

THE OTHERING OF BOTSWANAN METAL

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Abstract

By presenting an overview of the Botswanan metal scene and its scenic practices – specifically, the music produced within the scene, the relationship between Botswanan national identity and the scene, and the locally-prevalent fashion – and comparing this to reports of metal scenes in other parts of the globe, I demonstrate that there is a tendency to treat the scene as an exotic 'other', and this tendency prevents discussion of interesting elements of local scenic practice. By critically engaging with this distorted view, I identify some problematic issues scholars working on metal in sub-Saharan Africa can strive to avoid.

An Overview

Despite the existence of a substantial body of academic work discussing metal music from regions such as South America (Harris, 2000), Indonesia (Baulch, 2003), and Turkey (Hecker, 2012), metal is still largely seen as a genre of music reserved for white Westerners (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 71 and Dawes, 2012). Sub-Saharan Africa is often seen as the final frontier for metal (Tutton and Barnet, 2014), and of the scenes that exist on the continent, Botswana's has gained considerable attention in both metal and mainstream press in the last decade.

In his 2007 book *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*, Keith Kahn-Harris lays out a number of guidelines for what constitutes musical scenes and how they may be discussed. He maintains that 'all musical and music-related activities [take] place within a scene' (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 21). Scenes are defined by the researcher, allowing them the freedom to choose a methodological approach appropriate for the subject and the research question (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 22).

Although scenes are often constructed according to musical subgenre, for the purpose of this essay I will consider Botswana to contain a single metal scene, encompassing musical activity of all metal subgenres within the country.

The music produced by the Botswanan metal scene falls primarily into two broad categories: heavy metal and death metal. Heavy metal bands from Botswana include Nosey Road, Remuda, Metal Orizon, and Skinflint. Nosey Road are considered the forefathers of the country's metal scene, having started in the 1970s (Kahn-Harris and Marshall, 2011).

Crackdust, Overthrust and Amok are examples of Botswanan bands in a typical old-school death metal style, while Wrust is a band which mixes death metal with a range of other influences, such as thrash and groove metal. Death metal is the more popular genre for Botswanan bands to perform in (Marshall, 2014, personal communication).

A small number of alt-metal bands originate in Botswana, for example South of Nine (now based in Johannesburg, South Africa) and Kamp13 (which shares members with Crackdust and Wrust). With the exception of Usheno, a one-man emo project, Botswana does not appear to have any bands in hardcore-influenced rock and metal subgenres. That there is no evidence a punk scene ever existing in Botswana may explain this. Similarly, black metal does not appear to be part of the Botswanan scene.

Lyrics can be an important part of defining musical styles. A clear generic divide can be found here also; the heavy metal bands sing primarily about love, partying and independence – all typical topics for that subgenre – while the death metal bands sing about death, negative emotions and horror, the standard themes in that style. This is in agreement with Weinstein's (2000, p. 34-41, originally published 1991) classification of metal lyrics: the heavy metal bands reproduce Dionysian lyrical themes, focusing on bodily pleasure and celebrating 'the vital forces of life'. Meanwhile, the death metal bands reproduce the Chaotic lyrical themes, covering 'monsters, the underworld and hell, the grotesque and horrifying'. Skinflint are perhaps an exception, being among the heavier of the heavy metal acts due their strong New Wave of British Heavy Metal influence. They are inspired heavily by Setswana mythology; tales of undead monsters and mythical conquering kings are the basis of their lyrics (VPRO Metropolis, Bunny-hugging metalheads in Botswana, 2013, and Red-grave, 2013).

As documented in Frank Marshall's exhibit *Visions of Renegades* (2011), the local fashion prevalent among Botswana metal fans is striking. It conjures images of outlaw bikers and American cowboys of the Wild West; full body leather, broad-brimmed hats and pointed, heeled boots. It has been suggested that the scene's unique fashion is in part a signifier of a connection to a heritage or national identity. Giuseppe Sbrana notes (quoted in Kahn-Harris and Marshall, 2011):

'Many metalheads in Botswana are cowboys from the villages and farms, so they mix the cowboy image with a biker metal look. Many wear hunting knives and parts of dead animals. We drink from the hollowed-out horns of cows.'

Meanwhile, fan Trooper reports (VPRO Metropolis, Bunny-hugging metalheads in Botswana, 2013):

'We try to turn things around a bit from the Western image. The cowboy image is cultural, it's natural, y'know, it's something we got from our forefathers, our parents, when we were boys herding cattle.'

signifying both a connection to national identity and an explicit reimagining of western images of metal fashion.

In addition to their striking visual image, Botswana metalheads adopt fierce pseudonyms, such as the fans Coffinfeeder, Morgue Boss, and Phantom Lord Ishmael. Some musicians also use pseudonyms, including Wrust singer 'Stux Daemon' and Overthrust singer 'Vulture'.

Most scene participants in Botswana are black. There are a small number of exceptions: Nosey Road is composed of white members, as is South of Nine. However, both these bands are slightly removed from the scene; Nosey Road due to their age, and South of Nine by playing in a style less common in Bots-

wana and as a result of having relocated to South Africa, though band member David Garbers still works at scene events as a sound engineer (Mosca, 2014). The only notable white musician currently active in the scene is Giuseppe Sbrana from Skinflint, son of Nosey Road member Ivo Sbrana (Mofele, 2009).

Race does not appear to be a significant issue within the scene; Frank Marshall (2012) writes that for Batswana fans, 'metal's inherent whiteness is largely a moot point ... in short, they have no racial prejudices whatsoever.'

Giuseppe Sbrana agrees, saying (Barnett, 2012) 'The metal nation knows no racial boundaries. We're all one. We all speak one common language and it's called heavy metal.'

Swedish researcher Magnus Nilssen disagrees slightly, writing that 'all the metal fans I talked to thought that it was strange that I, a white man, liked heavy metal.' (Kahn-Harris and Nilssen, 2007)

As outlined above, metal music is produced in Botswana in a number of different subgenres. Heavy metal and death metal are the dominant styles, along with a more limited representation of other related subgenres. The lyrical subjects covered by Botswanan metal are similarly diverse. As such, the scene may be considered to lack a specific musical or lyrical aesthetic around which it is constructed.

A scene may also be aesthetically constructed through non-musical activities; it may be argued that the striking fashion dominant in Botswana's scene is a type of aesthetic construction, comparable perhaps to the corpsepaint associated with black metal (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 38). This distinctive style has been the focus of much of the attention Botswana's scene has received from outside Sub-Saharan Africa. Figures 1-4 reproduce some images of fans from Marshall's exhibit.

Figure 1: The Time To Kill is Now (Trooper)

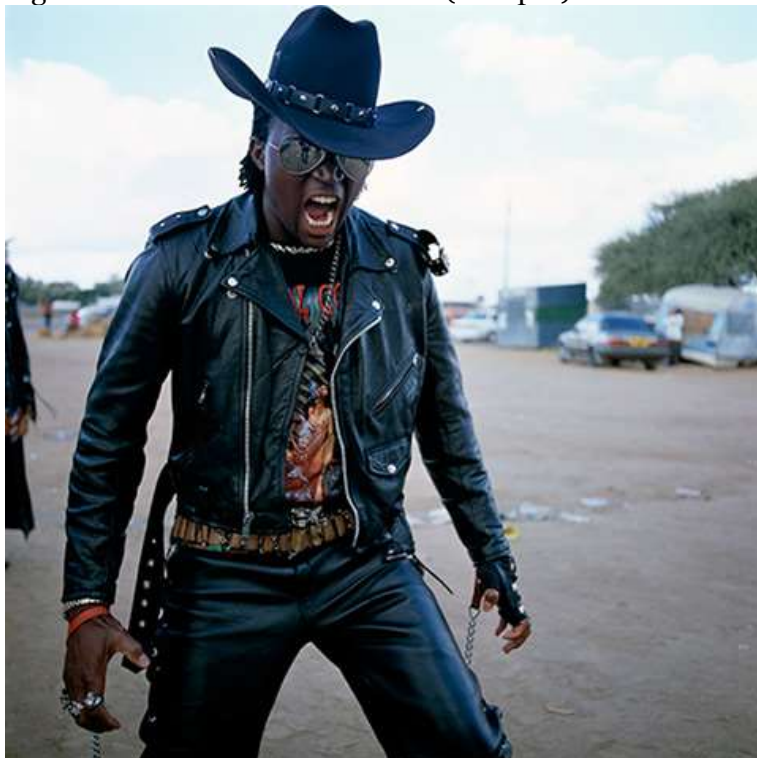


Figure 2: No need for mercy with a fist full of hate (Undertaker)



Figure 3: Sarah



Figure 4: Maximum I



Many participants report the importance of solidarity and brotherhood to the experience of the scene, as quoted in *Metal Injection* (Sobti, 2012):

'The sense of community amongst Botswana metalheads is undeniable... The Botswana self-identification lay not only in a love for metal, but for one another – 'it's all about brothers in arms. Brothers in metal – we're there for each other.'

Rather than being defined around a specific subgenre, as many scenes are, fans identify as fans of metal and do not appear to worry about generic distinctions. The importance of African identity is sometimes mentioned, as is the scene's close bonds with the metal communities of neighbouring countries (Hund, 2013). Connections exist to more distant African nations also; in Raffaele Mosca's documentary concerning the scene, *March of the Gods* (2014), Metal Orizon vocalist Dumisani Matiha mentions communicating with bands in Kenya and Tunisia.

Some reports mention nationalism as a defining feature of the scene:

'Botswanan bands are increasingly determined to create a unique, cultural identity for Botswana, in the international arena; it seems quite plausible, with a metal movement that ties the essential elements of metal, with an ancestral connection to one's culture and heritage.' (Sobti, 2012)

Botswana metalhead Gunsmoke is interviewed later in the article, saying 'Kids follow us around. Parents approach us... [metal in Botswana is] more than just a scene – it's part of the national identity.' He further claims the country's president Ian Khama is a fellow rocker.

Not all scene participants report such a close connection between nationalism and the scene, however. Skinflint use local mythology and folklore as the basis for their lyrics, but often describe themselves as 'African Heavy Metal' on their website and YouTube channel, where several of their videos are titled with 'African Metal Band' after the name of the song, suggesting that identification with a broader African scene is more important than Botswanan nationalism.

Local folklore is not a subject all bands engage with. As outlined above, most bands focus on lyrical topics typical to their chosen style. Wrust vocalist Stux Daemon has issued contradictory statements on his band's connection to their national mythology, stating in a 2013 Guardian interview: 'You are going to try to use your surroundings to influence your music, your thoughts and your songwriting, but [Setswana culture] is not something we focus on.'

While in an interview with South African website Emalyth.co.za that same year, Wrust stated: 'We attempt to draw people's attention to African rhythms, culture and myths with songs like *The Day of Sacrifice*, *Poison* and *Caress the Soul*.'

As outlined above, some fans claim the scene's fashion seeks to combine Western metal fashion with cowboy imagery as an homage to their background as cowboys and farmers.

There is also considerable evidence in the media that metal does not hold an exalted place in Botswanan society. The reactions of the public seen in the media are quite different – as seen in the Dutch news feature *Bunny-hugging metalheads in Botswana* (2010), they range from suspicion:

'I think it's weird, first of all, and then it's hard to understand, yeah? And also, you know the way they dress? It's, you know, they're different! It's all *spooky!*'

to concern about their manner of dress:

'It's very hot, you don't have to wear those kind of clothing. It's extremely hot, it goes to 39 degrees.'

Even an otherwise sympathetic newspaper column on Wrust, from Botswanan newspaper Mmegi (Sereetsi, 2004), relies on dark and violent imagery to relate the experience of an early Wrust gig:

'The growling maniac [Stux Daemon] raises his fingers to his head in the shape of Lucifer's horns and cries, 'We gonna rock you!' ... To the uninitiated, a death metal show may seem like a ritual of the dark underworld sects.'

Describing a more negative response to the metalheads, Stux Daemon later in the article responds to misconceptions about the band: 'We are not Satanists. This is just music that we love and use to express ourselves.' Vulture, lead singer of Overthrust, says in *The Guardian* (Banchs, 2013): 'People think that we are rough, evil creatures, but [metal] teaches us to be free with expression, to do things on our own.' In the same article, Skinflint's bassist TKB maintains that though they are not yet accepted into the mainstream, they are increasingly recognised: 'The culture doesn't accept heavy metal fans, the people all look at you, but nowadays even the young boys know that this person is a metalhead.'

In terms of its infrastructure, the Botswanan scene appears to be largely similar to that of other countries. Gigs and festivals provide a space for musicians to perform and fans to hear music, while labels and promoters distribute recordings and publicise gigs.

Whilst it appears that Nosey Road have been active since the 1970s, there is very little information available on the history of Botswanan music in general – a 1999 edition of the *Rough Guide to World Music* does not mention Botswana at all, nor does the 1998 *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Interviews with musicians or listings for festivals and gigs will sometimes feature mentions of bands that have no internet presence whatsoever, and are not referred to in any other such sources. For those that do have an internet presence, by maintaining a website or a social media account, it appears that many of the bands currently active in the scene were formed in the early to mid 2000s, with Wrust starting in 2000 (according to Stux Daemon in *March of the Gods*, 2014) and Skinflint in 2006 (according to their website) or 2007 (according to their Facebook page).

Scenes are not monolithic, isolated entities, and may be situated within or connected in complex fashions to other scenes (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 101). The Botswanan scene exists within both the growing African metal scene and within the broader global death metal and heavy metal scenes. These connections are manifested in a number of different ways; Botswana metal fans consume metal from abroad, and fans in other countries may listen to Botswanan metal. Bands from Botswana tour widely domestically and in neighbouring countries, appearing alongside other African bands or with acts from outside the continent. Wrust have accompanied internationally-successful acts Sepultura (Sereetsi, 2004), Entombed (Sereetsi, 2004), and Kataklysm (Dark Friend, 2014) on tours of South Africa, and in June 2013 became the first Botswanan band to play in Europe, appearing at the Solo Macello festival in Italy (as documented in *March of the Gods*, 2014). This feat was shortly followed by Skinflint's tour of Sweden in October and November 2013 (Odubeng, 2013). Despite the seeming ambivalence of the Botswanan public to metal, these accomplishments were celebrated in the Botswanan press (Keaketswe, 2013 and Malefho, 2013).

In terms of production and consumption of music, the Botswanan scene is unremarkable. Musicians perform and record their work, while fans attend gigs and purchase records. As well as exporting music produced in its own scene, Botswana imports scenic materials – not only music but also band merchandise. Iron Maiden and Cannibal Corpse are the bands whose merchandise is most popular among Botswana metalheads (Marshall, 2012), interestingly reinforcing the generic divide in the scene; Iron Maiden being a heavy metal band while Cannibal Corpse are one of the most iconic death metal bands.

Comparisons with other metal scenes

Botswana's scene is not based around a single subgenre, unlike many other small, geographically-defined scenes, such as Floridan death metal (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 103), Gothenburg melodic death metal (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 106), and Bay Area thrash (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 102) These are scenes where a certain sound became inextricably linked to the music produced at a certain time and place. Though bands performing in styles other than the ones now associated with these scenes were certainly active at these times, the scene became famous due to the success of artists in a particular style. Conversely, bands playing in a variety of subgenres appear to flourish in Botswana, and

the two most successful bands, Skinflint and Wrust, perform different styles of music.

The fashion prevalent in the scene may be unique but serves many of the same functions as metal fashion in other scenes; it acts both as a signifier of metal-head status and as a mildly transgressive social act, allowing the wearer to accumulate capital within the metal scene.

The role that local heritage and folklore plays for some participants' reports of scenic experience can be compared to similar situations in many other national scenes. Many Scandinavian bands draw upon Norse mythology and cultural depictions of Vikings to inspire their music (Trafford and Pluskowski, 2007). Taiwanese metal band Chthonic draw on Taiwanese mythology and music to create what they term 'Orient metal'. The pseudonyms adopted by Botswana metalheads also have parallels in other countries, such as the near-ubiquitous use of stage names in the Norwegian Black Metal scene; Varg 'Count Grishnakh' Vikernes, or Vegard 'Ihsahn' Tveitan.

The way fans experience and engage in the scene is mirrored by similar reports in other countries. Only a small number of participants make a living from the scene. Most fans work day jobs both in Botswana (Marshall, 2012) and other countries (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 59) and many musicians also have careers outside the scene. In Hund (2013), Overthrust vocalist Vulture says he is a police officer and karate instructor, and explains the difficulty of making a career within the scene:

'The sound system and venues are a problem as well, to hire a sound system is very expensive, the big good venues are few and very expensive and most of the time are booked, so we have to dig in our pockets to finance the band activities and projects and the expenses are always high than income.'

Many of the interviewees in the *March of the Gods* documentary (2014) seem to believe that Botswana lacks the material infrastructure to fully support a metal scene: sound engineer David Garbers says 'They don't really have the equipment necessary to put on a rock show', and marketing CEO Rahman El-kindiy mentions a lack of instruments and a lack of good studios in Botswana.

The accusations that scene participants may be Satanists or otherwise dangerous threats mirrors such accusations made against metal in the West, most notably the moral panics against metal in the United States of America during the 1980s and 1990s (Wright, 2000).

Kahn-Harris argues that participation in extreme metal scenes may offer the chance to 'shape meaningful, liberating, expressive culture from the everyday routines' (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 55), a sentiment supported by Giuseppe Sbrana (Redgrave, 2013):

'Heavy Metal has always been more than a music to us, as it is a symbol of power, independence and freedom! It is a music that encourages a strong sense of individuality, so it reflected our personalities, allowed us to express ourselves freely and this is where our love for Metal music grew from!'

This also echoes Stux Daemon's above-quoted statement that metal 'teaches us to be free'.

Another typical element of scene experience reported by Kahn-Harris is that of estrangement – that participation in the scene may alienate members from non-scenic life (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p. 58). This agrees with the apparent suspicion some non-participants exhibit towards the metalheads, as reported above, and with Vulture's accounts of the difficulty of maintaining relationships with those outside the scene, a difficulty he says is particularly felt by female scene participants (Hund, 2013).

Othering in the media

The following quote is taken from a blog post on the site Invisible Oranges (Lee, 2011):

'Potential subtexts abound:

“Look – metal in [insert obscure country]!”

“Look – black people liking metal!”

“See the natives as they collide with Western culture!”

These were the first three narratives that came to my mind. As you can probably tell, they're mostly negative. The first and third smack of exoticization, and the second is patronizing.'

These reactions reflect the overall tone of most press items covering the Botswanan metal scene. An example can be seen in Dutch TV programme *Metropolis*, which ran a feature on the country's scene. The report emphasises the scene's perceived exoticism, beginning 'Botswana, a country where you not immediately think of by hearing the word 'metal'. But even here you have a metal scene.'

While it is perhaps initially surprising to see such a dedicated scene in a part of the world usually thought to be extremely remote from the regions normally associated with metal (Europe and North America), to treat it solely as an exotic curiosity is highly problematic. When Botswana's metal scene is reported on by the media, it tends to focus on the novelty of such a metal scene being found in sub-Saharan Africa, or on the appearance of the fans. The first of these, focusing on how unusual and unexpected the scene is, is patronising. The idea that black Africans enjoying or playing metal is somehow strange, and the implication that therefore they ought not to play or enjoy metal, is one with subtly racist overtones.

A number of the interviews in *March of the Gods* (2014) reflect these attitudes. When Frank Marshall first spoke of the fashion of the Botswana fans, no-one believed him, and when he first exhibited the photographs he was accused of having staged them. Bands themselves also encounter these attitudes: when Wrust first appeared in South Africa, the gig's organizers were asked by several audience members whether Wrust were an R&B band. Members of death metal band Stane state they feel that non-Africans believe 'an African guy can't be able to play metal', and commenters on their YouTube videos have written 'I wonder where do they get the equipment to play this?', which further reinforces the idea that Africa is primitive and backwards.

These attitudes echo the criticisms of Beninese musician Angélique Kidjo for incorporating Western pop-music techniques into her music and using American pop musicians and producers; criticisms firmly rejected by the artist, who says (quoted in Taylor, 1997 p. 140):

'There's a kind of cultural racism going on where people think that African musicians have to make a certain kind of music. No one asks Paul Simon, 'Why did you use black African musicians? Why don't you use Americans? Why don't you make your music?' What is the music that Paul Simon is supposed to do?'

and:

'The music I write is me. It's how I feel. If you want to see traditional music and exoticism, take a plane to Africa... I don't ask Americans to play country music.'

This idea that engaging with Western musics in the way that Kidjo does, and arguably that Batswana metalheads are doing, is somehow un-African, is described by Timothy D. Taylor (1997) as 'ideologically part of a great western view of African cultures as perennially premodern.'

Focusing solely on the scene's fashion risks presenting the metalheads as an exotic Other, an African novelty act. Of the mainstream press items concerning the scene reviewed by the author, those from outside Botswana invariably discuss the fashion of its participants. Further, there appears to be no journalistic reference to the scene at all before the publication of Marshall's exhibit, barring a number of brief mentions by Keith Kahn-Harris on his blog, including a single post by Magnus Nilssen (2007). As well as this, no media article appears to consider that this idiosyncratic fashion appears almost exclusively among fans, and rarely among bands. Comparing Marshall's photographs of fans to press and publicity photographs of bands shows that the style of dress the scene is most well-known for does not extend to the musicians of the scene, or at least that this fashion is not as ubiquitous a feature of scenic participation as is usually suggested. Comments by former Wrust member Bond (*March of the Gods*, 2014) suggest that this fashion is also a relatively recent addition to the scene; another point not found in the mainstream press discussion of the scene, suggesting a lack of in-depth engagement with the scene's history.

A number of notable media outlets have published articles with the claim that the metal scene is a beloved part of Botswanan culture and metal has become an important part of Batswana national identity. As demonstrated above, this claim is highly dubious. It is based on the testimony of a single member of the scene, and is contradicted by reports of a number of other scene participants as well as outsiders.

Many of these articles in the media further adopt an exotic tone when discussing the scene: the invocation of a supposed 'spiritual connection' is uncomfortably close to outdated, racist stereotypes of Africa, the kind parodied by Kenyan author Binyavanga Wainaina in his essays 'How to Write About Africa' (2005) and 'How not to write about Africa in 2012' (2012). In the first of these, Wainaina satirically advises authors to:

'Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won a Nobel prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these. If you must include an African, make sure you get one in Masai or Zulu or Dogon dress.'

Exaggerating supposedly exotic traits of the scene and its participants reflects a similar attitude; the fans are not genuinely engaged with, but rather portrayed according to pre-existing notions of what Africans are like.

These attitudes echo the concepts of othering outlined by Edward Said in his 1978 work *Orientalism*. Though Said was writing primarily about Western attitudes towards Asia, the overriding mechanisms are the same; reports focusing solely on the local fashion, or emphasising the scene's 'spiritual connection with the land,' allows Western readers to interpret the scene in terms of their preconceived notions about Africa. Said described the Orientalist viewpoint's 'flexible positional superiority', which puts a Western observer in 'a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient, without ever losing him the relative upper hand.'

Similarly, the tone adopted by these accounts of the Botswanan scene allow for an interpretation more in line with existing notions of African primitivism. Just as 'British knowledge of Egypt is Egypt' for an Orientalist observer, Western concepts about African backwardness and primitivism are demonstrated and reinforced by dubious reports about metal's place in the Botswanan national culture, and unremarkable accounts of local folklore and mythology being incorporated into the music produced by the scene. The fact that bands from many countries, including those in the West, regularly raid their nation's history and folklore for for inspiration, is never mentioned.

This portrayal is far from harmless; as outlined in the work of van Dijk (1989), the media plays a critical role in reproducing racist stereotypes and ideologies. He writes:

'the news media do not passively describe or record news events in the world, but actively, (re-)construct them, mostly on the basis of many types of source discourses.'

The result is 'generally a White, Western, male, and middle class perspective', and 'most readers tend to adopt this definition of news events.'

Writers as early as Fanon (2008, originally published 1952) criticised the representation of Africans in popular media, and warned of how these portrayals can create dangerous impressions in audiences. Not only are racist ideologies reproduced in the minds of white readers, but also in those of Africans, as in the example of a young reader who 'subjectively adopts a white man's attitude' (p. 114), including discriminatory attitudes towards other Africans.

Where in Fanon's time (2008, p. 112), African subjects were portrayed as 'the Wolf, the Devil, the Evil Spirit, the Bad Man, the Savage', the modern writer instead portrays them as '[having] music and rhythm deep in their souls', and has widened the cast of characters to include 'naked warriors, loyal servants, diviners and seers, ancient wise men living in hermetic splendour... corrupt politicians, inept polygamous travel-guides, and prostitutes you have slept with' (Wainaina, 2005). This follows van Dijk's (1991, p. 28) assertion that historical forms of overt and blatant discrimination are

'slowly being replaced by more implicit, indirect, subtle, or otherwise less open, though not necessarily less effective or insidious, forms of dominance and inequality.'

In addition to this misleading and potentially offensive view of the scene portrayed in the media, interesting aspects of scenic practice peculiar to Botswana are seemingly unreported. Very few of these articles, in either mainstream or metal press, make a point of the fact that, despite the small size of the scene, two distinct subgenres are flourishing, and that the two most successful bands are performing in radically different styles. The disparity between the fashion of the fans and that of the musicians has also not been commented upon. These elements of the scene do not fit into, or have no relevance to, the idealised image of Africa that is portrayed, and thus have been ignored.

Conclusion

The image of Botswanan metal presented in the media is a distorted one. With the exception of documentary film *March of the Gods* (2014), which is composed of interviews with scene participants describing the scene in their own words, most media reports portray only certain aspects of scenic experience and practice, including some which may not be entirely accurate. The general tone of media reports prefers to focus on the visual image projected by Botswana metalheads, or the seeming incongruity of a scene composed predominantly of black African fans and musicians, rather than discussing the music itself or any of the actually remarkable aspects of the scene. In doing so, it frequently relies on outdated, romantic Western notions of Africa.

These depictions misrepresent the Botswanan scene in favour of an exoticised distortion. The Botswana metalheads are treated as an alien other, unworthy of accurate depiction or genuine engagement. By portraying the scene in a way more defined by colonialist stereotypes about Africa than the reality of its participants and practices, these presentations feed into a broader narrative of cultural and racial discrimination.

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