

## **Players, Social Bandits, and Would-Be Racial Revolutionaries: Examining Hip-Hop, Narcocorrido, and neo-Nazi Hate Rock**

by

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### *Abstract*

*We often sing about what we do. From the youth gang and drug dealing culture that has developed in American criminal society three distinct forms of musical expression have come forth from different criminal groups. Seeing themselves as players, African-American youth gang members have adopted Hip-Hop or Rap as their musical style of expression. Performers such as Snoop Dog (Rolling 20's Crips) or Dj Quick (Tree Top Piru Bloods) were former or current gang members. The social bandit tradition is strong among the Hispanics, thus Narcocorrido music has groups singing the praises of Pablo Escobar and the hazards of drug dealing. The neo-Nazis who are awaiting the much wished for "White Revolution" have largely adopted a death metal or hate rock theme that screams a call of white revolution and racial purity. The music of these three very different groups has several similarities: Violence, angst, dissatisfaction with the "Normal Society" and a view that the end justifies the means. These styles of music fuel the passions of those who fight the street wars that occur in the cities of America.*

### **Introduction:**

Music is a powerful motivator. We often sing about what we do. In our music we express ideas and project images of what we would like to be. Through song, we imagine what life would be like in a perfect world. By expressing our feelings through music, we often open a window that reveals a part of our inner self. From the youth gang and drug dealing culture that has developed in American criminal society, three distinct forms of musical expression have come forth from different criminal groups. Projecting the image of the "Player", African-American youth gang members have adopted hip-hop or rap as their musical style of expression. Among the Hispanic gangs, the image of the "social bandit" prevails as narcocorrido music has music groups singing the praises of Pablo Escobar and the hazards of drug dealing. The neo-Nazis view themselves as would-be revolutionaries and have largely adopted a death metal or hate rock theme that screams a call of White

revolution and racial purity.

The music of these three very different groups has several similarities:

- Violence,
- Angst,
- Dissatisfaction with the “normal society” and
- A view that the end justifies the means.

Also expressed in their music are their views of social norms, a view of manhood, a view on the status of women, and their view of society as a whole. Music is a powerful and unique form of social expression. As such, it is protected under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution as a type of freedom of speech. Music affects moods and ideas. Many forget that singing “Yankee Doodle” was once a revolutionary act in itself. These styles of music fuel the street wars that occur in the cities of America. This article attempts to compare and contrast the three major styles of music that are currently popular among African-American gang members, Hispanic gang members, and White Extremist group members.

### **Social Norms:**

Social norms are important to any social subculture or group. Gangs and extremist groups are no exception. Social norms define the accepted practices of the groups. Social norms outline things for the members of the group or subculture like what is considered to be right and what is wrong, what traits are valued in group and those that are not. In short, social norms mandate what is considered to be normal within the group. While expressing the angst and anxiety caused by the perceived lack of opportunity for achieving legitimate success, these styles of music showcase the illusion of a social norm that in effect says the end justifies the means. The idea that violence is an acceptable way to resolve problems flows through all three of these musical styles. Another common theme is that if someone has something that you want, take it using any means necessary! A neo-Darwinian view of the survival of the fittest on the streets is a prominent theme of music in these styles.

Using violence as a means of achieving social or economic success falls within the “illegitimate means theory” of Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1961). Cloward and Ohlin’s (1961) theory states that those who can achieve legitimate success do so using conventional means such as work, education, or family. Those who are blocked or unable to access success using legitimate means may turn to illegitimate means to achieve success (i.e. crime). For those that fail to achieve success by using either legitimate or illegitimate means, they often enter into a retreatist culture involving substance abuse, mental illness, sex, or rebellion.

The common theme of using criminality to achieve economic and social success is reflected somewhat differently in each style of music. In hip-hop and narcocorrido, the ideas are expressed that success can be achieved by dealing drugs and other related crimes. In hip-hop, the related crimes include pimping. While in narcocorrido, the related crime is often human trafficking. Neo-Nazi hate rock follows Cloward and Ohlin’s (1961) view of a retreatist gang and advocates armed revolution to achieve success. The road to success as illuminated by these three styles of music provides the listeners with a false sense of what is normal. This can lead to social problems that affect society as a whole. In their study of the influences of Hip-Hop on youth culture, Taylor and Taylor observed that:

“To further compound the problem, we must recognize the tremendous impact of negative (but frequently lucrative) influences. The young person from humble beginnings who is not extraordinary in any particular talent is continually shown that he or she can be important by adorning oneself with materialistic trappings. Beautiful cars, expensive clothes, and other material goods are items of status in a capitalistic society. In the streets, such items determine a person’s

worth and therefore are so coveted that the means of obtaining them becomes less important than their acquisition. Selling drugs, robbery, breaking and entering, shoplifting, and prostitution are all reasonable means to an end for many young people throughout America.” (p. 211)

### **Hip-Hop Music:**

Hip-hop music advocates a lifestyle from the point of a player. A player is someone who survives on the street by their wits or by their strength (i.e. violent acts or the threat of violent acts). Thus drug dealers, pimps, gang members and other thugs are viewed as having achieved success, albeit through illegitimate means. These outlaws, while having rejected the dominant social norms, are viewed as being successful individuals in their neighborhoods. Tupac Shakur summarized the lifestyle and the implied rejection of mainstream social normative values in the term “Thug Life”. Tupac (a convicted felon) even had the phrase “Thug Life” tattooed on his stomach. Tupac was latter murdered in an act of hip-hop related violence by a rival in 1996 setting off the East Coast-West Coast Hip-Hop Wars.

The effects of Hip-hop music on the youth culture in have been dynamic and not always positive. Kubrin (2005) found that Hip-hop was a “violent depiction of urban ghetto life in America” and advocated ,as well as taught, a type of street code of behavior. Kurbin characterized the lyrics as sexist, misogynistic and homophobic. Referring to hip-hop music, Kubin observed that:

“ Its roots can be traced to early depictions of the hustler lifestyle and blaxploitation movies of the 1970’s, which glorified blacks are criminals, pimps, pushers, prostitutes and gangsters. Mainly associated with west Coast artists, gangsta rap is considered a product of the gang culture and street wars of South Central Los Angeles, Compton, and Long Beach, and the resurgence of the retromack culture (pimp attitude and style) of East Oakland. Since its early pioneers wer gang members, gansta rap relates to the life experiences of the rappers themselves, and its lyrics portray gang and ghetto life from a criminal perspective.” (p. 160-161)

Hip-hop music developed in the Bronx, New York in the 1970s as a form of rap music. The musical form consisted of a rhyming stanza of lyrics that told a story to a bouncing type of beat. By the late 1980s the version known as “gansta” rap was coming of age in Los Angeles with such groups as Niggaz With Attitude (NWA). Taylor and Taylor (2007) felt that the emergence of NWA (with their alleged Crip affiliations) as a rap group signaled a turn in the genere of hip-hop. NWA lyrics not only depicted the life on the streets as seen by alleged gang members, but openly rejected the legitimacy of government and offered violence towards the police in their famous song: “F—K Tha Police” which was on Straight Outta Compton album in 1988. (p.211-212) The album sold over 3 million copies. Gansta rap was much more violent than traditional hip-hop. Some of the groups that played this style of music had either real or implied gang affiliations that they did not deny or discourage. The Los Angeles version was considered to be crude by New York standards. (Shaw, 2000)

Noting the influence of the gangsta rap variation of hip-hop on African American youth, Marhari and Conner (2003) observed that, “The core areas of gangsta rap are extremely troubling in their glamorization of violence, material consumption, misogyny, and sexual transgression” (p.123). In their study of middle school African American youth, Marhari and Conner (2003) found that gangsta rap music often portrayed social norms that were at odds with the larger part of the African American community that is mostly non-criminal. However, they found that this style of music made violence seem more acceptable in the group of middle school youth that they investigated.

Elizabeth Grant (2002), in her examination of gangsta rap and its effect on African American identity found that, “Labeled ‘gangsta rap’ by industry chiefs and music critics for its seeming glorification of street gang activity, LA’s rap regime hypnotized the nation with tales of territorial rivalry, drug dealing and brutalizing sexual relations in the south central boroughs of Los Angeles” (p.7-8).

Examining the effect of hip-hop on the perception of Black masculinity, Hopkinson and Moore (2006) observed that,

Someone birthed hip-hop, whose entire aesthetic—at least as promulgated on cable and radio—seems to be based on the world’s oldest profession; all men are P-I-M-P-S and all the women are hos. As a whole, the hip-hop generation has found prostitution to be an apt metaphor for American capitalism, which under our generation’s watch has taken the literal and figurative pimping of black culture to new depths (p.106).

### **Social Norms Advocated by: Hip-Hop:**

As practiced by some of the hip-hop artists, the view is expressed in the lyrics that:

- You are a street warrior.
- You are fighting for your hood and your rightful place in society that is being denied or blocked by the police and corporate interests of the majority group.
- Violence is an acceptable, expected tactic against your enemies or the police.
- Possession of a weapon is a symbol of manhood and your warrior status within the group.
- The quest for money is a central theme (Money Over Bitches).
- Women are objects to be used at will.
- As a player, Pimping and drug dealing are glamorous professions.
- It is cool to be a gang banger (Stallworth, 1992, p. 3).

### **Selected Artists and Known or Alleged Gang Affiliation, if Any:**

- 50 Cent, aka Curtis Jackson. A New York gansta rap artist whose 2003 album, *Get Rich or Die Tryin* has been quoted as symbolizing the hip-hop/gangsta rap era. So much so, Byone (2006) observed that:  
However, unlike many of his peers, 50 Cent lived the life that he rapped about experiencing first-hand the drug trade, incarceration, and assaults on his life which included stabbings and shootings. Like the mythical bad men of African American folklore, 50 Cent’s appearance replete with bulging biceps, six-pack abdomen, tattoos, bulletproof vest and diamond encrusted crucifix visually represented his hardcore demeanor (p. 131).
- Snoop Dogg (Rolling 20s Crips), aka Calvin Broadus Jr. Shown on his website giving a Crip hand sign. Recordings include: *Doggystyle* (1993).
- Coolio (Mona Park Compton Crips) aka Artis Leon Ivy Jr. Allegedly Coolio only hung out around the Crips and never actually joined. However, he is often seen sporting a blue do-rag during performances and grew up in Compton. Coolio has prior arrests for larcenies and allegedly sold crack cocaine at one time. Most famous title: *Gangsta’s Paradise*

(1995).

- Daz Dillinger (21<sup>st</sup> St Crips), aka Delmar Drew Arnaud. California solo rap artist who partnered with Krupt for a while to form a group called Tha Dogg Pound.
- Dresta (Nutty Blocc Compton Crips), aka Andre De Sean Wicker. A California gangsta rapper who sang “Real Muthaphuckkin G’s” (1993) with Eazy-E on a single.
- Eazy-E (Kelly Park Compton Crips), aka Kelly Wright. Original member of Niggaz With Attitude (N.W.A.), a California gansta rap group. Titles included: “Boyz-N-The-Hood” (1988a) and *Straight Outta Compton* (1988b).
- Jayo Felony (NHC 47 Blocc Crips), aka James Savage. A California gansta rap musician whose most famous album was *Crip Hop* released in 2001.
- MC Eiht (Tragnew Park Compton Crips), aka Aaron Tyler. California solo artist and former member of Compton’s Most Wanted. Records include: *Music to Driveby* (Byone, 2006; Slip, 1992).
- Tone Loc (South Side Compton Crips), aka Anthony Terrell Smith. California gangsta rapper. Loc albums include: *Loc-ed After Dark* (1993) and *Cool Hand Loc* (1991).
- Ice Cube (100 Rolling Crips), aka O’Shea Jackson. N.W.A. gangster rap group member and independent solo artist from California.
- Spider Loc (97<sup>th</sup> St East Coast Crips), aka Curtis Norvell Williams. California gangsta rapper. He recorded the DVD *Brainless: The Prequel* (2006) and the album *Da 1 U Luv 2 Hate* (2008).
- DJ Quik (Tree Top Piru Bloods), aka David Blake. Shown on his website giving a Piru hand sign. Albums include: *Way 2 Fonky* (1992) and *Under Tha Influence* (2002).
- Damu Ridaz (Denver Lane bloods). Blood gansta rap group. Albums include: *Bangin’ on Wax* (Phillips & Loc, 1993) and *How Deep is Your Hood* (Phillips & Loc, 1999).
- The Game (Cedar Block Priu Bloods). California rap artist born Jayceon Taylor.
- Ice-T. Actor and gangster rapper cited as one of the originators of gangster rap. Although he became famous in California, he was born Tracy Lauren Morrow in New Jersey. The song “Cop Killer” (1992) was controversial because of the lyrics advocating violence towards law enforcement.

### **The Message Sent By the Lyrics:**

The hedonistic lifestyle portrayed by the obscenity-laced lyrics gives a false social norm to the listener of this type of music. Drug trafficking, pimping, gang banging, and other forms of violence are considered to be normal everyday activities.

To be a success, a Black male is told by the lyrics that he must be a hustler and a player (Hopkinson & Moore, 2006). Women are portrayed as whores, bitches, and sluts to be used, abused, and abandoned at will. The lifestyle portrayed is all about the acquisition of wealth and power by any means necessary. Thus, illegitimate means are seen as the only smart or viable means to success. Those that choose legitimate means to achieve success are viewed as fools, suckers, and race traitors (Oreos – Black on the outside/White on the inside). The street code of violence, retaliation, obtaining material wealth by “any means necessary”, sexual promiscuity, and nihilism are standard fare in this type of music, (Kurbin, 2005).

### Examples of Hip Hop Lyrics:

I'll wear a shiny suit for a minute like I'm the L.O.X.  
Then get gangster with a swap meet bag and a Jordon box  
And when I die, bury me with the glock and a bucket of shells  
In case Niggaz want drama in hell

Yeah, so when Compton Niggaz  
And Filmore Niggaz get together  
Shit happens mayne, real talk from ya nigga Fig'  
Doin' it big and don't wanna split yo' wig

I'll give you anything you ask for, money over bitches  
Tell me what 'chu blast for? F \_ \_ k around with snitches  
What you had to smash fo'? Nigga tried to play me man  
Anything you ask fo', representing Bay Game  
“Money Over Bitches” (Tom & Taylor, 2005)

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They say I walk around like got an “S” on my chest  
Naw, that's a semi-auto, and a vest on my chest  
I try not to say nothing, the DA might want to play in court  
But I'll hunt or duck a nigga down like it's sport  
Front on me, I'll cut ya, gun-butt ya or bump ya  
You getting money? I can't none with ya then f \_ \_ k ya  
I'm not the type to get knocked for D.W.I.  
I'm the type that'll kill your connect when the coke price rise  
Gangstas, they bump my shit then they know me  
I grew up around some niggas that's not my homies  
Hundred G's I stash it (what), the mack I blast it (yeah)  
D's come we dump the diesel and battery acid  
This flow's been mastered, the ice I flash it  
Chokes me, I'll have your mama picking out your casket, bastard  
“What Up Gangsta” (50 Cent, 2003)

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As I walk through the valley of the shadow of death  
I take a look at my life and realize there's nuttin left

Cause I've been blastin and laughin so long that  
Even my mama thinks that my mind is gone  
But I ain't never crossed a man that didn't deserve it  
Me be treated like a punk, you know that's unheard of  
You better watch how you talkin, and where you walkin  
Or you and your homies might be lined in chalk  
I really hate to trip, but I gotta loc  
As they croak I see myself in the pistol smoke, fool  
I'm the kinda G the little homies wanna be like  
On my knees in the night Sayin prayers in the street light

We've been spending most our lives  
Living in the Gangsta's Paradise  
We've been spending most our lives  
Living in the Gangsta's Paradise  
We keep spending most our lives  
Living in the Gangsta's Paradise  
We keep spending most our lives  
Living in the Gangsta's Paradise  
"Gangsta's Paradise" (Coolio, 1995)

**Record Companies:**

There are 276 recording companies that produce hip-hop or gansta rap music and the number is growing (Hip-hop Directory (HHD), 2008) The production of hip-hop and gangsta rap is a multi-million dollar industry. Some recording companies such as Death Row Records (with alleged gang affiliations) have become enmeshed in the hip-hop wars and other controversies that surround this type of music. The images portrayed by the album covers on the CD's further the gangsta and player images. Images of money, guns, gang signs, artist poses in a player or banger stance abound in the covers on this genre of music.

**Live Musical Venues:**

Hip-hop and gangsta rap are played at clubs and concerts throughout the United States. Because of the drug, gang, and violence-related lyrics of this type of music, violence has sometimes broken out at these musical venues. Recognizing this, some police agencies (especially those in the eastern United States) have gone so far as to form hip-hop squads in their police forces, although this function is usually called gang intelligence.

**Media:**

Hip-hop music and gangsta rap have become mainstream in the African American community. You will find gangsta rap and hip-hop played on mainstream radio stations, television, BET, MTV, concerts, YouTube, and the internet. These types of CDs are sold in mainstream record stores. It is a popular style of music with a crossover audience in some parts of the White and Hispanic communities. In spite of some social conflict with the content of the lyrics (some songs have different street and radio versions because of obscenity) these artists continue to sell music across the United States.

**Narcocorrido Music:**

A corrido is a ballad in traditional Mexican music. Narcocorrido is a ballad that sings about drug trafficking, Mexican Drug Trafficking Organization's operations, human trafficking, and other types of violence or smuggling (Cobo, 2009; Edberg, 2004, Wald, 2001). The image often portrayed by this style of music is that of the Social Bandit. In his work on social bandits, Hobsbawm (1969) describes the social bandit as a type of noble robber that steals from the rich and gives some back to the poor. It is a style of political and social resistance that is often referred to in Mexican folklore and legend (Robinson, 2009; Seal, 2009; Edberg, 2004, Hobsbawm, 1969).

Morales (2008) found that:

"The influence of gangs upon music, and vice versa, goes back to the *Bandito* days of the 1800s. *Corrido* songs were written about the exploits of Mexican rebel leaders (banditos) and what many sympathizers felt was "gringo oppression" during the Mexican-American War. These songs became even more popular during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1923). In the *Pachuko* days, big band songs were based upon the 1940s Zoot Suit Riots in L.A. and major cities. The *Pachuko Hop* was released by Chuck Higgins who grew up in the Aliso Village barrio. Higgins released another song, "Wetback Hop." This title would undoubtedly cause quite a commotion nowadays. "Chico" Sesma promoted L.A. area concerts and had a radio program that was popular with Chicano youth in the 1950s, including gang members" (p.1).

According to Nicolopoulos (2004) the phenomenon of the Narcocorrido developed from the bandito corridos in the late 1800's. He states that:

"Culture clash, social conflict, violent death, disasters and triumphs personal as well as public, heroism and villainy, from the grand stage of national history down to the most sordid encounter—every value, event or social current, in fact, that woven together, forms the warp and woof of a people's identity—all are celebrated, commented, lamented, or lampooned in the Mexican ballads known in Spanish as corridos."

Wald (2001) observed that some early singers began to sing about the cross-border drug trade as early as the late 1930s and early 1940s with such songs as: "El Contrabandista" (The Smuggler) and "Carga Blanca" (White Cargo). However, the narcocorrido style of music really came into its own with the 1972 release of *Contrabando Y Traicion* (Contraband and Betrayal) by Los Tigres del Norte (Wald, 2001). Narcocorrido music glamorizes the gangster lifestyle south of the border. A *Mi Vida Loca* (My Crazy Life) philosophy is present throughout this style of music.

In a strange twist, at least 20 narcocorrido musicians were murdered between May 2006 and February 2008 in separate incidents. Lazarski (2007) cited College of the Northern Border musicologist, Miguel Olmos who said:

Sometimes there is a direct relationship between the musician and the narcotics trafficker, but also there are a lot of passionate crimes. That is to say, the musician establishes some sort of segmental relationship with people who are linked to this culture of violence and narcotics trafficking, and somehow it gets out of hand. They always touch some nerve of the trafficker (p.1).

Singing the praises of the wrong side has its hazards.

Morales (2008) observed that while the African-American music scene was developing gansta rap, a parallel Latino rap movement began to develop within the Chicano community. However, while this style of music seems to have taken root on the West coast (particularly among Latino prison inmates), it is the narcocorrido music that has gained universal acceptance across the United States and Mexico.



**Social Norms Advocated:**

As practiced by the narcocorrido artists, the view is expressed in the lyrics that:

- You are a street warrior.
- You are fighting for your dignity, your people and your rightful place in society that is being denied or blocked by the police and corporate interests of the majority group.
- Violence is an acceptable, expected tactic against your enemies or the police.
- Possession of a weapon is a symbol of manhood and your warrior status within the group.
- A strong sense of Machismo is essential to maintain manhood.
- Luck and fate are central themes to achievement of success or failure.
- Women are to be romanced or honored, but they may betray you in the end.
- As a social bandit, Drug dealing, coyotes (human trafficking) or other types of crime that require you to live by your wits are glamorous professions.

**Selected Artists and Known or Alleged Drug Trafficking Organization Affiliation, if Any:**

■ Los Tigres del Norte is among the bands that sing narcocorrido music. Originating in Sinaloa and now residing in California this band is often considered to be one of the original bands that practiced the narcocorrido style of music. Their song “Contrabando Y Traicion” (Contraband and Betrayal) is considered to be a classic among the songs of border crossing and drug trafficking that make up this style of music (Herlinghaus, 2006).

■ Sergio Gomez, lead singer of the band K-Paz de la Sierra was murdered December 4, 2007 in the Michoacan capitol of Morella after a concert (Stevenson, 2007).

■ Valentin Elizalde wrote lyrics to his narcocorrido songs that praised Los Zetas. According to Freemuse (2006), Elizalde also

wrote lyrics honoring one of Mexico’s most notorious drug lords, Joaquin “El Chapo” Guzman, who is the leader of the Sinaloa cartel. In 2005, Elizalde sang one of his *narcocorridos* – ballads honoring the exploits of drug dealers – to a crowd of more than 3,000 convicts at the Puente Grande prison in the central state of Jalisco. Guzman escaped from a neighboring prison in 2001 and remains at large. His Sinaloa cartel is battling the Gulf cartel and other criminal groups for control of key smuggling points across the U.S.-Mexico border (p.1).

Elizalde’s narcocorrido “El Escape Del Chapo” lionizes the escape of El Chapo from prison. Elizalde was murdered November 25, 2006 in Reynosa.

- Jesús Rey David Alfaro Pulido, aka “El Gallito” (The Little Rooster) was murdered in Tijuana on February 20, 2008. Larsen (2008) reported that: Rivalry between powerful drug cartels seems to be the reason behind the killings. “We believe he had links with the Arellano Felix cartel,” said an official of the Prosecutor’s Office of Baja California. The Arellano Felix cartel is the leading drug cartel in Tijuana and it is currently waging a brutal war with rivaling drug

cartels to gain control of territory with key smuggling points across the US-Mexico border, reports CNN. Associated Press reports that all cadavers bore signs of torture and had been marked with aggressive messages from the killers such as “you are next”—presumably directed at the Mexican police forces which seek to undermine the encompassing drug trade in the area (p.1).

This was a typical killing in a string of killings that have plagued the narcocorrido musicians in Mexico.

**The Message Sent By the Lyrics:**

The lyrics are rife with images of danger, weapons, betrayal, the Mexican drug trafficking organizations, and los tres animales. Los tres animales are the three animals that often are used to represent drugs in Mexican slang: cocaine (parakeet), marijuana (rooster), and heroin (goat) (Wald, 2001, p. 28). Alvarez (2007, p.55) observed that the message of this type of music in Mexican and Chicano culture was a type of rebellion. It was a search for dignity and an expression of the politics of refusal: “a refusal to accept humiliation, a refusal to quietly endure dehumanization and a refusal to conform.” Illegitimate means are seen as a viable route to success.

Examples of Narcocorrido Music

Dicen que venian del sur  
 En un carro colorado  
 Traian cien kilos de coca  
 Iban con rumbo a Chicago  
 Asi lo dijo el soplón  
 Que los habia denunciado

(It is said that they came from the south in a red car,  
 They carried one hundred kilos of cocaine,  
 they were headed for Chicago,  
 That’s what the squealer said who had informed on them.)  
 “La Banda del Carro Rojo” (Los Tigres del Norte, 2000,  
 cited in Wald, 2001, p. 34)

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El estado de Jalisco los hechos los presencio  
 del penal de Puente Grande el Chapo se les pelo  
 de acuerdo con los custodios que el Chapo Guzman compro

La policia federal junto con los de la DEA  
 buscan al Chapo Guzman por debajo de las piedras  
 en el fondo de los mares y en el filo de la sierra

El Chapo con su poder todo el penal corrompio  
 dicen que en el aeropuerto ya lo esperaba un avion  
 pa sacarlo de Jalisco y en Sinaloa aterrizo

Y ahi le va pa mi compa Borrego que en paz descanse  
 y arriba Culiacan Sinaloa compa Jorge

El director del penal mas de 3 horas tardo

en notificar la fuga quien sabe que le paso  
o es que quizo darle tiempo de que abordara en avion

La ciudad de Culiacan de nuevo estara de luto  
pues con la fuga del Chapo muchos moriran de susto  
y los que lo traicionaron ya no dormiran agusto

Ya me voy ya me despido no se les vaya olvidar  
del penal de Puente Grande nadie ha podido escapar  
pero al Chapo le ayudaron para poderse fugar

Ese rancho de la tuna cerca de Bairiguato  
tierra de puros valientes  
ahi es donde nacio el Chapo

(In the state of Jalisco, the facts I am presenting to you of the happenings at the penitentiary de Puente Grande. El Chapo escaped. They're in agreement with the guards who he bought, Chapo Guzman.

The federal police along with those of the DEA look for Chapo Guzman below stones at depth of the seas and in the edge of the mountain range.

Chapo, with his power, all the penitentiary he corrupted. They say at the airport a plane was already waiting to remove him from Jalisco and in Sinaloa it landed.

And here it goes to my friend Borrego, may he rest in peace, and above Culiacan Sinaloa my friend Jorge

The director of the penitentiary wasted more than 3 hours in notifying of the escape. Who knows what happened to him or it may be that he wanted to give him time to board the airplane

The city of Culiacan is ready for looting anew. With the escape of El Chapo, many will die of fright and those that betrayed him will no longer sleep in peace.

Now I'm saying my goodbyes, but don't you forget about the penitentiary of de Puente Grande which no one has been able to escape but El Chapo ,who had help in his escape

That ranch at del la tuna near de Bairiguato. Land of pure honorables. That is where El Chapos was born)  
"El Escape Del Chapo" (Elizalde, 2001)

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Vivo de tres animales, que quiero como a mi vida.  
 Con ellos gano dinero, y ni les compro comida.  
 Son animales muy finos,  
 Mi, perico, mi gallo y mi chiva...  
 En California y Nevada, en Texas y en Arizona.  
 Y tambien alla en chicago, tengo unas cuantas personas  
 Que venden mis animales,  
 Mas que hamburguesas en el mcdonald's...  
 Aprendi a vivir la vida, hasta que tuve dinero.  
 Y no niego que fui pobre, tampoco que fui burrero.  
 Ahora soy un gran seor,  
 Mis mascotas codician los gueros...  
 Uuuy!  
 Traigo cerquita la muerte, pero no me se rajar.  
 Se que me busca el gobierno, hasta debajo del mar.  
 Pero para todo hay maa,  
 Mi escondite no han podido hayar...  
 El dinero en abundancia, tambien es muy peligroso.  
 Por eso yo me lo gasto, con mis amigos gustoso.  
 Y las mujeres la neta,  
 Ven dinero y se les van los ojos...  
 Dicen que mis animales, van a acabar con la gente.  
 Pero no es obligacin, que se les pongan enfrente.  
 Mis animales son bravos,  
 Si no saben torear pues no le entren.

I live off three animals  
 That I love as my life.  
 With them I make money,  
 And I don't even buy them food,  
 They are stupid animals,  
 My parakeet [cocaine], my rooster [marijuana], and my goat [heroin].

In California and Nevada,  
 in Texas and Arizona,  
 even out there in Chicago,  
 I have some people  
 Who sell my animals  
 More than hamburgers  
 Sold at McDonald's.  
 I learned to live life

Until I had money.  
I don't deny that I was poor  
And that I was a mule skinner.  
Now I am a great gentleman,  
The gringos covet my pets.

Death is always near me,  
But I don't know how to give in.  
I know the government hunts me,  
Even under the sea,  
But there is always a way around everything,  
And my hiding place hasn't been found.

Too much money  
Is also dangerous.  
That is why I spend it  
With my good friends.  
And when the women see it,  
Their eyes pop out.

They say that my animals  
Are going to finish the people off.  
But it's not required  
To place it in front of them.  
My animals are brave.  
If you can bullfight, then stay out of the ring.  
"Mis Tres Animales" (Los Tucanes de Tijuana, 1996)

**Record Companies:**

The record companies that produce narcocorrido music are mainly mainstream record companies that deal in Latin music such as Avana Musical, Bci, Discos Fama, and Universal Latino. Citing attempts by various Mexican state governments to ban the playing of Narcocorrido music, Burr (2003) found that:

"Record store owners in Baja California reported that the 'forbidden fruit' factor nearly increased sales of corrido albums. No one seriously expects the ban to apply to concerts or bars either. Another challenge is that the ban doesn't apply to radio stations in southern California, whose signals still blast the songs across the border."

The images portrayed on the covers of the narcocorrido CD's further illusion of the lifestyle of the narcotrafficker. Images of guns, money, doper

santos (i.e. Malverde), social bandits and Machismo are the norm. On the cover of his album, *El Señor de los Cielos*, Lupillo Rivera is shown holding an AK-47 assault rifle with an obscenely over-sized extended magazine. It is plainly obvious that this is intended as a macho phallic symbol (Edberg, 2004).

### **Live Musical Venues:**

On the Mexican side of the border, narcocorrido music is played in clubs, concerts and all normal live venues. On the U.S. side of the border, narcocorrido music is often found in clubs and concerts that are patronized by the large Hispanic population in the United States. It is druggie music that you can dance to. Mark Edberg (2004) describes the atmosphere during a narcocorrido concert that he observed while attending a performance of Los Tigres during his research. He stated that: "There is something about narcocorridos that draws attention and carries a certain energy during a performance, more so than for corridos that are not about narcotraffickers. Again, at the Los Tigres show I attended, when the Tigres sang narcocorridos, there was a noticeable crowd response, a swell of noise and applause, though in context it was largely framed as festive, yet somehow vicarious as well, in the manner of professional wrestling or even cartoons. Exaggerated gunshot sounds and lights went off on stage, and when that happened, most of the audience treated it as great fun, part of the carnival atmosphere of the moment. People shouted, men lifted their girlfriends. At norteno bars where I saw live music played, there was often an analogous energy, and I believe it is generally typical of such shows." (p. 73-74)

### **Media:**

Narcocorrido music is very popular along both sides of the border. It is played on radio stations, Spanish television, videos, and the internet. CDs are sold in mainstream music stores. However, Summers and Bailey (2004) observed that some Mexican government officials were attempting to negotiate "voluntary" bans of narcocorrido music with individual radio stations on the Mexican side of the border because they felt that this style of music "justified" drug trafficking. Burr (2003) observed that in January, 2003: "Los Tigres stopped promoting its narcocorrido "La Reina del Sur" (The Queen of the South) in Mexico, after the Baja California Norte state legislature and the state's radio and TV association advised stations there to stop playing it. Manuel Perez Munoz, president of the Sinaloa office of the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry said 'Rather than let ourselves be used to send messages that glorify violence, corruption and illegal activities, we want to send other messages: of morality, of respect for life, of caring for children.' In a state ment, Los Tigres label, Fonovisa, said radio stations in the Mexican states of Sinaloa, Jalisco, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Michoacan were also feeling industry and governmental pressure to ban narcocorridos." It is estimated that narcocorrido music has a \$300 million a year market in the United States among the Hispanic population.

### **Neo-Nazi Hate Rock Music:**

Neo-Nazi music is centered around the idea that there will be a race war and a "white revolution". Most plan on fighting in it, some want to sing about it. The skinhead movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the U.K. was built around music (Brown, 2004). Much of the music was of the death metal and

oi! varieties. Skrewdriver was formed in the United Kingdom in 1977 as a punk rock band and converted in the late 1970s to a skinhead band (Hamm, 1994). They had a major influence on hate rock music in the U.K. and the U.S. especially with their song “White Power.” Leader Ian Stuart Donaldson described himself as a British National Socialist to the press and was involved with the British National Party (BNP). They disbanded in 1993. This style of music traveled over to the United States in the late 1970s with the works of Skrewdriver. Many skinhead and White supremacist bands have followed in their footsteps in this country. White supremacist ideas and philosophy permeate this style of music. Brown (2004) noted that the music began to turn racial and neo-Nazi in the United Kingdom during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The White supremacists call this style of music “racially aware” music. The style of music has become very popular among the neo-Nazis, especially among the skinheads. Neo-Nazi bands from Australia, Canada, Germany, and the United States quickly joined those from the United Kingdom in this musical style. According to Shannon (1997):

“The most disturbing aspect of this music is that it serves as inspiration for violent racial attacks. Many of the leading figures in the international music industry have faced or are facing charges relating to violent activities, sometimes against rival racists” (p.4).

In describing hatecore music, Salmon (2002) found that:

“Far more disturbing than the freakish, tattooed skinhead bands blurting white supremacist lyrics is the image of two pristine-looking little blond girls throwing their arms in a Nazi salute and singing, ‘Strike Force, white survival.’ They are under the influence of so-called hatecore music that proselytizes an ugly neo-Nazi message in clubs, on CD’s and on the internet”.

### **Social Norms Advocated:**

As practiced by neo-Nazi hate rock bands, the retreatist view is expressed in the lyrics that:

- You are a race warrior. You feel that a race war is coming and you must fight to preserve the future of your race. You believe in the philosophy of the “14 words” of David Lane, and that “we must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children (Shannon, 1997,p.3).”
- You view yourself as being “working class.” The reasons that you have not achieved economic or social success are because all of the jobs and promotions have been usurped by minorities under affirmative action or by illegal immigrants who will work cheaper than a White worker.
- No legitimate or illegitimate means are seen as a viable means to achieve success.
- Violence is an acceptable, expected tactic against your enemies or the police.
- Possession of a weapon is a symbol of manhood and your warrior status within the group.
- Superiority is a birthright because of your race.
- White women are to be coveted and protected from the lustful incursions of non-Whites and immigrants.
- White revolution is viewed as the only viable solution.

**Selected Artists and Known or Alleged White Supremacist Group Affiliation, if Any:**

There have been 122 neo-Nazi bands identified as of 2007 (Knox & Etter, 2008). The group names often indicate the type of music offered. With other groups it is the lyrics which are racist, homophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant or call for a White revolution.

- Angry Aryans (Myrder City Skinheads) Hatecore band formed in Detroit in 1994. Albums include: *Too White for You* (2000) and *Old School Hate* (2003).
- Brutal Attack (Skinheads) A U.K. Punk rock R.A.C. (rock against communism) band formed by Ken McLellan. Active 1980-1997. Albums include: *Tales of Glory* (1989) and *Resurrection* (1992).
- Bully Boys (Skinheads) A Florida hatecore band formed in 1983. Albums include: *White Kids Gonna Fight* (1999) and *Best of the Bully Boys 1984-1999* (1999).
- Fist of Steel (Skinheads) Formed in 1998 popular also in Germany and Brazil. Albums include: *Skinhead* and *Smash the Reds*.
- Grinded Nig (Nazi) A Texas Neo-Nazi hatecore band formed from the remains of a band called Bloodstained Boots. Albums include: *Freezer Full of Nigger Heads* (2004), *Shriek of the Mutilated* (2005) and *Hate Grind vs. Hate Punk* (2006).
- H8Machine (Skinheads) A New Jersey hatecore band formed in 1996. Albums include: *Cheated* (1996) and *Hardcore for Life* (2008).
- Max Resist (Hammerhead Skinheads) Detroit-based hate rock band. Albums include: *Klymax* (2006) and *Keep Fighting*(2002).
- Rahowa (World Church of the Creator) A Canadian neo-Nazi goth metal band, 1993-1995. Albums include: *Declaration of War* (1993) and *Cult of the Holy War* (1995).
- Skrewdriver (British National Party) English death metal band, 1977-1993. Albums include: *Blood and Honour* (1986) and *Boots and Braces/Voice of Britain* (1983).

**The Message Sent By the Lyrics:**

The lyrics of this style of music promote hatred. Some lyrics, such as the Blue Eyed Devils in their song “Final Solution,” praise the Holocaust as a good idea. Many lyrics advocate violence against other racial or religious groups. An anti-immigrant theme is often present. Many songs support one of the four primary White supremacist religions: Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator or Creativity, Norse/Germanic Paganism, or Satanism. Most lyrics call for a “White revolution.” According to Shannon (1997) it is not just the music but the message sent by the lyrics that promotes the neo-Nazis ideas. He observed that:

“The continuing propagation of Nazi ideology in recent times has relied heavily on music. Rock music has been the neo-Nazi movement’s most direct means of enlisting and developing youth support. The music sounds much like other heavy metal, trash and grunge, but the lyrics are venomous. The



dominant themes are violent attacks, race war, White supremacy, Nordic and teutonic mythology and the pure hatred of all non-Caucasians, especially Blacks and Jews "(p.2).

**Examples of Neo-Nazi Hate Rock Lyrics:**

I stand watch my country, going down the drain  
We are all at fault now, we are all to blame  
We're letting them take over, we just let them come  
Once we had an empire, and now we've got a slum  
(chorus)  
White Power! For England!  
White Power! Today  
White Power! For Britain  
Before it gets too late  
"White Power" (Stuart, 1983)

\*\*\* \*\*

A warrior is in prison, he's in jail  
23 hours locked down in his cell  
Can't get out, no way to escape  
His heart and his spirit  
They can't break

David Lane he fought with honor,  
Bruder Schweigen he was part of The Order  
Gary Yarboro, he fought with honor,  
Bruder Schweigen he was part of The Order  
"14 Words" (Max Resist, 1995a)

\*\*\* \*\*

We like to party in a violent way,  
I guess it's just a symptom  
Of the youth today  
We get drunk on the violence we cause  
With total contempt and disgust for the law

Bootparty, bootparty, bootparty  
It's you we invite to war  
Bootparty, bootparty  
You'll feel the heat of our boots tonight  
"Boot Party" (Max Resist, 1995b)

**Record Companies:**

Their music is produced on CDs by labels such as Resistance Records (National Alliance) founded by George Burdi (aka George Eric Hawthorne, a Canadian who was active in the World Church of the Creator run by Matt Hale), NSM 88 (National Socialist Movement), Panzerfaust Records (Hammerskin Nation and Volksfront), Micetrap Records, and Tightrope Records (Stormfront); record companies that are often wholly owned or subsidized by various White supremacist groups. The sale of neo-Nazi hate rock music and CDs are a major source of income for the White supremacist groups.

The tale of the rise and fall of Panzerfaust Records is a most interesting one. Panzerfaust Records was a Minnesota-based neo-Nazi record company that had been formed by Anthony Pierpont, Ed Wolbank and Eric Davidson in 1998. Davidson was a former employee of Resistance Records. Pierpont was a master musical promoter. He appeared at Aryan Fests, promoted prison outreach music to incarcerated White supremacists, and even offered free White supremacist music CDs to elementary, middle, and high school libraries in "project schoolyard." Panzerfaust Records was supported by (but not owned by) the Hammerskin Nation and Volksfront. All of this dissolved when it was discovered that Pierpont's mother was Mexican and Pierpont had dated women and transgendered individuals outside the White race. Race mixing is considered to be a cardinal sin among most of the White supremacist community. His musical partners and neo-Nazi supporters had quit the label and Panzerfaust Records dissolved into history with the arrest, conviction, and incarceration of Pierpont on drug charges in 2005 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005, p.1).

**Live Musical Venues:**

An Aryan fest is a neo-Nazi rock concert and meeting featuring hate rock bands. Political speakers are usually present to present their ideas to the faithful. White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger and Aryan Nations leader the late Rev. Richard Butler often attended and spoke at such events. Merchandise such as patches, posters, flags, Nazi items, t-shirts, and CDs are usually sold at Aryan fests. Skinheads like to drink beer and there is usually lots of beer present. At Aryan fests, they often raise money for neo-Nazi groups or causes.

Neo-Nazi hate rock bands often play their music at alternative clubs that offer death metal style music. Mosh pits (a style of dancing where males smash into each other bare-chested) are often present in this type of venue (Knox & Etter, 2008, p. 41-42).

**Media:**

The bands that sing this type of hate rock do not get much air time on mainstream radio stations. However, they thrive on CD sales (mostly sold through the internet or at concerts), YouTube, internet radio broadcasts, and playing alternative clubs or Aryan fests. According to Shannon (1997):

"It is hardly surprising that virtually all groups promoting and distributing this music do so indirectly, publishing neither their street address nor a phone number. Very few music shops will stock the music. But through post office boxes and internet sites all over the world, the business is flourishing to the tune of millions of dollars annually. And so the bands play on "(p.4).

In 2002, rock television cable network VH1 produced a special on hate rock describing the hatecore genera. They observed that the:

“VH1 News Special: Inside Hate Rock” looks at bands such as Skrewdriver, Rahowa (Racial Holy War), Carolina Sons, Angry Aryans, and Max Resist, who may have developed out of a common love of music, but whose message is what keeps them pumping out songs. Interviews include ex-skinhead TJ Leydon, anti-racist expert Justin Massa, Josh & Brent of Carolina Sons, William Pierce, and Resistance Records honcho Erich Gliebe, among others.

### Summary:

There are many commonalities among these three styles of music. Each of the three styles of music falls within Cloward and Ohlin’s “illegitimate means” theory. Hip hop and narcocorrido music advocate the usage of illegitimate means to achieve success and neo-Nazi hate rock takes a retreatist stand by advocating a White revolution. Each of the three music styles shows violence as a legitimate tactic. Each advocates or praises criminality. Issues specific to each of the groups are addressed in the lyrics of each style of music. The styles and types of tunes used in the music vary widely between hip-hop, narcocorrido, and neo-Nazi hate rock to please their respective audiences. The lyrics used in these styles of music are often offensive and controversial. However, these offensive lyrics play well with the audiences that the music is intended for. The ideas expressed in these three styles of music and their views of expected social norms fuel the street wars that have spread across America over the last 25 years.

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#### **Note:**

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