From globalization to glocalization**

27. It can be assumed that globalization is an unstoppable force, and an inevita-
 28. ble conclusion, but there are systems that counter it, for the purpose of this
 29. work, we will focus on ‘glocalization’. It is important to realize that globaliza-
 30. tion, if allowed to run beyond our control, may have disastrous consequences.
 31. In fact, the exposure of national economic systems to dependence on others
 32. can lead to both domino effect-style global recessions and the marginaliza-
 33. tion of countries outside the corporate interest. However, if we as a collec-
 34. tive community take control of globalization and shape it to our will, we can
 35. negotiate these obstacles, since each of our lives can be seen as a microcosmic
 36. version of globalization (Mendis 2007: 2). Glocalization is one such method to
 37. attain this.

38.

39. **Glocalization**

40. Glocalization (a portmanteau of globalization and localization) (Mendis
 41. 2007: 2) is defined in business terms as the conceptual idea that a product/
 42. business/service will fare better when consideration is given to the culture/
 43. geography of the target market(s) (Svensson 2001). It is not so much a meas-
 44. ured counter to the increasingly faceless nature of globalization, but an
 45. acknowledgement that globalization is not suitable for everyone. Combining
 46. the convenience of the corporate model with the familiarity of local knowl-
 47. edge, ‘[...] a cooption of the global and the local, then dynamics of cultural
 48. homogenization and heterogenization, and the conflation of both universal-
 49. izing and particularizing tendencies (Matusitz 2011). A theory developed by
 50. Robertson in the early 1990s in the text *Globalization: Social Theory and Global*
 51. *Culture* (Robertson 1992). Ritzer (2007), interestingly states that the difference
 52.

between globalization and glocalization is that while globalization offers an 'omnipresence' of a culture worldwide, glocalization looks at particularism of global ideas, products or services. Glocalization theory fuses relationships, balance and harmony between cultural homogenization and heterogenization, standardization and adaptation, homogenization and tailoring, convergence and divergence, and universalism and particularism (Robertson 1995), this idea while offering an opportunity for global interaction, thus giving the individual or indeed, culture a chance to maintain a localized identity.

Glocalization theory surmises that upon introducing a product/service/franchise into a new area, taking consideration of the local culture increases the likelihood of its success (Robertson 1995). It takes into account the possibility of local resistance to home values being pushed into an area that is alien to them. Resistance that can be idealized by a populace rejecting the homogenization of its own space and the corruption of its ideas; local cultures will wish to remain local to some extent. In many cases, the simultaneous introduction to western-style economies while maintaining the local cultural markers has been a sticking point for many brands, glocalization responds by instructing the brand to look for an inlet into the market and expand, as opposed to forcing itself in. Therefore, there is no 'one size fits all' approach for companies to take advantage of (Friedman 2005).

Framing glocalization in other contexts

In addition to business applications, glocalization has been used to rethink other areas. In a similar manner, an individual must look into an area and adapt their position to fit into that space and once entry is confirmed, then they can expand. How we conduct research in different countries and cultures also requires a glocalizing effect. Local rules and norms must colour and guide research methodology (Gobo 2011) in order to produce research that does not, amongst other things, create offence or negate the experience inherent in the local culture in any way. As much of the social science research is performed in the West, there is a temptation among social scientists to bullishly utilize a globalized form of methodology, designing their research with the same considerations they would have for their own home values (Gobo 2011).

There must be adaptations to the very foundations of technique, reflexive investigations must look at the conceptual framework and decisions must be made on what assumptions can be made, how research data will be sought (interviews, surveys, questionnaires, etc.) and what they each mean in the context of the chosen area, at the most basic level, one must consider how they overcome language barriers. Western academic method must be morphed from a global system of methodology into a localized format, with an awareness of local issues and a sensitivity to cultural/ethnic issues (Gobo 2011). The 'single market' view of globalization espoused by Vignali (2001) has implications for both brands and research methods, treating the world as a single entity may benefit from simplicity, but the end result can look remarkably ignorant. Corporations like McDonalds and Disney (Matusitz 2011) have reaped the rewards of tailoring their monolithic juggernauts of Americanization to the needs and requirements of the local market by altering menu items or theme park layouts, and social science methodology must be seen to be doing the same in its own way.

As the dominant culture in social science, western influence derailed traditional methods of inquiry in the Asian and African universities, held in regard

1. for their ability to de-contextualize results, useful and appropriate for studying
 2. all cultures. Therefore, creating context-free knowledge that can be tested and
 3. validated almost anywhere (Vignali 2001). In an increasingly globalized world
 4. where English evolves into a universal language – this can be an advantage for
 5. those within its remit. However, homogenization negates individualism and
 6. there are certain cultural markers that do not fit within these parameters. Such
 7. as the aforementioned language barriers – they do not just affect how research
 8. is carried out, but if a set of results is written in English, only those that read
 9. the language can ever appreciate them. This creates a schism in the social
 10. science community, Anglicized nations could carry out, present and publish
 11. hindrance free, and gain prominence as a result. Others lag behind, thus the
 12. adoption and dominance of English research methods.

14. **Glocalization of culture and subculture**

15. Healthy glocalization has been observed by Friedman (1999) in ‘The Lexus
 16. and the Olive Tree’ as:

18. I define healthy glocalization as the ability of a culture, when it encoun-
 19. ters other strong cultures, to absorb influence s that naturally fit into and
 20. can enrich that culture, to resist those things that are truly alien, and to
 21. compartmentalize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be
 22. enjoyed and celebrated as different.

(Friedman 1999: 326)

25. Helpfully, he also offers a view as to what unhealthy glocalization is:

27. An unhealthy glocalization is when you absorb something that isn’t part
 28. of your culture, doesn’t connect with anything latent in your culture, but
 29. you have so lost touch with your culture, you think it does.

(Friedman 1999: 328)

32. He then continues to make the example with reference to sushi bars in his
 33. hometown of Bethesda, Maryland and McDonalds in Japan. He suggests that
 34. the importance of the McDonalds being recognized as different and not a
 35. naturalized part of their home culture is how Glocalization should work. He
 36. maintains that by fooling oneself into thinking that McDonalds, Starbucks,
 37. Pizza Hut, Disney or any of thousands on Multinational Corporations is
 38. Japanese/a product of one’s own home culture, this is how true culture and by
 39. proxy, the self is lost. He furthers this with an allegory to cancer, that a cancer
 40. cell enters a normal cell by disguising itself. Making the normal cell believe it
 41. belongs there organically. Then, as the cancer cell corrupts, suddenly the cell
 42. finds itself abnormal and differentiated and any normal functionality is lost.

44. If we transpose this idea into a subcultural social science context, it equates
 45. to a conclusion that a subcultural model adopted by a group will become a
 46. collation of that group’s members’ experiences and knowledge. Tropes will
 47. appear that are locally relevant; meaning nothing, something else or misun-
 48. derstood entirely to outsiders, even members of an iteration of the subculture.
 49. Cultural markers such as these may then be reproduced in other areas, with
 50. an entirely new meaning.

51. It is important to point out the difference between subcultural and busi-
 52. ness connotations of the glocalization. Brands will actively look for ways

to incorporate local ideas into their product or service and retrofit to suit, whereas subcultural meaning is driven by the participants (mostly) during the crystallization process, applied from their own knowledge and their own beliefs. Not all beliefs will eventually be cemented into a subculture; subcultural capital and hierarchy is a defining factor. Those who identify as ‘godfathers of the scene’ or are indentified as such by others, will have had much more of an impact on validating just what is or is not accepted. Others who do not endeavour to rise up the hierarchy methods to achieve this would include; becoming a subcultural actor/figure: musician, artist, designer, etc., or lesser roles of journalist, promoter or involved with the production and distribution of subcultural product or otherwise essentially roles that help to disseminate the subculture itself inside subcultural creations. The top end of the subculture is responsible for the direction, especially in the early days of the scene’s formation. Those fringe members at the bottom of the hierarchy will find themselves aligning to the subculture as it grows; those that are at increased distances from a point of birth will be heavily reliant on broadcasts via magazine or other media.

Part III: Glocalization applied to youth subculture and black metal

Glocalization, in this sense, represents the act of youth culture adapting to reflect the local culture, quite often adapting global culture practices and re-framing them to sustain meaning at localized level. Therefore, enveloping internationally recognized imported practice in a relevance that can be applied in a more familiar context (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard 2006: 231). Here, glocalization will be applied at multitudinous levels, and revealing deeper interlinking and variables between the local and global aspect of a youth culture.

A notable example of this is the 1980s straight-edge hardcore punk scene, musicians and fans were unable to visit the bars and clubs in which their favourite bands played as they sold alcohol (remembering the legal age for alcohol consumption in the United States is 21 years old), thus the subculture was being damaged by outside influences – contraventions with the legal obligations of venues to keep youths from drinking. In an act of innovation, underage punks would begin to draw X’s in markers across the back of their hands, as in indication to bar staff that they were not to be served alcoholic beverages. In following years, as straight edge hardcore punk expanded, particularly in Boston, Massachusetts – the X’s were worn frequently to represent the wearer’s disdain for alcohol, narcotics and promiscuity (MacKaye et al. 2008). The original meaning of being ‘Xd up’ had changed.

Glocalization applied to the black metal youth subculture

Initially, it applies to the base notion of how black metal formed in Norway, from the fragmented heavy metal scene which had reached saturation point during the 1980s. The global HM youth culture embraced the cliché: ‘sex, drugs and rock n’ roll’, with an increasing influence from the United States – bands like Mötley Crüe, etc. would colour their output with swagger directly from the Sunset Strip. Whereas the United Kingdom had its own ideals of what imagery heavy metal possessed (Iron Maiden, Motörhead et al.), the dominant branding became those from the United States. As this style permeated the Scandinavian lands where an entirely different culture exists, in both

1. geography and custom, that a teenager from Oslo hearing songs about 'cruisin' down the sunset strip' would be at some considerable ontological distance from the imagery, neither could they truly commit to the industrial slow doom-laden soundscapes of Black Sabbath and Judas Priest, as they erected imagery of their grey, daunting home city of Birmingham (Patterson 2013). The Norwegians however, were drawn to the darker hues of this cultural trope, the satanic, moralist-baiting refrains of 'Shout at the Devil' and the like were consumed over and above any allusions to the Sunset Strip. Alongside this, Norway had enacted a blanket-ban on heavy violence in television programming including cinema, even today the number of horror films that are borne from Norway are very few. So as a teenage boy who had been denied his 'ancestral Viking bloodlust' for so long, the music was lapped up, and the heavy metal subculture slowly became glocalized. The youth would adopt the violent and satanic aspects and represent them that they felt they could identify with, due to their own boredom, their political awakening, and the morbid fascination that readily entices a teenage audience, in their own music.

18. **Bricolage, the bricoleur and black metal**

19. Bricolage is derived from the French term meaning amateur repair work, or more commonly equated in the English colloquialism: 'bodging'. By forcing together notably disparate items to create a serviceable 'fix', one can visualize the appropriate nature of the adoption of this term to represent the origin of youth cultures. Subsequently, there may be a global expansion of a movement as it is introduced to an extended audience of potential youth consumers/participants. In essence 'bricoleurs', have been pivotal in the formation of youth cultural movements, particularly that of glocal black metal scenes. This section will introduce and analyse the concept of bricolage and then, and only then, apply it to the subject.

29. In his text *The Savage Mind*, Levi-Strauss (1962) describes the bricoleur as follows:

32. The bricoleur is someone who works with his hands, using devious means. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand', that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions. [...]

40. The bricoleur derives his poetry from the fact that he does not confine himself to accomplishment and execution: he speaks not only with things, but also through the medium of things: giving an account of his personality and life by the choices he makes between the limited possibilities. The bricoleur may not ever complete his purpose but he always puts something of himself into it.

(Levi-Strauss 1962)

48. He stresses that by using the term 'savage mind' he is not describing the primitive state of man, rather the 'untamed mind'. A mind that is capable of great flights of imagination as it has not been confined by rules that have been either ingrained in it by society or by understanding of 'how things work'.

1. However, this does correspond with the evolution of primitive man and the
2. invention of tools to do certain tasks; blunt stones for bludgeoning and crush-
3. ing, sharper flint for arrowheads and cutting (Boas 2013). Levi-Strauss main-
4. tains that bricolage is a form that exists permanently in the now. A work made
5. entirely of whatever is 'to hand' with very little idea of what the finished prod-
6. uct will be, perhaps there is little thought given to beyond the task in hand.
7. Thus, a large component of bricolage is choice, choice as to what will perform
8. any given task in the best manner, what could be best used elsewhere. The
9. quote finishes on an important point – the bricoleur may never complete his
10. task, but leaves a part of himself in it. This wholly encapsulates the beauty of
11. forming youth subcultures; the construction begins, each bricoleur adds their
12. influence and the baton moves forward to someone else who adds their influ-
13. ence and tweaks the overall body, and so on and so on, just as new musicians
14. and artists enter scenes. This fluidity ensures the gestalt entity at the end (if
15. there ever can truly be an end), is a living, breathing, evolving thing. Perhaps it
16. is the static nature of the expertly crafted icon that allows for its failure, as no
17. one can truly take ownership.

18. Kerstetter states that a bricoleur is also an autodidact and dilettante
19. (Kerstetter 2010). The eventual result, if one is ever found, is a series of minute
20. temporally relevant expressions. These expressions are both continuous and
21. discontinuous. Continuous in that over time the bricoleur's skills will improve
22. and his tools will be used more efficiently, and that each microcosmic deci-
23. sion contributes to the whole, and discontinuous due to the inverse, each
24. component of the whole contains a cross-section of the artist's knowledge,
25. skill and creativity frozen in that moment of time. In this way a completed
26. piece of bricolage artwork can be a temporal map, containing a path towards
27. an enlightenment of a revelation when it is done. In addition, each follow-
28. ing work will be a continuation as the groundwork has been supplied by any
29. previous construction's amassed expertise.

30. The lack of specifics in the early bricoleur's arsenal empowered primi-
31. tive man to be creative; refining tools, sharpening edges using materials and
32. assessing which worked best. For example, the self-bow, a near-universal
33. projectile weapon made from a single piece of wood, required limbs that were
34. equally proficient in compression and tension strains. In Europe, elm and yew
35. trees were eventually decided upon. They were constructed in such a way
36. that a single strip of wood was taken that was one-third sapwood (the outer
37. wood) and the remainder was heartwood (the inner wood); that way ensuring
38. that both tension and compression were accounted for. Generations of bows
39. in different materials were tried and failed until the self-bow appeared in its
40. current form. This early example of bricolage and 'glocal' thinking highlights
41. how the necessary expertise grew with time and the nature of materials that
42. were used changed, each generation being a slight improvement on the previ-
43. ous iteration.

44. As mentioned above, the black metal youth culture can be observed as
45. a bricolage of the tropes that are available in the locality, whether this refers
46. to political, social, economic or historical situ. Elsewhere the bricolage is
47. recognized as an art form, it is defined as both the result and process of the
48. construction of a piece of work from diverse items/media that are readily
49. available. This transposes into many other contexts including: music, theatre,
50. academic discourse and computer programming. We have already mentioned
51. the hollowed-out deer skull used as percussion by Agalloch described above;
52. this is a perfect example of bricolage in music.

1. **Conclusion: Bricolage as a subcultural tool for the black metal**
 2. **culture**

3. In effect, this is a glocalized generation, as monolithic globalized movements
 4. fail to satisfy youth needs as they did before, cultures that would emerge in
 5. numerous places with little to no difference in styles, tropes or markers –
 6. movements such as the skater culture or rave culture would appeal to masses,
 7. but exclude just as many who were opposed to their music or tendencies. This
 8. kind of youth culture is simple to assimilate to as it is already solidified but
 9. very often bears no reflection to the locality of the members outside of the
 10. original point of gestation. Perhaps, one may assume that escapism is part of
 11. the culture's reward. In the black metal subculture, youth members wish to
 12. find their own localized relevance to the culture they aspire to, as opposed
 13. to being marketed to and directed in their choices in the same way as other
 14. teenagers worldwide. By using bricolage, youths can feel completely liberated
 15. in compiling and crystallizing their own forms, being as flexible or as rigid as
 16. they wish. This freedom has been pivotal in allowing the scene to reproduce
 17. in multiple countries while remaining locally relevant. Hence the divergence
 18. between the character of scenes, while the symbols remain the same – differ-
 19. ent meanings have been allowed room to breathe and interpretation depends
 20. on the participants themselves. This suggests that subcultural tropes are in
 21. themselves carriers of the expression of the culture itself, and not guiding
 22. influencers, thus a lasting effect of glocalization.
 23.

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