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How cocaine influenced British rock and metal culture from
1964-1980

By

Cohen Hale

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA by Research
(Music, Humanities and Media)

The University of Huddersfield

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Abstract

This dissertation determines the possible effects of cocaine on British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980. Via historical research, there will be an exploration of the relationships between cocaine and British rock and metal artists active during this period and their audiences, and an evaluation of the psychosociological reasons for such attitudes and behaviours. This thesis identifies cocaine's relationships within several iconic rock subcultures and proposes the effects that cocaine may have had on them. By understanding the effects that cocaine has on the mind and body, this research also determines any possible effects that this may have on the music, particularly regarding creativity and productivity. By doing so, this dissertation identifies the effects this may have had on the British rock and metal culture. A musical analysis evaluates how cocaine has been represented in music and performance. The analysis is comprised of four case studies: Eric Clapton's "Cocaine" (1977); David Bowie's "Station to Station" (1976); Ian Dury's "Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll" (1977); and Black Sabbath's "Snowblind" (1972). This thesis also evaluates the effects that this may have on listeners and audiences, particularly the possible positive and negative effects that this may have on their influence to buy music that references cocaine.

1. Introduction

This dissertation seeks to understand how cocaine has influenced British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980. This period is of interest because it encompasses the time between the start of the first and second British Invasion. The British Invasion was a movement involving British bands who visited America aiming to spread awareness of their blues-rock fusion to American audiences (Perone, 2009: 5-6). The Beatles started this movement in 1964 (Lebovic, 2016), and the second British Invasion became popular in the 1980s (Paese, 2016). Presently, there has been little academic attention on this topic. It is commonly accepted that drug use has had a close relationship with rock culture. Music's relationship with drugs has included jazz music and cannabis, psychedelic music and psychedelics, punk-rock music and heroin, and dance music and ecstasy. Similarly, rock culture has adopted the widely known adage 'sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll'. Many versions of this phrase have been used as the titles of books, films, TV shows, and multiple journal articles. Hence, it is unsurprising that rock culture is vastly influenced by hedonistic and pleasure-seeking behaviours. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the music business was consumed by drug use. This is highlighted in Rolling Stone's documentary, *1973: Shaping the Culture* (2016). Drugs were involved in the music industry in all areas. Arguably, drugs' relationship with rock music has had many positive and negative effects on music generally. Cocaine is of interest as it was an extremely popular drug during this period. It shares many similarities characteristically with rock culture, which may signify a homogenous relationship between them. Many of the most successful rock artists at this time had used cocaine alongside the production and performance of their music. Countless anecdotes regarding cocaine use in the industry have been publicised through the publications of rock artists, including interviews, books, and music. An analysis of these will offer insight into how cocaine was involved in rock culture and music.

Inspiration for this investigation derived from an attraction to rock music and culture, the complexity of the brain, and the effects of drugs. Due to many subgenres, cultures, and drugs, and the complexity of these and the brain, there is much more to be understood regarding how they relate to and affect each other.

This research investigates the effects of cocaine on British rock and metal culture. By doing so, it contributes useful information to an otherwise stigmatised and undisclosed topic. As British rock and metal music has influenced many artists, listeners, and genres, it is important to understand what the influences of British rock and metal were, and to what extent they influenced these genres. This investigation provides a framework that can be used for future research into similar areas of study, including other illicit substances, genres, decades, or countries.

The purpose of this thesis is to recognise that cocaine has influenced British rock and music and its culture between 1964 and 1980. Consequently, the objective of this dissertation is to understand the possible positive and negative impacts cocaine use has had on British rock and metal artists. This study explores the history of cocaine in Britain, particularly regarding rock culture. The psychosociological factors which may contribute to cocaine use are evaluated regarding the influence of rock culture. Four popular rock subcultures are discussed to determine their relationship with drug use, and one of the most culturally influential songs of each sub-genre is examined to understand the influence of drugs on the song. Cocaine's effects are explored to establish how cocaine may be used as a creative substance. An investigation of musicians' and fans' relationships with drug use demonstrates why they might use cocaine and what effect this may have on rock culture.

2. Methodology

To assure the validity of my research, I will employ a multi-methodological approach, using both data and methodological triangulation, as described by Denzin (1978). It shall explore rock music and culture, its subgenres, and subcultures. This will focus on blues-rock, punk-rock, heavy metal, and glam-rock, featuring some of the most successful British rock and metal artists active between 1964 and 1980. To further the understanding of the effects and influences of these artists and British culture, this dissertation will briefly undertake a wider research context including other time periods, countries, and artists. Due to the broad scope of this topic; elements of the literature review naturally must be selective. As such, this thesis focuses on the primary sources in the respective subjects and fields. The research will evaluate primary and secondary sources and critically review scholarly literature to develop an understanding of how cocaine has affected British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980. This may provide answers as to why, how, and to what extent cocaine was involved within rock culture.

This thesis will undertake a critical review of empirical studies in psychology, sociology, and neuroscience. I shall incorporate an evaluation of the scholarly literature in multiple fields of these areas. Drug use and rock music are both complex issues, and to understand cocaine's place in rock culture, I will explore behaviours, attitudes, drug use, addiction, conditioning, social roles and patterns, influence, and brain activity. This method will evaluate scholarly literature to comprehend concepts of psychology, from which I shall formulate theoretical conclusions regarding cocaine use and British rock and metal culture. Combining this with my other research data, I will attempt to identify relationships between them.

This dissertation will undertake an in-depth analysis of four songs between 1964 and 1980 that reference cocaine, to determine how cocaine is represented in the music and what effect this may have. Each song has had a significant cultural impact and represents one of the key rock subgenres: Eric Clapton's "Cocaine" (1977) for blues-rock, David Bowie's "Station to Station" (1976) for glam-rock, Ian Dury's "Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll" (1977) for punk-rock, and Black Sabbath's "Snowblind" (1972) for heavy metal. A historical analysis comprised of interviews such as Clapton and Block's (2007), autobiographies such as Clapton's (2007), and documentaries such as Rosso's (1984) Ian Dury documentary, provide first-hand perceptions

and experiences from the artists. By analysing the lyrics and original recordings to understand the musical semantics, and by building on Charles Peirce's semiotic theory by analysing iconographical material such as album artwork and aspects of stage performances, this dissertation will show the significance of cocaine representation in the music, and how this may affect the music and audiences.

This thesis will undergo an analysis of primary and secondary historical documents, including documentaries, newspaper articles, magazine articles, interviews of the artists and audiences and reviews by critics and audiences. The analysis will aid to understand the effects that artists active during 1964-1980 and their music had on rock culture, and how they were perceived at the time by the media and audiences. The reviews of music and performances contain biased opinions of the public and audiences, which I will compile to determine overall themes relating to cocaine use and hedonistic behaviour. This will be useful to discuss the audiences' personal experiences and opinions. However, the reliability of the content may be impaired due to the ability for the reviewers to be dishonest, or embellish their anecdotes based on other factors.

Winstock et al's (2001) self-completion survey of 1151 dance music enthusiasts demonstrates a quantitative, data collecting approach that depicts drug use patterns in the dance music culture in the UK. Additionally, Herd's (2009) analysis utilises a qualitative approach by coding 341 rap lyrics for drug mentions, behaviours, and contexts; drug attitudes and consequences; and music genres. This thesis adds to previous studies by using a combination of these approaches alongside other research methods to fully comprehend the research question.

The intentions for using these methods of research are to prove that cocaine has affected British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980. The collection of this data will be used to explore the positive and negative effects of cocaine on the culture, and to attempt to determine the impacts that this has had on the music.

3. Literature Review

3.1 British Rock and Metal Culture and Drugs' Relationship with Other Musical Cultures

Rock and metal music and their culture have received considerable academic attention. New relationships between music and its audiences have evolved from the variety of rock genres and subcultures. Wicke's research explores the culture, aesthetics, and sociology of rock music in general to determine rock's position and value within contemporary society, and to reflect on the cultural values the genre holds. Wicke (1990) studies a variety of rock subgenres and some of their cultural values. These include the materialistic customs of rock culture (a motorcycle, certain clothing, hairstyles), which represent the rock aesthetic. Wicke also explores the concept of commercialism concerning marketing and promotion. This offers insight into how teenage rock fans enthuse about rock music and how record companies sell and promote music. Nevertheless, he does not consider drugs as a cultural value or as a substance with possible positive or negative effects on rock culture and the production or sales of the music.

Blackman (1996) theoretically evaluates youth culture through an analysis of data collected by qualitative empirical investigations concerning drugs and youth. He finds that the interrelation between musicians and drugs have made a significant impact on the essentiality of drugs within youth culture. This shows that musicians and their music can manipulate young people and have a strong cultural effect on those who listen to their music, specifically regarding substance abuse. Much like rock and metal music and their cocaine counterculture, other genres of music have shown trends and relationships with illicit drugs. Jazz, for example, has historically been associated with cannabis use, as highlighted by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2014). The relationship between jazz music and cannabis is apparent in the work of Cab Calloway, Jack Teagarden, and Benny Goodman. Songs such as "Reefer Man" (1932) [1990] and "Texas Tea Party" (1933) [2001] exemplify this relationship with references to cannabis and the allure of drug use (Lehr, 2017).

Cocaine is another widely documented subject. Its history, usage, methods of consumption, and effects have been extensively researched. Cooper (2002) discusses the rise of cocaine use in 1970s America. She also describes cocaine's origin, and how cocaine had a nationwide

effect on America. Drawing upon drug abuse researchers and communications with drug dealers, Cooper (2002) provides primary investigations that show accurate first-hand information concerning the drug underworld. Observations show the variety of methods of consumption of cocaine, including smoking, injecting, and snorting. Additionally, Cooper (2002) explains the risks involved with each method, as well as their popularity. Possibly the most important topic related to my research is the effects of cocaine, such as euphoria, which is one of the most common and desirable effects. Cooper (2002) also contributes essential information for this research regarding cocaine, by providing explanatory research of general cocaine use. It is also relevant as it discusses the effects of cocaine on societies within the same period as my research. However, this literature discusses cocaine usage in America and does not examine the effects of cocaine on rock and metal music and their culture.

The controversial matter of cocaine use is often stigmatized and perceived as a social taboo. Although there are many valuable and informative texts concerning rock and metal music and their culture, and the relevant information on cocaine, the link between cocaine use and its effects on the British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980 has received very little academic attention so far.

3.2 Subcultures

Rock music contains a plethora of subgenres and subcultures. This thesis undertakes a review of the historical context in which some of the most significant subgenres of rock music in the 1970s were created and the ideologies that they were founded upon. Research shows that drug abuse has influenced rock music and culture (Rolling Stone, 2016), which may indicate that drugs are an essential component to rock culture in general. To explore this theory, this dissertation examines the origins and influences of four well-known subgenres: punk-rock, blues-rock, heavy metal, and glam-rock.

Punk-rock has made a significant impact on rock music. Ambrosch (2018) discusses the rise of punk-rock and what common ideologies surfaced in its culture and music. His interview with Inner Terrestrials' singer Jay Terrestrial offers insight into lyricism and messages

conveyed by punk artists. Savage's (2009) interview with Siouxsie Sioux helps to further an understanding of how these messages were portrayed. This interview helps to uncover the significance of popular punk symbology and the attitudes which these symbols represented. Additionally, Kuhn's (2010) interview with Minor Threat's lead singer Ian Mackaye offers insight into punk subculture's link to drug use, particularly regarding the straight and bent edge movements.

Blues-rock became popular in the United Kingdom during the 1960s and remained relevant throughout the 1970s. Perone (2009) discusses this musical development and the influences of British artists which started the blues revival in Britain. Knowing how this style was developed, it is important to recognise the influences of original blues music to determine if and how these influences have affected modern blues. By understanding the historical context in which blues and jazz music materialised in America during the mid- to late-1800s, we can dictate the reasons for possible links to drug abuse in both the music and culture. Brake (1985) explores the influences on blues music and the youth culture surrounding it. The influences are represented in the music, and the themes show significant relationships with drug abuse in jazz and blues music. This is reinforced by the songs of popular black American blues artists such as Cab Calloway. A comparison of this music with the most dominant of those of the British Invasion shows that cocaine abuse is a recurrent theme in both genres. This issue is discussed in Eric Clapton's interview with The Associated Press (2006), which explores his views on the song "Cocaine" (1977).

This research investigates the history of heavy metal music. Preliminary research reveals several 'dark' themes prevalent in this genre, as discussed by Walser (1993). As Cope (2010) depicts, Black Sabbath are commonly accepted as the pioneers of this genre. Cope (2010) outlines the history of heavy metal which provides further comprehension of how these 'dark' themes developed due to the band's backgrounds and geographical history. To understand how these themes became a part of the music, Geezer Butler and Tony Iommi share how their upbringing and personal experiences in Birmingham affected their musical development. This is present in various interviews and documentaries, including Noisecreep's (2010) interview, in which they discuss the theme of war in "War Pigs" (1970). An investigation into the lyrics of Black Sabbath songs discovers that there is a strong link between their music and drug use.

Conway and McGrain's (2016) content analysis of substance abuse and addiction through the lyrics of Black Sabbath provides further information on the number of songs whose lyrics reference drug abuse, and how they are represented.

This dissertation undertakes a historical analysis of glam-rock music and its subculture. Lenig (2010) defines the glam-rock artist and provides insight into the most notable influences of this genre. This includes the 60s psychedelic counterculture and pop culture. This information shows how subgenres of rock, such as glam-rock, are influenced by previous drug-using cultures. Lenig (2010) also depicts how glam-rock artists implemented and evolved themes of drug use in a new genre. David Bowie was a pioneer of glam-rock and one of the most successful of this genre. Songs such as "Ashes to Ashes" (1980) identify how Bowie conveys drug use in his music. Other prevalent themes in his music include sexual ambiguity and identity politics. An example of this includes the UK version of "The Man Who Sold the World" (1971). By exploring sexual ambiguity and identity politics, it is possible to determine a correlation between them and drug use as methods of self-exploration and expression. Chapter 8 of this thesis explores the ways cocaine use is represented in rock music via an analysis of four songs relative to each subgenre. These are Eric Clapton's "Cocaine" (1977), David Bowie's "Station to Station" (1976), Ian Dury's "Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll" (1977), and Black Sabbath's "Snowblind" (1972).

3.3 Cocaine's Effects on the Brain and Creativity

To understand the significance of cocaine in rock music, it is necessary to recognise the effects of the drug and what it does to the brain and body. The National Institute on Drug Abuse's report (2016) provides a detailed scientific description of the process by which cocaine use alters brain activity, as well as depicting how cocaine may modify emotion and behaviour. It also reveals the short- and long-term effects of cocaine, including the psychophysiological effects on the user. Breiter et al. (1997) support the data from the previous sources and provide detailed scientific evidence of brain circuitry by conducting experiments utilising functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). In an experiment, seventeen participants (thirteen men and four women) were administered cocaine, with an average age of 34.5. The data of the fMRI

scans showed increased heart rates within the first minute of the experiment. This data also measured the behaviour of the subjects which accurately defines the times of peak high and peak rush post cocaine administration, and the peak low and peak craving effects. Results showed the significance of signal changes in the brain after administering cocaine in comparison to the saline solution. Although, the direct effects of cocaine on the brain and behavioural changes have been made clear, the result of these activities and possible advantages to these changes are much less commonly recorded. During my research, I shall explore the possible positive and negative effects of cocaine on musicians' creative and artistic abilities. This involves understanding what the effects of cocaine, such as euphoria and stimulation, may contribute to a musician's ability to produce music, how these effects may influence the music, and how cocaine can influence the mind to enable distinct thoughts and open creative avenues.

Similar research exists regarding the creation of art and the composition of music under the influence of other substances. During the 1950s, Oscar Janiger experimented to discover the creative and artistic effects of hallucinogens. In his experiments, he administered two 50mcg doses of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) to an artist, who was encouraged to produce several sketches under the drug's influence. The images below (Figures 1-8) show the progression of sketches and elapsed time after drug administration.

ACID TRIP



These nine drawings were done by an artist under the influence of LSD -- part of a test conducted by the US government during its dalliance with psychotomimetic drugs in the late 1950's.

The artist was given a dose of LSD 25 and free access to an activity box full of crayons and pencils. His subject is the medico that jabbed him.

First drawing is done 20 minutes after the first dose (50ug).

An attending doctor observes - Patient chooses to start drawing with charcoal.

The subject of the experiment reports - "Condition normal... no effect from the drug yet."



85 minutes after the first dose and 20 minutes after a second dose has been administered (50 ug + 50 ug).

The patient seems euphoric.

"I can see you clearly, so clearly. This ... you ... it's all ... I'm having a little trouble controlling this pencil. It seems to want to keep going."



2 hours and 30 minutes after the first dose.

Patient appears very focused on the business of drawing.

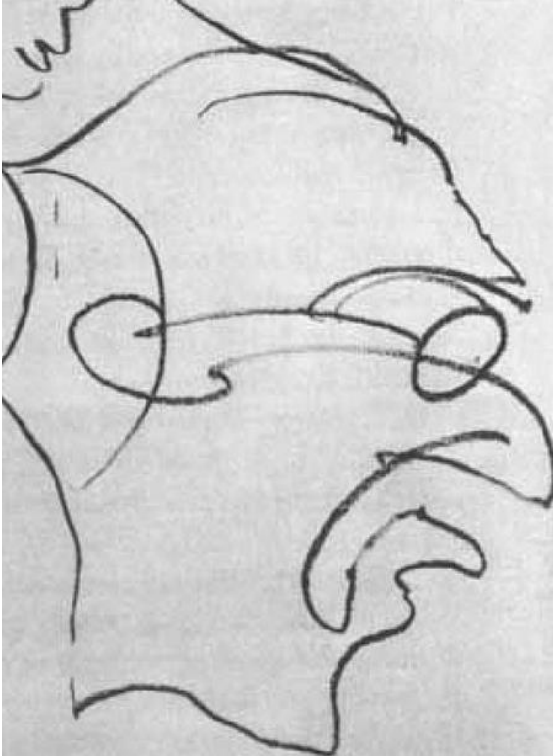
"Outlines seem normal, but very vivid -- everything is changing colour. My hand must follow the bold sweep of the lines. I feel as if my consciousness is situated in the part of my body that's now active -- my hand, my elbow ... my tongue."



2 hours and 32 minutes after first dose.

Patient seems gripped by his pad of paper.

"I'm trying another drawing. The outlines of the model are normal, but now those of my drawing are not. The outline of my hand is going weird, too. It's not a very good drawing, is it? I give -- I'll try again..."



2 hours and 35 minutes after first dose.

Patient follows quickly with another drawing.

"I'll do a drawing in one flourish ... without stopping ... one line, no break!"

Upon completing the drawing, the patient starts laughing, then becomes startled by something on the floor.



2 hours and 45 minutes after first dose.

Patient tries to climb into activity box, and is generally agitated -- responds slowly to the suggestion he might like to draw some more. He has become largely non-verbal.

"I am ... everything is ... changed ... they're calling ... your face ... interwoven ... who is ..."
Patient mumbles inaudibly to a tune (sounds like "Thanks for the Memory"). He changes medium to Tempera.



4 hours and 25 minutes after first dose.

Patient retreated to the bunk, spending approximately 2 hours lying, waving his hands in the air. His return to the activity box is sudden and delirious, changing media to pen and water colour.

"This will be the best drawing, like the first one, only better. If I'm not careful, I'll lose control of my movements, but I won't, because I know. I know." (This saying is then repeated many times.)

Patient makes the last half-a-dozen strokes of the drawing while running back and forth across the room.



8 hours after first dose.

Patient sits on bunk bed. He reports the intoxication has worn off, except for the occasional distorting of our faces. We ask for a final drawing, which he performs with little enthusiasm.

"I have nothing to say about this last drawing. It is bad and uninteresting. I want to go home now."

Figures 1-8 Acid trip sketches (Photographer unknown. Taken from <http://www.openculture.com/2013/10/artist-draws-nine-portraits-on-ldd-during-1950s-research-experiment.html>; accessed March 9th 2020)

As the drug takes effect, the drawings become increasingly abstract. After 2 hours and 30 minutes, the doctor comments that the patient seems very focused on the business of drawing, indicating that psychedelic drugs may provide increased concentration for short periods. Then, the artist implements different mediums such as tempura, pen, and watercolour, and performs unique methods, such as running back and forth across the room whilst drawing. This suggests that the effects of the LSD have influenced the artist to use abnormal tactics to create the art. Eight hours after administration, the artist reports that effects have almost completely worn off. They explain that their last drawing is ‘uninteresting,’ which they draw with little enthusiasm. This suggests that the artist believes that the drawings created under the influence of LSD were interesting and that his enthusiasm also originated from the effects of the drug. Other substances, such as cocaine, may produce similar effects.

3.4 Evidence of Cocaine Use Among Musicians

Interviews, such as Ronnie Wood’s interview with Sky Arts (2014), and autobiographies, such as Keith Richards’ (2010) and Ozzy Osbourne’s (2009), are valuable resources for this thesis. These sources explicitly detail the musician’s drug abuse which provides reasons as to why many musicians of this era abused cocaine and what effect this may have had on their music. *Trust Me, I’m DR Ozzy* (2011) is based on and to some extent celebrates (to comedic effect) Osbourne’s years of drug and alcohol abuse. An anonymous article in *The Guardian* (2018) asks, “Who’s had the most rock’n’roll life?” It exploits the associations between rock music or artists and hedonistic behaviour, including drugs and cocaine. This source contains extracts from the autobiographies of Rob Lowe, Steven Tyler, and Keith Richards. The examples of hedonistic behaviour and drug use are presented as a game for the reader to pair the quotes to the three celebrities. Examples like this show the humorous nature in which these anecdotes are presented, and the way the subject positioning is created to evoke a positive and entertaining viewpoint. Oksanen (2012) provides an analysis of 31 mainstream rock autobiographies and raises awareness of their rising popularity. Within this analysis, Oksanen (2012) exploits the explicit details of the hedonistic lifestyles of many successful rock artists. Many of these anecdotes include the use of cocaine and its positive and negative effects on the artists. This is

useful to my research because Oksanen (2012) analyses British rock artist's autobiographies of the 1970s, including those by Eric Clapton, Ozzy Osbourne, and Ronnie Wood. Musicians using cocaine and cocaine's involvement in the music business were widely accepted. The financial and global success of cocaine-influenced music shows that cocaine use was expected and promoted by the fans and people within the music industry.

3.5 Evidence of Cocaine Use Among Audience Members

For record sales to increase, listeners must purchase the music, which depends on their engagement and interest in it. The possible relationship between cocaine use among fans and cocaine-influenced music may generate such interest. Therefore, analysis of drug use at festivals is useful to discover this possible connection. Fans may use drugs for the enjoyment of the experience. However, this thesis shall later explore additional possible factors which may contribute to drug use.

Combined analysis of wastewater (Mackul'ak et al., 2019) and statistical analysis, such as Quinn and Burn-Murdoch's (2012) publication of seized substances at music festivals, provides useful information to uncover the drug preferences and consumption level of numerous illegal substances by music festival attendees. The wastewater analysis investigated six wastewater treatment plants over seven music festivals of varying genres in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Quinn and Burn-Murdoch's study of seized substances was collected at several festivals across England. The statistics show quantitative data of the street value and amount of each drug seized at each festival. The data may show a preferred substance of rock music audiences by comparing the results of both studies. This will be explored thoroughly in chapter 9.

As cocaine is an extremely strong stimulant and highly addictive substance, audience members may obtain an addiction by using cocaine when listening to rock music. White (1996) states, after examining addiction and recovery through extensive observation of a drug-using culture, that it is common for cocaine users to make connections between songs and the euphoric effects of drugs, which may successively cause relapse and increase drug use by hearing the

music. Hebdige (1979) discusses the working-class youth subculture styles. He refers to the glam-rock of the 1970s, specifically David Bowie, whose music and performance captivated a form of escapism. Drug use is another form of escapism, which could indicate another possible fundamental relationship between drug culture and rock music. This form of escapism that Hebdige describes in Bowie's work also demonstrates the same disassociation from social orders and laws as drug use does.

3.6 Evidence of Cocaine References in Music

It is important to analyse the music to show how and why cocaine is represented within it. This includes its context, performance, lyricism, and imagery. Whiteley's (1990) analysis of Jimi Hendrix's music identifies how the counter-culture of the 1960s adopted the use of psychedelic drugs as an alternative living style and a means of self-expression. Her analysis of the arrangement of Hendrix's music attempts to uncover how it can reflect social and cultural meaning. By dissecting the coding of his work, Whiteley aims to separate the psychedelic coding from that of progressive rock music. Whiteley depicts the gentleness of Hendrix's style, the sense of confusion, and associations of colour within the music. She argues that these characteristics are some of those in Hendrix's music that portray a musical equivalent of a psychedelic drug experience. Cocaine, however, has many different characteristics to those of psychedelics. As part of this research, an analysis of Black Sabbath's music aims to show how musical features may represent a cocaine experience by sharing characteristic similarities. Unfortunately, Whiteley's study does not feature an in-depth analysis of psychedelic representation within Hendrix's performance, though this dissertation shall explore this regarding cocaine. The songs analysed in chapter 8 are among the most culturally influential of the subcultures in chapter 5. They also show a broad range of ways in which cocaine is represented artistically and through a wide range of artists from different backgrounds and experiences.

4. The Rise of Cocaine in Rock Culture

4.1 A History of Cocaine

To understand how and why cocaine has been used culturally, what effects cocaine may have had on cultures, and how cocaine was popularised in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, it is important to discuss the origins and popularity of cocaine beforehand. This will further enable comprehension of the history of cocaine, including methods of administration, drug policies, trends, and laws regarding cocaine. In the UK, the Dangerous Drugs Acts of 1920 and 1923 helped significantly to sustain a low level of illicit drug use, up until the 1960s.¹

During the 1960s, drug use in the UK increased substantially, the most prevalent drugs being Cannabis and LSD. This coincided with the British counterculture of the 1960s. The movement began in Britain and the USA, quickly advancing to much of western society. However, the most predominant areas where this behaviour occurred, were in major cities, such as London, New York, and San Francisco. This culture defined the era of the 1960s and flowed into the mid-70s. The culturists of this movement were commonly known as ‘hippies’, and they rejected mainstream society and its norms (Miles, 2011). Their ideologies concerned the advocacy of ‘peace’ and ‘love’, which also condoned the use of psychedelic drugs, particularly Cannabis and LSD, which were used for their ‘mind-expanding properties’ (Williams, 2018). The use of psychedelic drugs became apparent in the music of artists such as The Beatles and Jimmy Hendrix. It is therefore possible for other drugs and drug-using cultures to influence other musicians and their music. I shall discuss how and to what effect cocaine may have influenced rock music, and what effect that this may have, in chapter 8.

The 1970s gave way to a new drug culture – cocaine. During this period, cocaine became extremely popular amongst celebrities and entertainers. In an interview with Rolling Stone (2016), Martin Torgoff states that “cocaine was the novelty drug”. During the 1970s, cocaine was extremely expensive and was therefore reserved for celebrities and those who could afford it. Legs McNeil adds, “In 1973, cocaine’s not addictive” (Rolling Stone, 2016), which confirms

¹ For a detailed history of cocaine see Onion, Sullivan, and Mullen (2017).

Mark Kleiman's claim that in 1979 "people weren't worried about cocaine. It didn't seem to be a real problem" (Hellerman, 2011). The rising popularity of cocaine amongst celebrities and the distorted perception of the effects of cocaine during this era made cocaine seem glamorous and attractive. This perception is reinforced by Beverly Johnson who says, "It [cocaine] was an elitist drug", and "It [cocaine] wasn't addictive, remember? And it [cocaine] increased your intelligence" (Rolling Stone, 2016). Knowing that cocaine was one of the most popular drugs during this era and that it has had significant effects on the music business, it is important to understand why cocaine became popularised and how it affected the business.

4.2 Social Psychology of Drug Use

After an initial overview of how and why cocaine was popularised in the 1970s, it is important to understand the behaviours and attitudes of those users to further understand the possible reasons why rock culturists may have used cocaine. To do so, this research must evaluate psychosociological theories regarding rock artists and fans. This includes the theory of planned behaviour, which shows how our behavioural intentions are affected by three factors: attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived control. Myers and Twenge (2017) demonstrate this using physical fitness as a model. They propose that if the subject's attitude towards physical fitness is positive, they see others partaking in physical fitness, and they believe that they could easily do so, then they will also take part in physical fitness. This may constitute the behaviour being acted out. It is arguable that an individual's behavioural intention when using cocaine is affected by the same factors. My proposal of this effect is that if the individual's attitude towards taking cocaine is positive, they see others using cocaine, and they believe that they could easily do so, then they may also take cocaine. Particularly during the 1970s, cocaine was perceived by many as a non-addictive elitist drug, as previously discussed. This perception may imply a positive attitude and perceived control of cocaine use. Many of the most successful rock artists were using cocaine, indicating a subjective norm. The combination of these factors may result in higher cocaine use amongst rock culturists, particularly during the 1970s.

Historically, rock music and culture have been firmly associated with hedonism and extraversion (Regev, 1994: 91). These personality traits are interwoven within much of rock music and the lifestyles of rock artists. The commonly known adage ‘sex, drugs, and rock ‘n’ roll’ is a prime example of these traits being intermixed with rock music. As explained by Duke (2019), there are five broad terms in which we use to categorise and measure personality, commonly known as the ‘five-factor model’ (FFM). These are openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. Extraversion is arguably an appropriate focal point because rock culturists’ and cocaine users’ behaviours and attitudes seemingly share similarities within this trait. One way to measure a person’s personality traits is Costa and McCrae’s NEO Personality Inventory. This method is suitable for its simplicity and its addition of six facets for each of the FFM personality traits. The six facets of extraversion are: warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, activity level, excitement-seeking, and cheerfulness. The large crowds found at rock concerts and festivals make it an appropriate place for socialisation and interaction for artists and fans. This is ideal for those who are gregarious and have a high activity level. People with high levels of warmth and cheerfulness will also adapt to and be rewarded by this environment. The often fast-paced, loud, and energetic music played at rock performances, bright lights, pyrotechnics, and other visual attributes are extremely desirable to those with excitement-seeking and high activity level facets. This may increase the number of cocaine users in rock culture by creating an environment that is attractive to them.

Figure 9 depicts Haslam’s (2007) trait hierarchy for extraversion.

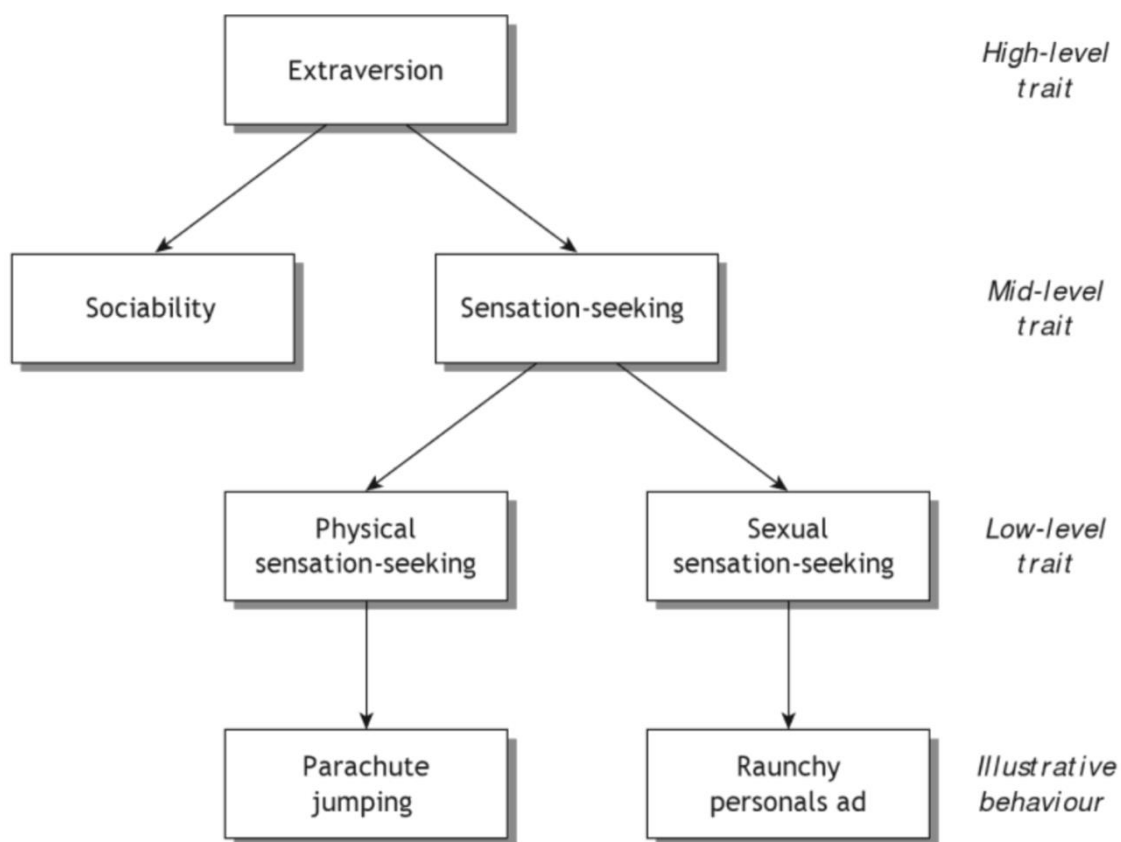


Figure 9 Taken from Haslam, N. (2007: 20). *Introduction to Personality and Intelligence*. SAGE Publications.; accessed July 28th 2020)

This diagram further explores the sensation-seeking facet defined by Costa and McCrae (1992). To expand on this theory regarding rock music, rock music can be extremely stimulating to the senses, like sex and drugs. It is possible to determine that a key relative factor between sex, drugs, and rock music is sensation-seeking. Therefore, a person who is highly extraverted and sought out to seek pleasure would, from a psychological standpoint, be more likely to be attracted to all three pleasure-seeking attributes. A correlative effect on the mind and body of these attributes is the release of dopamine in the brain. A team of scientists conducted a study which found that listening to, and even the anticipation of pleasurable music releases dopamine in the brain (Salimpoor, Benovoy, Larcher, Dagher, & Zatorre, 2011). This study also found that dopamine release was higher for more pleasurable music, and that levels of dopamine release correspond with the degree of emotional stimulation and pleasure. To understand the function of dopamine, Olguín, Guzmán, García, and Mejía (2016) identify that,

“Dopamine is a neurotransmitter that is produced in the substantia nigra, ventral tegmental area, and hypothalamus of the brain. Dysfunction of the dopamine system has been implicated in different nervous system diseases. The level of dopamine transmission increases in response to any type of reward and by a large number of strongly addictive drugs” (Olguín et al., 2016: 1)

Therefore, it is possible to suggest that sex, cocaine, and rock music, are suitable activities to one another because of their homogenous ability to increase dopamine through reward receptors. They may also enhance the experience of each other and other sensation-seeking activities. I shall discuss further the effects of cocaine on the brain in chapter 6, and the possible reasons for audience members using cocaine in chapter 9.

I believe that the relationships between rock music and performance, drugs, and sex may be indicative of high numbers of extraverts, sensation seekers, and specifically cocaine users in rock culture.² This is because they share similar effects on the mind and body, including the release of dopamine in the brain and by activating the reward receptors. Much rock music, most notably through its lyrics, has advocated the use of drugs (particularly cocaine) and sex. Rock performance has done this through provocative and drug-related imagery. Artists, documentaries, books, or films about musicians have exploited these aspects of hedonistic behaviour (as discussed in chapter 7). Simultaneous engagement of these activities may invite cocaine users to rock culture, or likewise entice cocaine use in pre-existing rock fans. This may increase the number of fans with these attitudes and behaviours.

4.3 Conformity and Social Roles

Every culture incorporates numerous cultural norms, groups of which form social roles. Many of these roles may allow some interpretation, though others are expected to be adhered to by the members of the culture or society (Myers, 2010: 220). Many of rock’s subcultures may be defined as countercultural to mainstream society, and each has its values, norms, and roles.

² This could also occur in other musical cultures such as EDM and rap.

Adopting and conforming to these deems a culturist authentic within their group. Those who adopt the clothing or style of a subculture without adopting its ideologies are deemed a 'poseur' (UKEssays, 2018). This subchapter is necessary to understand the possibilities of the ways rock culturists may conform to these ideologies from a sociopsychological standpoint.

Arguably, the adage 'sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll' encapsulates the common values and attitudes of the rock culture. In addition to this, many of the most successful rock artists during the 1970s were advocates for drug abuse (as will be discussed in chapter 7). Rock musical canon has enabled these 'rock-stars' to attain a symbolic leadership role due to their high status. As Myers and Twenge (2017: 178) highlight, "The higher the status of those modelling the behaviour or belief, the greater likelihood of conformity". This could increase cocaine use among rock fans that conform to such attitudes and behaviours. Additionally, this potential connection between artist and fan may create interdependencies which could create a more loyal fan base. This type of social situation with the influence of an authority figure has proven to change individuals' behaviours. Myers and Twenge (2017: 183) state that "social situation can move most "normal" people to behave in "abnormal" ways. This is clear from those experiments that put well-intentioned people in bad situations to see whether good or evil prevails. To a dismaying extent, evil wins". Milgram (1963) conducted a study in which subjects were told by an authority figure to administer electric shocks to a 'learner' (an actor) after they failed to learn a group of words. These electric shocks became increasingly powerful and even after a learner complained of heart problems, subjects continued to administer the shocks. This shows how obedience to authority can become extremely powerful; therefore authority figures may control a good-intentioned person regardless of their morals and attitudes. Regarding rock culture, successful artists can be determined as an authority figure due to their recognised knowledge of rock music and personal expertise, which may provide them with the power to influence fans. It is possible that if successful rock musicians use or promote cocaine use, fans may disregard their morals and values by taking cocaine to conform to the artist's pro-cocaine attitudes and behaviours.

Although, these possible influences may be powerful and persuasive to rock audiences, cocaine use also depends on the individual's characteristics, as "our actions depend not only on the power of the situation but also on our personalities" (Myers & Twenge, 2017: 183). The

possibility of extraversion leading to cocaine use has been discussed previously, though other traits may affect a person's malleability or probability to conform in situations regarding cocaine use in rock culture. Here, it is relevant to state the influence of these traits on the probability of an individual to use cocaine. Myers and Twenge (2017: 183) proclaim, "People who seek to please others and are comfortable following social rules (those high in agreeableness and conscientiousness) are the most likely to conform". This could indicate that individuals with these personality traits are more likely to use drugs when involved in a drug-using culture. This may be because they want to please their friends, other rock fans, or artists. However, considering that extraverts are more likely to attend concerts and social events, this could indicate that most rock audiences are less likely to conform in these situations.

With the emergence of new musical cultures and subcultures involving drug use, listeners of similar musical preferences will attract to such communities. An attraction may also be established through similarities in attitudes and behaviours. Myers and Twenge (2017: 183) explain that "social roles involve a certain degree of conformity and conforming to expectation is an important task when stepping into a new role." Therefore, it is arguable that newcomers to drug-using rock subcultures may be influenced to conform to drug use. Likewise, if people outside of rock culture share positive attitudes and behaviours to using cocaine as those within the culture, they may also become rock fans through this connection. Both relationships could lead to an increase in the number of cocaine users within rock culture.

Furthermore, these methods of persuasion and conformity may be more effective for young people, as they are more susceptible to these social situations. Popular music is generally aimed at a youth demographic, and these audiences are those being influenced by the artists and their peers. People's musical preferences generally come from their adolescence. By analysing Spotify data to determine the age of a listener listening to a specific song, Stephens-Davidowitz (2018) confirmed that people's strongest musical preference predominantly sets in at age 14 for men, and 13 for women. This is reinforced by the statistics shown by Watson (2019) who surveyed 3,000 individuals in the United States between ages 16 and 65+ to find their musical preferences. The results showed that the highest-ranking genre of music for age groups 65+, 55-64, and 45-54, was classic rock. The 2nd highest-ranking genre was rock 'n' roll. Stephens-Davidowitz (2018) and Watson's (2019) studies are recent, so their research may not confirm

that musical preference set in for individuals during the 1960s and 1970s at the same age as they do in more recent times. Nevertheless, considering that this research analyses rock music between 1964 and 1980, these individuals would have been largely teenagers/young adults during this time. Knowing this, it is plausible to suggest that the rock fans during this period were more susceptible to these influences, and are therefore more likely to have used cocaine if musical references and social situations involving cocaine were present in rock culture. By accepting and adopting drug-related norms, rock fans are advocating the use of drugs. By doing so, the drug and rock culture become in conjunction with one another.

5. Subcultures and Cocaine

Rock music is a vast genre which has spanned and mutated over several decades. Numerous subgenres have emerged over the years due to rock music's multiple influences, such as other genres, political and social changes, developments in music technology, and the way that music is produced. Each subculture contains its own ideologies and social norms that vary due to their individual influences, though there are similarities between key subcultures outlined below which indicate a more generalised ideology for rock culture. Findings conclude that each subgenre has been influenced somewhat by drugs. It is important to understand the historical context of these subgenres to determine how drugs influenced rock music and subcultures. Although this thesis will focus on British artists, this section widens the area of research to other countries and eras. This will aid in understanding what effect drugs have had on these subcultures and music.

The notion of subcultures is complex and ambiguous. "The word subculture is loaded with mystery" (Hebdige, 1979: 4). Equally enigmatic is the term 'subgenre', to which each musical subculture is ascribed. Subgenres are an artificial structure, used as an analytical tool to differentiate and categorise various music. This framework, however, was much more pronounced and taken more seriously between 1964 and 1980 than it is in more recent times, due to the blending of subgenres and cultures. This poses a problem when trying to differentiate and identify different subgenres. Two of the most popular and era defining British subcultures from 1964-1980 were the 'rockers' and the 'mods'. Roddam's *Quadrophenia* (1979) depicts the rivalry between the two subcultures, which highlights the seriousness taken towards the clear distinctions between them. One of the defining features of subcultures which Hebdige (1979) discusses is specific yet mundane objects. These objects create a "symbolic dimension" (Hebdige, 1979: 2), which hold value and form parts of each subcultures' identity. This chapter will explore some of the key features of each subgenre and subculture to show how they may relate to cocaine use. This exploration uses subcultures as an analytical tool within a reductive approach, which is necessary to contrast the subcultures.

Examples of rock subgenres include punk-rock, blues-rock, heavy metal, glam-rock, psychedelic-rock, and gothic-rock. To demonstrate the types of norms and values a subculture may adhere to, I shall explore the historical events and themes of the first four subgenres mentioned. Each subchapter will also reveal each subculture's links to drug abuse. This incorporates the influences of cocaine and heroin on blues and jazz music, the rebellious nature of drug and alcohol abuse in the punk scene, drug abuse as an attitude of anti-hegemonic lifestyles and nonconformity within heavy metal music, and cocaine abuse regarding its glamorisation and as a means of self-exploration in glam-rock.

5.1 Blues-Rock

Many successful British rock artists have been inspired by African American blues artists, who created a fusion between rock and blues music. These British musicians travelled to America in pursuit of bringing the attention of American audiences to this fused style. This movement was known as 'The British Invasion' (Perone, 2009: 5-6). Some of these bands include The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Who, and Led Zeppelin. Eric Clapton was greatly influenced by blues artists and a member of several bands of 'The British Invasion', including The Yardbirds, Blind Faith, Cream, and Derek and the Dominoes. Muddy Waters, John Lee Hooker, and BB King are few among the African American artists who inspired them.

Considering that blues-rock is a blend of two genres, it is necessary to understand the history of blues music and the youth culture which surrounded it. Initially, blues music was stigmatised. It carried negative connotations and was conceived by many as 'the devil's music', as referred to in Oakley's (1976) *The Devil's Music: A History of the Blues*.³

Blues and jazz music share similarities in cultural value and style. They are synonymous with black culture and have always influenced each other. Historically, both blues and jazz have been inspired by heroin and cocaine. *Cocaine Blues: Vintage Songs About Cocaine & Heroin*

³ For an explanation of how blues music was stigmatised see Brake (1985: 117). For a depiction of Ledbelly's rebellious persona and how it relates to rock artists' personas see Rath (2015). For a simplification of the blues singer and their hedonistic and lawless themes see Brake (2015: 125)

(2011) compiles various artists who produced songs about cocaine and heroin. Songs include Cab Calloway's most famous hit "Minnie the Moocher", and "Baking Powder Blues" by Lucille Bogan (Bessie Jackson).

Drug-related themes are also present in the blues-rock music of 'The British Invasion'. The most significant of these songs include Eric Clapton's "Cocaine" (1977) (see chapter 8.1). The Rolling Stones have historically been associated with cocaine use. This is represented in some of their music. Keith Richards performed a cover of "Cocaine Blues" on the unofficial album *Voodoo Brew* (1995). Many versions of the song have been recorded over the decades. Though the original artist is unknown, one of the earliest well-known performers of this song, Reverend Gary Davis, had learnt it from a travelling carnival musician named Porter Irving (Franklin, 2016: 128). This version was later recorded by Bob Dylan. Davis (2006, Location 634) states, "The first song Keith learned to play in art school was Jack Elliot's version of 'Cocaine Blues' (Keith didn't know what cocaine was)". These examples show how cocaine use and its influence on music has transcended through multiple decades and genres.

5.2 Glam-Rock

Glam-rock, also commonly known as gay, glitter, theatre, or shock rock, began in the early 1970s. The genre took inspiration from 1970s popular culture, though this also derived from the work of writers and music of previous eras. Critics and audiences had long misunderstood glam, which led to glam being marginalised and ignored by the legitimate rock press (Lenig, 2010: 1). The scrutiny beset upon glam stars such as David Bowie, Marc Bolan, and Gary Glitter was largely due to their on-stage appearance and attitudes. Glam was "routinely condemned as contrived, mercenary, and fake" and also "shallow, insubstantial, and inauthentic" (Philo, 2018: 135). Nevertheless, glam-rock expressed theatrical acts of postmodernism, fiction, art, emerging media ideas, and combined these with music. Glam provided a new set of identity politics and a self-indulgent hedonistic outlet in response to the division of various social groups such as women, homosexuals, minorities, and the post-war era of America. As Robins (2008: 154) highlights, America was "exhausted by protest, by death, by the relentless

war, young people and the pop-music culture began to turn inward”. Common values of the glam-rock scene included flamboyant clothing, sexual ambiguity, and freedom of self-expression. Glam also acted as a means of escaping the world and mainstream society.⁴

Glam was also greatly inspired by the ‘60s counterculture, particularly the method of using drugs to expand the mind and explore oneself. Links between psychedelia and glam also include sci-fi, fantasy, futuristic eras, and gender identity themes. The counterculture influenced glam artists to experiment with theatricalities and timbres to simulate a ‘trip’ (an experience of taking drugs) through song and performance, which invites the audience to experience the ‘trip’ visually, physically, and aurally. This could influence audiences to use drugs. This thesis undertakes a more detailed look at how these performances may influence the audience in chapter 8. Lenig (2010: 157) exclaims that “the glams, seeing themselves as psychedelia’s heirs, continued using synthesizers, production techniques, and obscure instruments to create exaggerated tonal colors”. These effects are demonstrated in Bowie’s “Moonage Daydream” (1972). The theme of space acts as the ‘trip’, which is combined with alienation and futuristic attributes, and was a recurring theme in Bowie’s career. His character Major Tom appeared in both “Space Oddity” (1969) and “Ashes to Ashes” (1980). The lyrics “We know Major Tom’s a junkie, strung out in heaven’s high, hitting an all-time low” in “Ashes to Ashes” (1980) show how Bowie fuses space-like themes with drug abuse by creating a drug-using alter ego. In addition to the themes of drug abuse in *On the Road* (1957), this shows how the effects of drug abuse influenced glam music and performance.

Other significant features of glam-rock include themes of sexual ambiguity and identity politics, which challenged the norms of mainstream society. These attributes acted to inspire people to express and explore themselves. Sexual exploration and drug use correspond with one another regarding both as a facet of self-exploration and as a means of rejecting mainstream societal norms. The sexualisation of on-stage personas and performances and their relation to cocaine use is explored in chapter 9 as a possible reason for audiences using cocaine.

⁴ Lenig (2010: 3-4) defines the glam-rock artist and identifies influential figures such as Warhol and Brecht who inspired them. Charlton (1990: 175) discusses how Bowie was influenced by *On the Road* (1957). Hebdige (1979: 61) identifies themes of these influences in Bowie’s meta-message.

Glam-rock, along with heavy-rock and hair-metal, provided the elements necessary for the sleaze-rock of the 1980s. Aptly named, this subgenre often features songs about corrupt behaviour, drug abuse, and promiscuous sex. The most notable artists of this genre include Mötley Crüe, Buckcherry, and Steel Panther, who all originate from California. Mötley Crüe are famous for their debauchery and drug abuse. *The Dirt: Confessions of the World's Most Notorious Rock Band* (2001) recounts Nikki Sixx's overdose on heroin, sex scandals, fights, and Vince Neil's car crash which killed his friend. According to Whitaker (2012), Mötley Crüe's first mainstream top 10 hit and highest-charting single to date is "Dr. Feelgood" (1989). This song portrays the character Jimmy, a drug dealer who sells cocaine in Hollywood. Lyrics such as "packages of candy cane" and "selling sugar to the sweet" refer to cocaine use. Other hits include "Girls Girls Girls" (1987), a song about strippers and debauchery on the Sunset Strip in Hollywood, and "Kickstart My Heart" (1989), which was inspired by Sixx's heroin overdose. These songs concerning hedonism and debauchery highlight the sleaze rock image characterized by Mötley Crüe. Buckcherry similarly features drug-related themes with two of their most successful songs, "Lit Up" (1999) and "Crazy Bitch" (2005), which appear as their two most popular songs on Spotify, reaching 53 million plays and 18 million plays respectively. "Lit up" (1999) was Buckcherry's first major hit on their debut album *Buckcherry* (1999). The chorus's lyrics "I love you cocaine" evidently portray a pro-cocaine message. In an interview, guitarist Keith Nelson states that "Crazy Bitch" (2005) "was inspired by the type of girls that every rock'n'roller knows only too well. These girls are great in bed, but a nightmare everywhere else. The older you get, the longer that list becomes." (Dome, 2010). The song explicitly details having sex with a "crazy bitch". Steel Panther apply comedy to similar themes, mostly using sexual references. Their top five most popular songs on Spotify make explicit references to sex. These include, "Eyes of a Panther" (2009), "Gloryhole" (2014), "Death to All but Metal" (2009), and "Community Property" (2009). The fifth song, "Party Like Tomorrow is the End of the World" (2014), is a representation of the adage "Live fast die young". The lyrics encourage having sex and getting drunk. Though the lyrics are absent of other specific drug references, the music video shows dispensers filled with cannabis, numerous pills, bags of unidentified drugs, and multiple people excessively abusing cocaine. It also includes various other examples of reckless and sexual behaviour.

The most successful and popular songs of these artists discuss themes of promiscuous sex and drugs. They reveal how significant subgenres of rock music are influenced by drug abuse, and often convey these themes positively. It is therefore possible to determine that drugs - particularly cocaine - have a significant role in rock music and that songs and artists which adopt these themes are amongst the most popular and successful, which could indicate that fans like music that references cocaine. Considering that glam-rock's ideology includes self-exploration, nonconformity, and rejecting mainstream society, that cocaine is used as a form of these attributes, and that songs containing cocaine-related themes are among the most popular and successful, it is plausible to determine a relation between cocaine and rock music.

5.3 Punk

Punk-rock's origin is debatable, however, Robb (2012: 5) states that punk-rock "coalesced in the UK in 1977". Robb (2012: 5) argues that punk-rock is, "a culmination of everything that had gone on in pop before". This includes The Stooges, mods, rockers, glam-rock, and the revolution promised by the hippies of the '60s counterculture. Successful British punk-rock bands include Ian Dury and the Blockheads, The Sex Pistols, The Clash, Siouxsie and the Banshees, and X-Ray Spex. The punk culture in England began due to economic stress and a peak in the unemployment rate amongst youth. Eriksen (1980) explains, "British punks find in their sub-cultural expressions of music and attitudes, as well as styles, more of an organic indication of their experiences as under- or unemployed youth". This development provoked the punk subculture which demonstrated not just a musical style, but a rebellious reaction to corruption and political hegemony. Much like many other subcultures, punks used their image and music as a means of expressing the subcultures' attitudes and beliefs to their audiences. However, it is important to note that,

"There is no such thing as a 'punk ideology'. Rather, punk encompasses a potpourri of political views. One generalization that can be made, however, is that punk is inherently critical of mainstream society, calling attention to its defects. Moreover, participants are

encouraged to take matters into their own hands and become politically active” (Ambrosch, 2018: 55).

After recognising the origin of punk-rock in the United Kingdom and the historical and economical events which led to its emergence, it is necessary to understand the key values of punks and understand how they expressed them to their audiences and society. Ambrosch (2018: 25) claims that,

“Punk is about making a statement. There are several different ways in which statements can be made in punk: by identifying as punk, which is, in and of itself, a statement; by appearance; by music; by one’s personal politics and lifestyle choices; and, of course, verbally”.

In this section, I shall explore some of these methods of communication and determine how drug use may relate to them. Figure 10 shows an example of generic punk fashion sported by the iconic and famous punk-rocker Sid Vicious. Vicious was best known for performing as the bassist for The Sex Pistols.

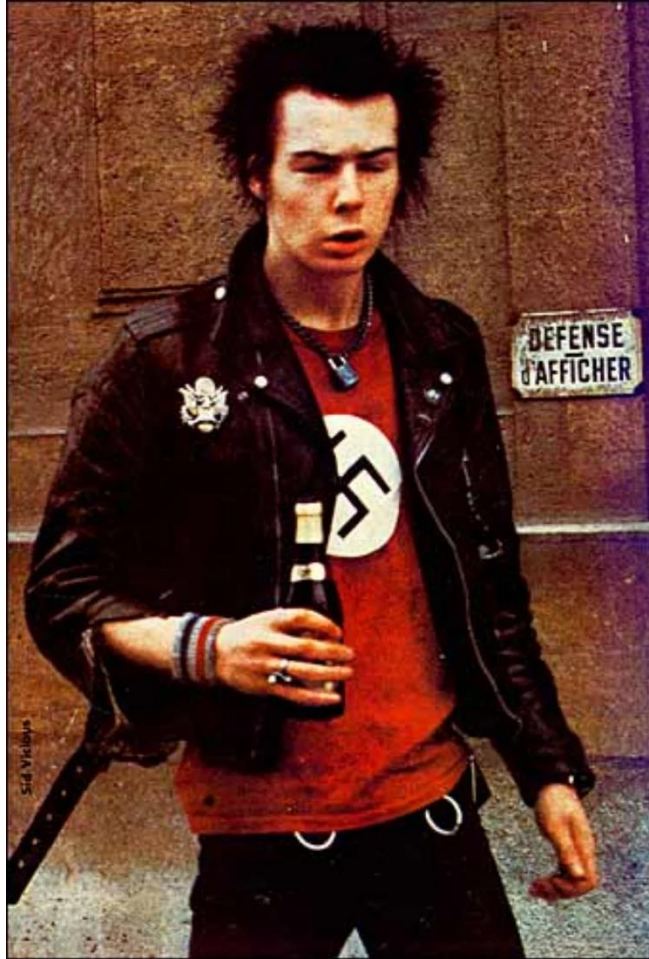


Figure 10 Sid Vicious (Photographer unknown. Taken from <https://www.last.fm/music/Sid+Vicious/+images/83f2d12420e5438881ed968006c73d38>; accessed March 9th 2020)

The swastika embossed on Vicious' t-shirt is designed to shock and was common among punks. Siouxsie Sioux also donned a swastika in the late 70s. However, this was not in support of the Nazis. Sioux explains, "It was very much an anti-mums-and-dads thing", she adds, "it was a way of getting back at the older generation that we hated" (Savage, 2009: 340). These fashion norms were used as tools to signify an important cultural value amongst punks, which was to provoke shock, and rebel against mainstream societal norms and prior generations.

Lyrics are an essential method of expression in punk-rock which allows the artist to share their ideologies and encourage audiences to act upon them. Jay Terrestrial states in an interview with Ambrosch (2018: 55) that "There is a lot of wrong in this world. There is hypocrisy and

lies and a lot of dodgy dealings, and that's really what the lyrics are about." Punk lyrics often articulated popular beliefs such as a rejection of capitalist work ethic, anarchism, and themes of vegetarianism and veganism. During this period of economic stress, the Sex Pistols released their debut single "Anarchy in the UK" (1977). This was the start of what later developed as an anarcho-punk movement amongst the punk subcultures. The anarchistic symbolism in punk subculture was arguably defined later by the band Crass, who evolved this notion into an ideology (Ambrosch, 2018: 58). The Sex Pistols "Pretty Vacant" (1977) features the lyrics "We're vacant and we don't care", which is an expression of the revolt against the capitalist work ethic. Muscato (n.d.) states,

"With little sense of purpose, the punk rockers turned to alcohol, hard drugs, sex, and various other forms of vice. Basically, we can see them as an extension of counterculture movements of the late 1960s, but instead of believing in peace and the spiritual use of psychedelic drugs, the punks said screw everything and let's get drunk."

This lifestyle was later challenged by hardcore punk-rock band Minor Threat, who released "Straight Edge" (1981), which provoked the 'straight edge movement'. This movement encouraged some punks to embrace sobriety and sometimes abstain from promiscuous sex. MacKaye explains the development of this movement in an interview with Kuhn (2010: 36). He says, "I think what happened at first was that an alternative had been created – a scene that people could get involved with that wasn't the standard rebel party scene". The reference to the 'standard rebel party scene' indicates a high percentage of punks who participated in promiscuous sex, drug use, and rebellion, which reiterates Muscato's (n.d.) statement. This lifestyle reflects the adage 'sex, drugs, and rock and roll'. Drug use (specifically cocaine, which became a class A drug under the Misuse of Drugs Act (1971)) is a form of rebellion, particularly as it defies government laws and generally rejects parental authority. Promiscuous sex may also share these attributes for the same reasons. Additionally, numerous punks named themselves 'bent edge' in response to the straight edge movement. They retaliated against the straight edge punks by excessively using drugs and drinking alcohol.

5.4 Heavy Metal

Black Sabbath, formed in 1968, are considered the pioneers of heavy metal music. Before they became Black Sabbath, they played rhythm and blues/rock and roll music, showing that their transition to heavy metal was influenced by the blues (Cope, 2010: 33). Some of the themes prevalent in blues music continued into heavy metal, though heavy metal offers a much heavier and often more aggressive expression of them. During the 1970s, heavy metal music was stigmatised and received much controversy, partially because these themes often included violence, drug use, suicide, promiscuous sex, and satanism. Walser (1993) identifies the power and energy of heavy metal music. He states that the high volumes and intensity of metal concerts empower its audiences, who in effect shout and head-bang, which in turn circulates the energy. He explains, “metal energizes the body, transforming space and social relations” (Walser, 1993: 2). Additionally, he exclaims that the album covers, clothing, and hairstyles of the heavy metal subculture are also aspects of power which may provoke fear and censorship among those outside of the culture (Walser, 1993: 2). Some of the most successful British metal band names, such as Black Sabbath, Judas Priest, Iron Maiden, and Motörhead, contain themes of danger, unpleasantness, mysticism, blasphemy, darkness, death, and power. The addition of the umlaut in some heavy metal band names also represents dark gothic symbolism. “The heavy metal umlaut is thought to have originated with Blue Öyster Cult”, which was suggested by Richard Metzler for its relation to the Wagnerian aspect of metal music (Rampton, 2020). After which, Lemmy Kilmister added the umlaut to Motörhead because he believed it looked “mean” (Rampton, 2020). Ozzy Osbourne’s nickname, ‘the Prince of Darkness’, also reflects the satanic, dark, and death symbology that has historically been imbedded in heavy metal.

One of Black Sabbath’s recurring themes is substance abuse. Conway and McGrain’s (2016) study of substance abuse and addiction in the lyrics of Black Sabbath analysed 156 songs over 19 albums from 1970 to 2013. The study found that 13% of Black Sabbath’s music contained references to substance abuse, however, 60% of these songs viewed the topic negatively. They discovered that of all the songs which reference drug use except one, Osbourne sang, and Geezer Butler wrote the lyrics and played bass (Conway & McGrain, 2016). The study found that

the songs which reference substance abuse became increasingly negative throughout Sabbath's career. Conway & McGrain (2016: 7) state,

“The sociocultural environment in which the substance-use songs were written undoubtedly influenced the lyrics. Indeed, substance use (especially marijuana) among youth and young adults became increasingly prevalent in Western society when Black Sabbath emerged, with rates peaking around 1979”

Additionally, most of the songs which reference drug use were recorded between 1970 and 1978, which coincide with the band's extensive drug use. It is possible that the songs reflect the band's personal experiences. A parallel is found between the band's increase in problematic issues concerning drugs and the negative drug references in their music (Conway & McGrain, 2016: 7). Reasons why musicians may use drugs is discussed further in chapter 7. The most distinct album concerning drug use is *Vol. 4* (1972). As previously mentioned, this album was heavily influenced by cocaine. In an interview with Lester (2013), Iommi and Butler recall spending \$75,000 on cocaine during the album's production, which they had flown in on a private plane. This equated to \$15,000 more than it cost to produce the album. I shall analyse this album in more depth in chapter 8.4, with a focus on the song “Snowblind” (1972). The positive references to cocaine abuse in heavy metal music also signify an extension to the anti-hegemonic views and lifestyles which are common of heavy metal culture. Cocaine use is a suitable topic within the themes of heavy metal music as it is synonymously a representation of rejection to mainstream ideologies and society. Positive cocaine references also promote the proposition of illegal activity. This notion is identified in Judas Priest's “Breaking the Law” (1980).

6. Cocaine's Effects and How It Can Be Used as a Creative Substance

This chapter shall explore the effects of cocaine on the brain, aiming to identify any possible positive and negative effects that cocaine may have on an artist and their music. This research may reveal indications of a specific type of person who is more likely to enjoy both rock music and cocaine and show why the effects of cocaine and rock music may be suited together. This could also prove useful in understanding some of the reasons that artists and fans may use cocaine.

As briefly mentioned in chapter 4.3, cocaine produces its effects by stimulating the mesolimbic and mesocortical dopamine systems, sometimes known as the mesocortical limbic pathway. Baik's (2013) study of dopamine signalling in reward-related behaviours details how the reward pathway extends from the ventral tegmental to the nucleus accumbens, which is important to note because this section of the brain also regulates emotions and motivation. As Baik (2013) depicts, this pathway can be affected by multiple stimuli which are relative to reward behaviours, such as food, sex, and drugs, including cocaine. By interfering with the dopamine transporter, cocaine blocks dopamine being released, causing a build-up. This produces an intensified signal to the neurons and causes feelings of euphoria, which is commonly felt instantaneously after administering cocaine (Baik, 2013). Figure 11 shows this process.

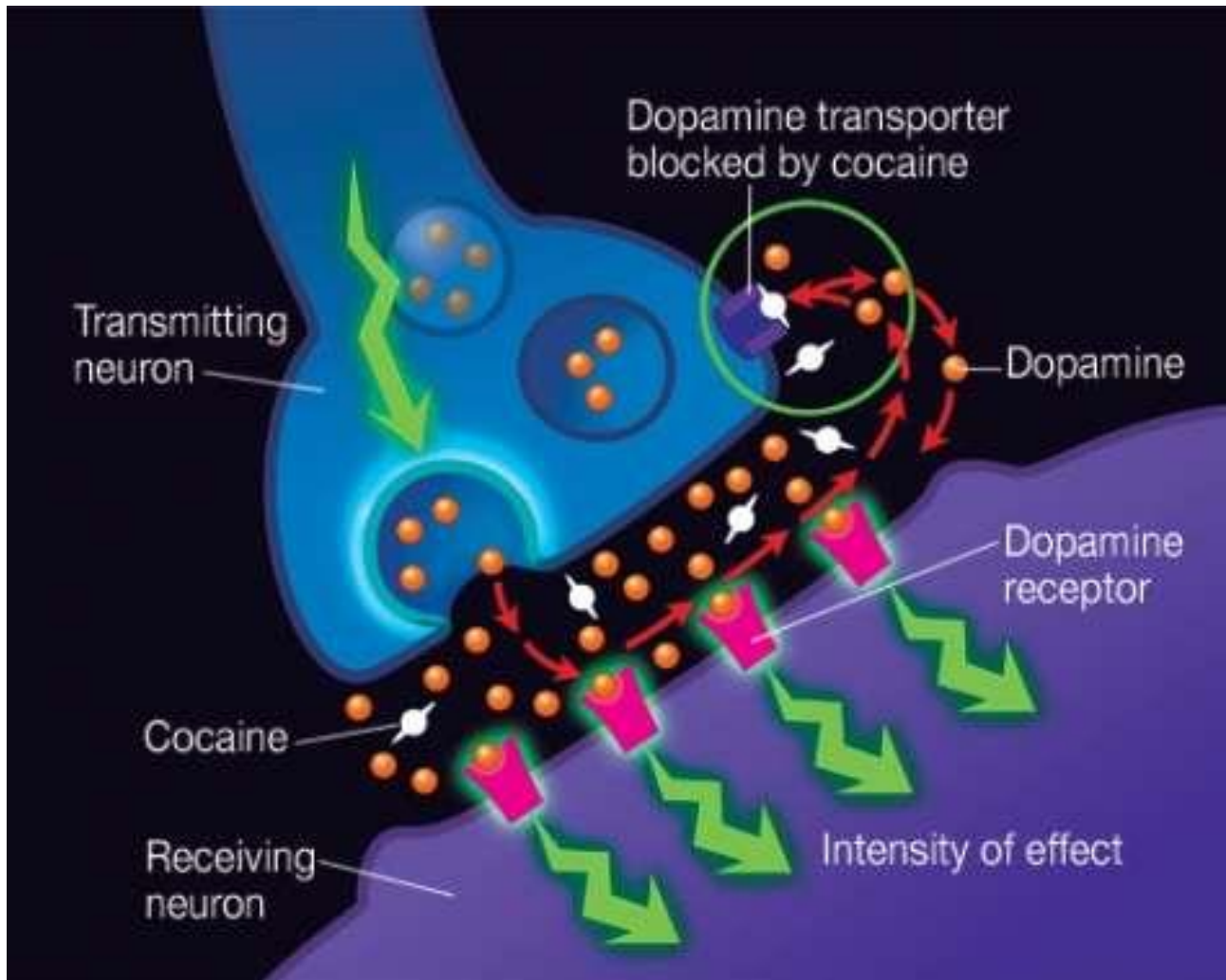


Figure 11 Cocaine in the brain (Image by NIDA. Taken from <https://www.drugabuse.gov/publications/research-reports/cocaine/how-does-cocaine-produce-its-effects>; accessed March 9th 2020)

Knowing that sex, food, drugs, and music can increase levels of dopamine as pleasurable activities, it is possible to assume that they are suited to one another for these reasons. To further this research, it is important to explore what other effects dopamine release can have on an individual. Dopamine can affect motivation, alertness, productivity, memory, learning, planning, and cognition. Figure 12 portrays the anatomical structure of the reward pathways which release dopamine. This chapter shall focus on the function of the mesolimbic and mesocortical pathways which are affected by cocaine.

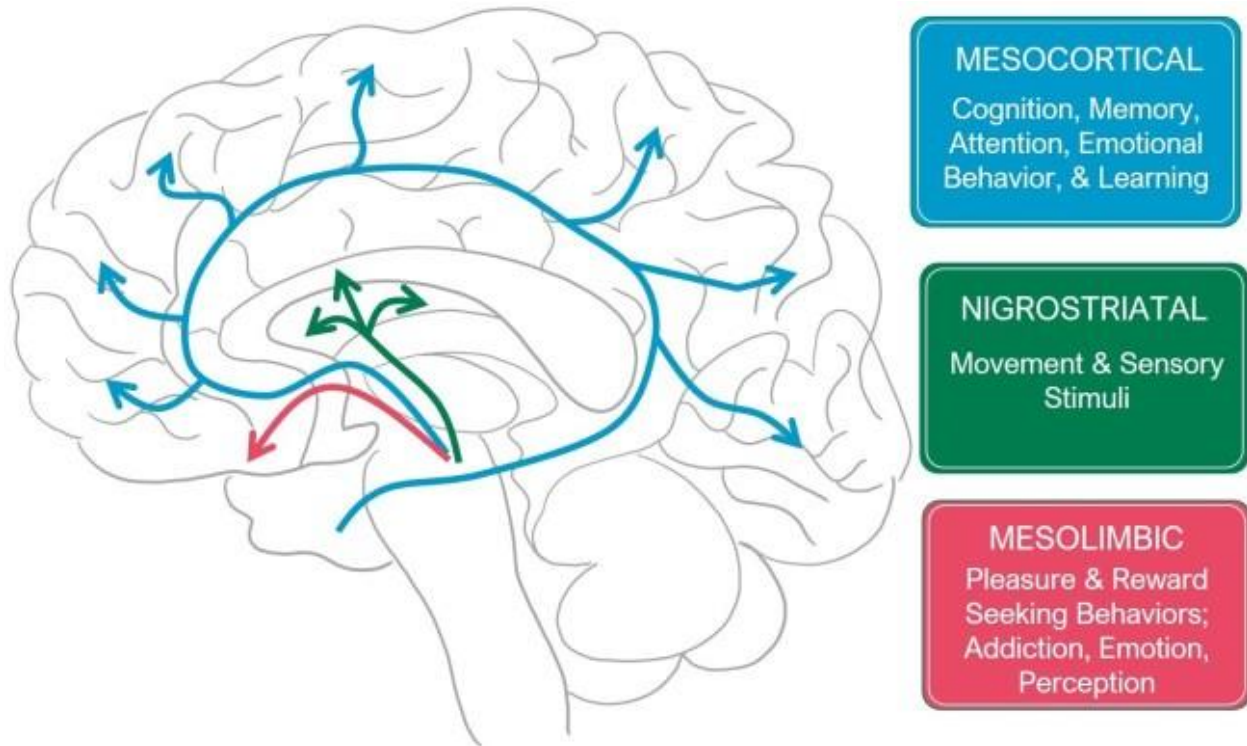


Figure 12 Reward pathways (Taken from <http://sitn.hms.harvard.edu/flash/2018/dopamine-smartphones-battle-time/>; accessed March 9th 2020)

As depicted above, there are many cognitive processes involved in dopamine release in the reward pathways. Though cocaine directly affects the mesocortical limbic pathway, all pathways are stimulated when rewarding behaviour is experienced or anticipated.

Short-term effects of cocaine use in small doses include euphoria, alertness, energy, and hypersensitivity to sight, sound, and touch. It can also reduce hunger and need for sleep. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (2016: 13) states, “Some users find that cocaine helps them perform simple physical and intellectual tasks more quickly, although others experience the opposite effect”. For musicians, these effects may be purposeful for music production. Increased alertness and energy may improve attention to detail, focus on the task at hand and aid them to perform the writing process more quickly. The ability to stay awake and not eat could also help them remain on task and focus. Heightened senses may also provide acute hearing and a unique listening style, which may change or enhance the musician’s abilities to create unique sounds and lyrics; thus, creating music which is unique to this experience and possibly unobtainable without cocaine use.

How cocaine may affect musical performance has received little academic attention thus far. However, research into stimulants' cognitive effects regarding studying has been documented. Stimulants such as methylphenidate (Ritalin) and amphetamine (Adderall) have been widely used to improve students' performance in study settings for those with ADHD and ADD. Like cocaine, these stimulants increase dopamine and serotonin levels by activation of norepinephrine (NE) alpha 2 and dopamine (DA) D1. These prescribed drugs may increase concentration, alertness, and productivity. Arguably, cocaine may have similar effects for those with attention disorders. Ilieva, Hook, and Farah's (2015) meta-analysis of prescription stimulant effects to enhance healthy cognition found evidence of enhancing effects to inhibitory control, working memory, short-term episodic memory and delayed episodic memory. They also determine that some users may result to these drugs as means of enhancing energy and motivation. Therefore, stimulants, including cocaine, could arguably have a significant impact on artists' ability to create and perform music, particularly if they have an attention disorder.

However, it is important to note that the benefit or detriment of stimulant use in this manner may differ between individuals, and that stimulant use could impact the performance of high performing individuals who do not have attention disorders. There are many successful rock musicians who are diagnosed with attention disorders. Solange Knowles revealed that she has ADHD. She states, "the symptoms seem to apply to everyone around me in the industry" (Montijo, 2019). It is possible that cocaine has positively affected musicians in a similar way that Ritalin and Adderall have for individuals with ADHD.

Nevertheless, there are various possible negative effects of cocaine. This may be affected by the method of administration. The National Institute for Drug Abuse (2016) considers how the faster absorption of cocaine results in a more intense yet shorter high. Snorting may last approximately 15 to 30 minutes, whereas smoking produces a quicker high but may last 5 to 10 minutes. The NIDA (2016) also states that high quantities of cocaine use may increase the high, though may cause violent, erratic, and bizarre behaviour. Severe effects include heart attacks, seizures, nausea and sometimes death. Some users mix cocaine with alcohol or heroin, which can be fatal. Long term effects may include withdrawal symptoms, addiction, psychosis, and hallucinations. It is possible that the negative effects of cocaine can have both positive and negative effects on a musicians' music. The adverse effects on the body may inhibit musicians

from producing music or performing which could negatively impact their sales. Abuse resulting in death is a possibility for many musicians who have substance abuse issues and the careers of their bandmembers are therefore inevitably negatively affected by this. Many extremely successful artists such as Janis Joplin, Kurt Cobain, Jimi Hendrix, and Jim Morrison, have suffered drug-related deaths.

However, the experiences of drug psychosis and overdoses have been an inspiration for some artists. As previously mentioned, Nikki Sixx's overdose was the inspiration for one of Mötley Crüe's best-selling songs. David Bowie's persona, the 'thin white duke', was created through a period of substantial drug use in which he experienced psychotic episodes. This influenced the music that he wrote. Light (2017) states that "The songs on the album he recorded that year, *Station to Station*, were born from this madness and ended up transcending it as well". This demonstrates that cocaine's negative effects may influence and evoke new music. Bowie largely based Ziggy Stardust on Vince Taylor (Birkett, 1997). He describes Taylor as being "out of his gourd. Totally flipped. The guy was not playing with a full deck at all." (Birkett, 1997). According to Bowie, Taylor was deeply preoccupied by aliens and Jesus Christ, which inevitably led to the downfall of his career. Taylor's mental breakdown caused a series of visits to psychiatric clinics and prisons. This was induced by heavy drug abuse, and Bowie used this image to create one of his characters, showing that drug abuse and its negative effects have inspired the work of many successful artists.

Drug abuse, particularly cocaine, has evidently inspired many creative ideas, including personas and careers. Nevertheless, the effects of cocaine use on the brain regarding creativity have received very little academic attention. As previously discussed in this thesis, the creative effects of LSD have been studied. The results of which clearly indicate a change in style and creativity, which provides insight to how drugs may affect an artist's creativity. It is therefore possible to suggest that cocaine may have similar effects by altering the state of mind and opening avenues to unique abilities to achieve original and creative music. In a study by NASA (1995), house spiders (*Araneus Diadematus*) were administered several drugs which determined the outcome of the production of their webs. Noever, Cronise and Relwani (1995) demonstrate the effects of these drugs in Figure 13.

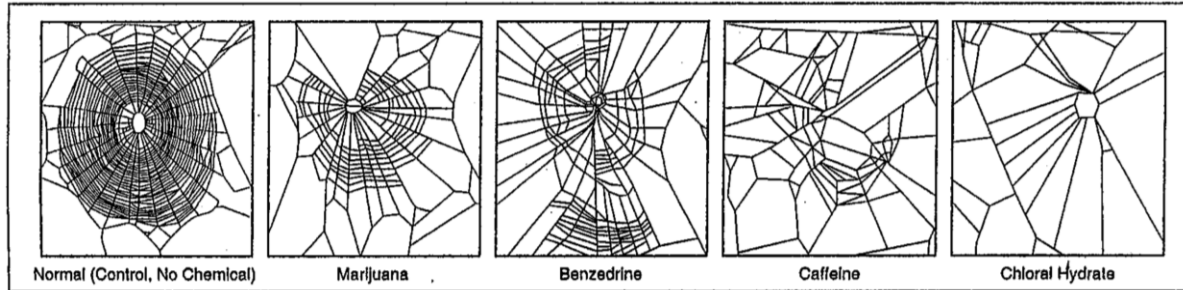


Figure 13 Using Spider-Web Patterns To Determine Toxicity (Taken from <https://ntrs.nasa.gov/archive/nasa/casi.ntrs.nasa.gov/20100033433.pdf>; accessed March 14th 2020)

There are many things to consider here. Firstly, it is noticeable that that the webs formed under any type of intoxication indicate an incomplete web. Secondly, that albeit these webs seem incomplete and therefore possibly less effective as a web, each drug portrays a unique stylistic outcome. Thirdly, this research is reliant on the production of spiders’ webs and therefore cannot accurately indicate the effects of drug use on the production of human activity. Nevertheless, this information could signify that drug use could have unique effects on productivity. Benzedrine (amphetamine), which as previously mentioned works similarly to cocaine, and caffeine, which is also a stimulant, show unique results in this study. If cocaine could produce similar outcomes to these drugs, the spider would have created an incomplete yet unique web. If this could be applied to a musician, it is possible that their music could be both positively and negatively affected by the drug. By altering the mind and behaviours, unique music could possibly be created that could arguably be unobtainable without using the drug. However, this could also result in unfinished work, or work that may not accurately resemble the artist’s original intention.

Some artists have spoken openly about the possible creative uses of substance abuse. Cocaine’s energising effects may allow musicians to stay awake for long periods and create music. In his autobiography *Life* (2010), Keith Richards describes his daily routine of drugs in the late 1960s. He states that he used drugs as “gears of productivity” (*Life*, 2010: 294). When questioned about his thoughts on drugs and music creativity, Richards states that “I think I really should say that there is really no correlation between drugs and music and how you perform it, but this is lie” (Taylor, 2015). This confirms that Richards believes that there is a link between

music and its effects on music and how it is performed. However, he admits, “I have never felt it did anything for my creativity. It kept me up a lot at nights looking for the stuff” (Taylor, 2015). Arguably, Richards’ cocaine abuse allowed him to be more creative by allowing him to have longer lasting production sessions. Blur’s Damon Albarn told *Timeout Magazine* that heroin contributed to his creativity. He says, “Once I’d tried it, I found it initially very agreeable, and very creative.” (Keens, 2014). In response to these statements, Dagher discusses the possible links between drugs and creativity. In an interview with Katigbak (2014), Dagher acknowledges that throughout history many people have used drugs for their creative abilities. He states that drugs can relieve people of their inhibitions, which in effect can make them more creative (Katigbak, 2014). Dagher also believes that drugs may enable “conceptual links in your brain between things that you may not normally link.” (Katigbak, 2014). He continues to explain how creativity in some musicians is like madness and that tangential thinking, which is often experienced in cases of schizophrenia is comparable to that of the effects of drugs such as cocaine and heroin. He says, “Part of creativity is being original. So drugs like cocaine, and perhaps heroin, have that ability to make you have original thoughts” (Katigbak, 2014). This reinforces that cocaine use has a potential to make artists more creative regarding productivity, reduced inhibition, and tangential thinking.

Using cocaine as a method of creativity appears to be predominantly a short-term solution, and the possible positive effects on creativity and production are severely outweighed by cocaine’s damaging effects. Due to this, many musicians have overcome their addictions. Martin Torgoff says that, “The artists of that time used everything for their palate, their palate of creativity. And drugs were part of that palate,” (Rolling Stone, 2016). Torgoff’s extensive work as a journalist in music and American popular culture during this era is useful for providing an accurate observational opinion on this topic. Whilst this may be true, Albert Hammond Jr. says that “Drugs don’t affect your creativity so much as when you get too much in them, they’ll take it all away”. He adds, “They’ll add, they’ll open certain things, but as soon as they open, they’ll also close them” (Rolling Stone, 2016). This highlights the possible short-term beneficial effects of cocaine. Whilst drugs may have been used by many musicians as a means of creativity, the drugs may quickly reduce creativity by causing more negative effects. This may then cause a decrease in creativity and production, therefore negatively impacting the music.

It is plausible that drugs' possible creative benefits diminish when musicians become sober. This may result in lower quality music. Hesse (2013) argues that artists such as Bob Dylan and The Rolling Stones lost their unique drug-enhanced creativity after sobriety and that the music that followed was poor in comparison. According to Hesse (2013), "the last great Stones album" was *Some Girls* (1978). Hesse believes that this may be attributed to Keith Richards' abstinence from Heroin. Similarly, Petridis (2018), ranks The Rolling Stones' 23 albums. No albums after 1978 appeared in the top ten. NME's Jazz Monroe's (2015) ranking of the top ten albums of The Rolling Stones contains only one preceding album to *Some Girls* (1978). The Rolling Stones' *Tattoo You* (1981) ranks 8th place, though this album predominantly contains recordings from the 1970s. This could also indicate that their greatest work dates before Richards' sobriety. Chris Adolf says, "Once you've formed a dependency on something, it's hard to adjust to life without it. That isn't specific to musicians" (Hesse, 2013). This also suggests that sobriety after drug abuse could affect the creativity of musicians due to the difficulty of withdrawal and damage caused by the abuse. If the work of a now sober musician is seemingly substandard, it is possible that it could be attributed to both lack of creativity and inability to rehabilitate due to the drug's absence.

Preliminary research of The Rolling Stones' studio album sales suggests that popularity has remained moderately stable throughout their career. However, Chart Masters' (2016) infographic of The Rolling Stones' comprehensive album results (Figure 14) suggests differently.

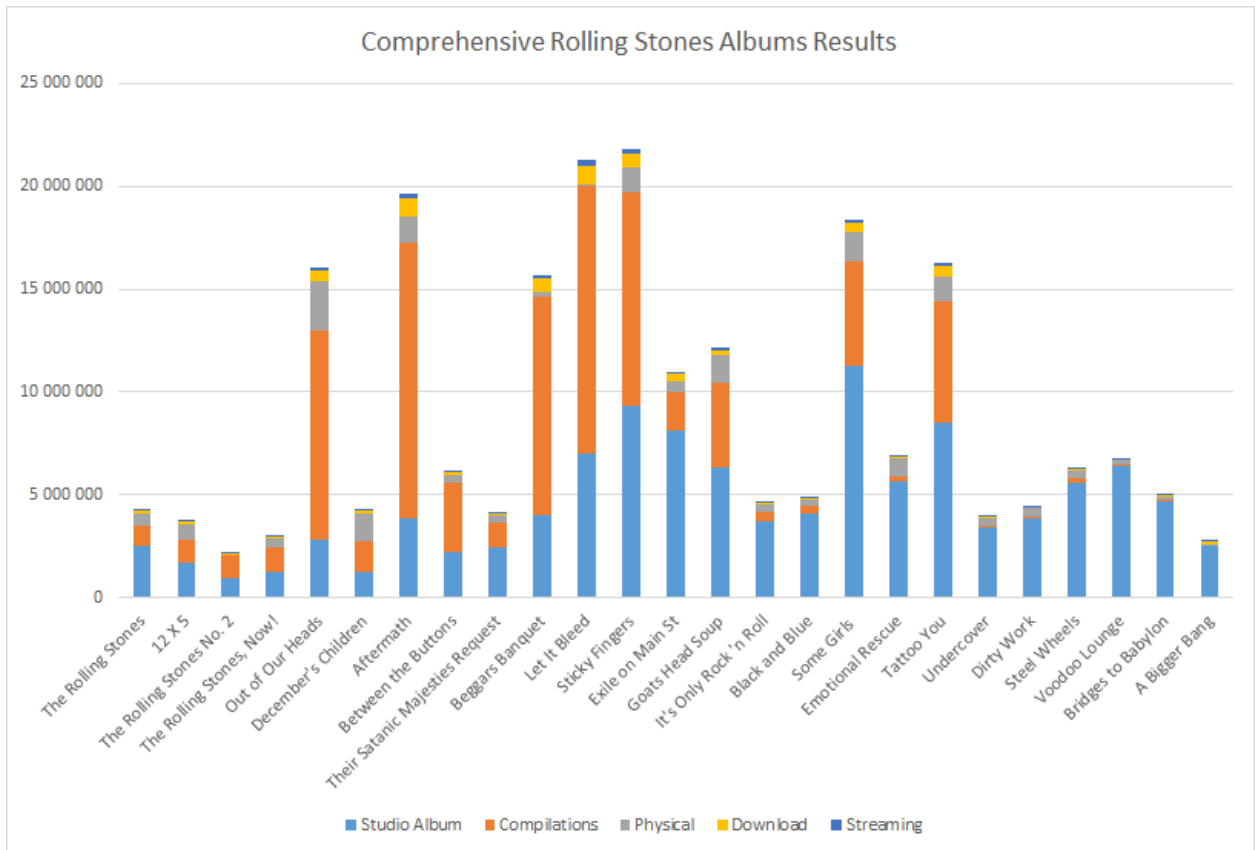


Figure 14 CSPC: The Rolling Stones Popularity Analysis (Taken from <https://chartmasters.org/2016/12/cspc-the-rolling-stones-popularity-analysis/64/>; accessed March 18th 2020)

Using the global Commensurate Sales to Popularity Concept, this analysis takes into account the sales of the original album, sales of compilations generated due to the album, sales of physical singles from the album at a ratio of 3/10 of digital singles from the album (ratio 1,5/10), and the equivalent album sales of all the album tracks (ratio 1/1500) (Chart Masters, 2016). This information shows that arguably, The Rolling Stones’ most recent albums have attained significantly less popularity than their 1965-1981 albums. The decline in popularity could be due to people discovering new artists. However, it is possible that this may be due to the band’s lack of creativity because of sobriety, which would confirm Hesse’s views. Nevertheless, more research is needed in this area to confirm this theory.

7. Musicians and Drug Abuse

Many successful rock musicians have famously used drugs, including the previously mentioned Ozzy Osbourne, Keith Richards, and Eric Clapton. To understand how drug abuse relates to their music and lifestyles, it is important to understand the reasons they might use drugs. This chapter shall explore these possible reasons, excluding using drugs for pleasure, which is non-specific to musicians. Mangel (2015) suggests eight reasons why this might happen: the musician's environment; wealth; benefits for the dealer; permissiveness; youth; a non-essential need for health; peer pressure and life on the road.

Drug abuse may increase due to a musician's environment, particularly if people in the music business and fans use drugs. Concerts, which often occur at night and weekends, may more likely create an environment of increased drug users. Peer pressure may also affect a musician's actions and behaviours when pressured by their peers, especially if they are young. However, these factors are arguably not specific to musicians. For successful musicians, wealth may contribute to a significant increase in drug use. Wealth may enable sustainable abuse which is attractive to drug dealers because the musician can regularly buy drugs in large quantities. Drug dealers may benefit extremely well from successful musicians via their social circle. Supplying to one musician may connect the dealer to other musicians and friends who use drugs, therefore increasing their network and illegal business (Mangel, 2015). Tommy Lee et al. (2001) detail how the band's drug dealer supplied them for their 1987 tour *Girls, Girls, Girls*. Lee recalls the events as the "raddest time I ever had in my life" (Wall, 2007: 128). He depicts the dealer as a glamorous man with an expensive car, Rolex watch, gold chains and 'token' women, who would throw bunches of cocaine at the band and crew members. This epitomises 'sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll' and confirms how drug dealers latch to successful musicians for their wealth and sustainability.

The necessity of each band member's contribution to their band may be affected by contractual reasons, their success, or their unique abilities. Their necessity may allow for increased permissiveness for misconduct, including cocaine abuse. For instance, John Coltrane's drummer

Elvin Jones ruined Coltrane's car after borrowing it. However, Jones says, "When I told Trane about it, he said, 'I can always get another car, but there's only one Elvin'" (Gioia, 2011: 277). Band members may be permissive like this, as well as others within the industry, fans, friends, and the media.

Mangels (2015) suggestion that musicians are "young, immature and unexperienced," is inaccurate and ignorant. Nonetheless, many successful musicians have openly abused cocaine and achieved fame at a young age. Ozzy Osbourne rose to fame in the 1970s, and in 1970 he was 21/22 years old. Similarly, David Bowie was 22/23 in 1969, the year of his first hit single "Space Oddity" (1969). As Mission Harbor Behavioral Health (n.d.) highlight, "drug use is highest among people in their late teens and twenties." Additionally, adolescents and young adults take more risks than other age groups (Steinberg, 2008). This will be discussed in the chapter 9 which explores why audiences may use cocaine. However, it is important to note that the attained success, fame, and money of musicians, may amplify these decisions and risk-taking behaviours.

Artists do not necessarily have to be healthy or athletic to perform their music. Mangel (2015) compares the work ethic of a musician to that of a dancer or athlete, whose work requires them to have a high standard of health to perform accurately. Mangel (2015) also suggests that musicians will perform better without drugs, though it is not a necessity. Keith Richards has admittedly taken copious amounts of drugs on stage. This was prevalent during The Rolling Stones 1975 'Tour of the Americas'. Richards says that the tour was entirely "fueled by Merck cocaine" (Life, 2010: 421). He also states, "We initiated the building of hideaways behind the speakers on the stage so that we could have lines between songs. One song, one bump was the rule between Ronnie and me" (Life, 2010: 421). Richards' drug use during live performances suggests that Mangel's (2015) statement that it is not necessary for musicians to be healthy or athletic to perform their music to be true. Contrastingly, Ozzy Osbourne admits that he never uses drugs during performances. In an interview with *Sounds Magazine* in 1978, he says, "I never take dope or anything before I go on stage. I'll smoke a joint or whatever afterwards" (Wonderwall, 2019). This may be due to Osbourne's belief that drugs may inhibit his

performance, though this is inconclusive. Nevertheless, many musicians have taken drugs prior to and during performances, showing that it is not necessary to be at peak health on stage.

Successful musicians often tour, which can create an extremely busy schedule and isolating environment. Travelling can be exhausting, boring, and separate artists from their families and friends. Drug abuse may act as a substitute to fill this void. Buckner (2013) explains that post performance depression is caused by a drop in neurotransmitters such as dopamine and serotonin, which causes sadness and more extreme highs and lows. The Vaccines' Justin Young tells Britton (2015) that it is hard to adjust to a seemingly mundane life after touring and that it is difficult to replace the adrenaline. It is possible that this drop in dopamine and serotonin levels could result in a feeling of emptiness, which could also prompt drug abuse.

Interestingly, characteristics which may help achieve fame are also found in individuals with addictive personalities (Alcohol Rehab, n.d.). Lang (1983) discovered that there are many frequently shared characteristics between individuals with addictive personalities. Lang (1983: 157-236) suggests that these individuals may: be prone to attention seeking behaviour; value nonconformity; have a high tolerance for deviant behaviour; often act impulsively; be more willing to take risks; have low self-esteem; struggle to delay gratification; feel alienated; be insecure in relationships; have antisocial tendencies and suffer from depression or anxiety. Many of these characteristics may contribute to substance abuse and may also be effective to achieve fame. This may show a correlation between rock musicians and cocaine use due to the similarities in mental health conditions, behaviours, and attitudes of those who are more likely to achieve fame and those with an addictive personality.

Contrastingly, there have been many successful rock musicians who have abstained from drugs. Gene Simmons, Ian Anderson, Angus Young, Ted Nugent, and those of the straight edge movement, have reportedly never or hardly ever used drugs. This signifies that drugs are not necessary for success and fame. Nevertheless, there is very little research which shows that British rock musicians who were successful during the 1970s, were also sober. This does not

confirm that drug use is necessary for British rock musicians active during 1964-1980, though it may suggest a significant relationship between them.

In conclusion, there are many reasons why musicians might abuse substances, which may put them at extremely high risk of doing so. The research suggests that rock culture and its environment may create an extremely high-risk lifestyle for musicians, which may add to the likelihood of drug use. Although, substance abuse is commonly linked with rock music and is popular among successful rock musicians, the possible beneficial factors of substance abuse are temporary and show no significant benefits long-term.

8. Cocaine in the Music and Its Effects

To understand how cocaine is represented in rock music, this chapter analyses four of the most successful songs which reference cocaine and adhere to the subgenres of chapter 5. Each of these musicians is commonly deemed as one of the most successful artists of their respective genres and have arguably changed rock history. This analysis aims to show the possible effects cocaine use has had on the music and fans.

8.1 Eric Clapton – Cocaine (1977)

This chapter shall analyse Eric Clapton’s “Cocaine” (1977). The song is amongst the most successful blues-rock song of the 1970s with a cocaine theme. It was originally written by J.J Cale in 1976. However, considering that Cale is an American guitarist and has shunned the spotlight, this thesis shall focus on Eric Clapton’s (1997) cover. Clapton is also one of the most influential musicians of this period and featured in many successful blues-rock bands.

As previously mentioned in chapter 5.1, “Cocaine” (1977) is an anti-drug song. The lyrics consist of three verses:

“If you want to hang out, you’ve gotta take her out, cocaine. If you want to get down, get down on the ground, cocaine”

“If you got that lose, you want to kick them blues, cocaine. When your day is done, and you want to ride on, cocaine”

“If your day is gone, and you want to ride on, cocaine. Don’t forget this fact, you can’t get it back, cocaine”

The chorus, “She don’t lie, she don’t lie, she don’t lie, cocaine”, is equally as ambiguous as the verses. Though the anti-drug message is not immediately clear, Clapton explains,

“It’s no good to write a deliberate anti-drug song and hope that it will catch. Because the general thing is that people will be upset by that. It would disturb them to have someone

else shoving something down their throat. So the best thing to do is offer something that seems ambiguous—that on study or on reflection actually can be seen to be "anti"—which the song "Cocaine" is actually an anti-cocaine song. If you study it or look at it with a little bit of thought ... from a distance ... or as it goes by ... it just sounds like a song about cocaine. But actually, it is quite cleverly anti-cocaine" (Saunders, 2020).

Considering that the song is purposefully equivocal, it is possible that listeners may misunderstand the anti-drug message. Therefore, "Cocaine" (1977) may incite positive attitudes and behaviours towards cocaine use. As briefly discussed in chapter 5.1, Clapton recognised this as he began sobriety, and removed it from the setlist. Later in his career, Clapton added the song back into his repertoire, adding the lyric "that dirty cocaine," in aim of further illustrate the song's true message.

To understand the influence that substance abuse has had on Eric Clapton's "Cocaine" (1977), and any effects that this may have had, it is important to understand Clapton's first-hand experiences. In an interview with Block (2007), Clapton reveals that he was consuming copious amounts of cocaine during 1977. Considering that "Cocaine" (1977) is ambiguous and that the audience may acknowledge that he was using cocaine, this may have contributed to the misunderstanding that "Cocaine" (1977) is a pro-cocaine song. Clapton also states,

"I don't know that I can honestly regret any of it safely, because it's brought me to where I am. My life would not be the same, and I would not have what I have today, were [it not] for the fact that I went through all this stuff" (Block, 2007).

Here, Clapton appears thankful for his past substance abuse due to the experiences that it has given him, and he attributes these to the position in his career and life he has attained thereafter. Publicly addressing this may also be influential to fans, particularly young fans who aspire to achieve the position that Clapton is in as a successful and renowned blues-rock guitarist, similar to the way that jazz musicians in the 1930s used heroin to imitate their jazz icons to acquire their stylistic qualities.

Initially, Clapton states that the music did not suffer due to his cocaine use. However, he also says that "But I suppose if I do have any regrets, it is that musically I lost something there" (Block, 2007). This could imply that cocaine has negatively impacted his music. However,

Clapton states that the problematic effects of his cocaine abuse on his music came from his sobriety. Clapton used to produce music under the influence of cocaine, and his sexual experiences were also supplemented by alcohol use. He says, "And so when you took it away, I just didn't know what to do and actually was, for quite a while, physically impotent. I was terrified. I would be paralyzed with fear. And I think, musically, it was the same," (Block, 2007). He explains that the drugs affected him so that music sounded "loud" and "rough" when sober. Thus, changing his perception of the music and challenging his ability to write in the same manner as he did when he was under cocaine's influence.

In J.J. Cale's documentary *To Tulsa and Back: On Tour with J.J. Cale* (2005), Clapton discusses how the second line of the song, "if you wanna get down, down on the ground, cocaine" portrays the negative effects of cocaine use which is intended to signify the anti-drug message. Furthermore, the lyric, "don't forget this fact, you can't get it back, cocaine" reinforces the anti-drug message by highlighting the wastefulness of cocaine. This lyric may also be suggestive of relationships, time, life, money, and other losses due to cocaine's destructive qualities. Knowing this, the song is clearly anti-cocaine, however, the ambiguity of the rest of the song may cause confusion to listeners.

Additionally, J.J. Cale states that he originally wrote "Cocaine" (1977) as a jazz song, however his producer recommended that Cale made the song more 'rock 'n' roll' to make it more commercial. Cale agreed, and hence adapted it into the song heard on the record. By acknowledging the stylistic differences between blues/jazz and rock music previously discussed in this thesis, it is possible to suggest that the transition to a more 'rock 'n' roll' sounding record not only made the song more commercial, but changed the perception of the message within it. Considering that jazz and blues are closely related, and that the themes and style of these genres often depicted the 'blues' mood with themes including gambling, prison, and a negative disposition towards drug use, it is possible that the original style of 'Cocaine' (1977) may have more accurately depicted the negative viewpoint towards cocaine use. Clapton's adaptation embellishes the 'rock 'n' roll' aspects of the song through more intricate electric guitar melodies, a faster tempo, and a more prominent drum pattern. These aspects may draw the listeners focus on the musical accompaniment rather than the vocals, which may lead to misunderstanding the lyrical message. Additionally, they add more energy and excitement to the music which may

be representative of cocaine use itself but is seemingly conflicting with the song's attitude towards cocaine use. This effect may also add to the ambiguous nature, causing the listener to mislead the song's message.

As Clapton explains in his self-titled autobiography (2007), he endured a heavy drug addiction during his early career. He extensively discusses his heroin and alcohol addiction, though Clapton also took copious amounts of cocaine. Although, Clapton states that his drug use did not significantly affect his music, it is undoubtable that it has in many ways. Most significantly, during George Harrison's 1972 benefit concert, Concert For Bangladesh, Clapton fainted on stage (Saunders, 2008). Clapton also tells Block (2007) that at the height of his drug addiction he stayed at home and rarely performed live. He says that after overcoming his heroin addiction, whilst still using cocaine and alcohol, he performed an entire concert lying down on stage with the microphone next to him (Block, 2007). This clearly highlights the issues that drug use has had on his music. Due to his addictions, Clapton was unable to play effectively. The drug's effects also caused him to lose consciousness and isolate himself. His inability to play could have had a significant negative effect on his music; because Clapton was unable to attend, or because his drug-induced performances may have discouraged audiences to reattend his concerts.

"Cocaine" (1977) appears on *Slowhand* (1977) which peaked at 2 on the US Billboard 200 with 74 weeks on the charts (WoC), and 23 in the UK Official Charts with 12 WoC.⁵ The album received 3x platinum certification by the RIAA and gold by the BPI. Gilliam (n.d.) says, "Clapton's studio version of "Cocaine" off his solo album *Slowhand* is among his most enduringly popular hits," he adds, "Even for an artist like Clapton with a huge body of high-quality work, "Cocaine" ranks among his best." The song peaked at 30 in the US Billboards on the B-side of "Tulsa Time" (1980) with 14 WoC.

⁵ For information of all record sale statistics, chart positions, and certifications see "Sales, Charts, and Certifications" section in References.

This case study has found that “Cocaine” (1977) is purposefully ambiguous; however, it is clearly an anti-drug song. Ambiguity is also shown when Clapton refers to cocaine as “she”. This assigns gender to the drug itself and forms a link between femininity and drug use as both being ambiguously positioned. This is similar to Bowie’s themes of sexual ambiguity and exploration which relate to cocaine use and shall be discussed in the next subchapter.

8.2 David Bowie – Station to Station (1976)

One of the most successful musicians of the glam-rock era is David Bowie. As previously mentioned, Bowie has been an inspiration to many, and he also had a severe cocaine addiction in the 70s. His addiction and the effects of his cocaine abuse greatly influenced his album *Station to Station* (1976). The title track shows numerous ways in which this occurs and gives reference to cocaine use, which is why this song is analysed from start to finish in this chapter. *Station to Station* (1976) peaked at 3 in the US Billboard 200 with 33 WoC, and 5 in the UK Official Charts with 23 WoC. It received gold certification by the RIAA and BPI.

David Bowie moved to Los Angeles in 1975 during his Thin White Duke era. Dispersing from the colourful clothing and upbeat personas of Ziggy Stardust and Aladdin Sane, The Thin white Duke was a pale, slim, de-sexualised character, which coincided with Bowie’s heavy cocaine addiction. White (2019) discusses Bowie’s cocaine induced paranoia which embellished his extreme fascination with the occult, mysticism, and fascist mythology. Due to cocaine abuse, Bowie has no recollection of producing the album (Chapman, 2015: 116), however there are numerous clear references to these subjects. The themes represented in “Station to Station” (1976) are due to the influence of his cocaine use and will be analysed to explore the ways in which cocaine has affected the music.

“Station to Station” (1976) is Bowie’s longest song of his career, the studio recording is 10 minutes 14 seconds long. The introduction shows a facet of Bowie’s persona which exploits his transition from rock to experimental by featuring machinery and train sounds, in which “he was embracing German electronic acts like Kraftwerk” (Greene, 2016). However, the train noises are a metaphor relating to Christian beliefs. Bowie states that the title refers to the

Stations of the Cross rather than trains (Pegg, 2004: 205-206). The experimental introduction develops into a climax that leads into the next section, which Polyphonic's essay video on YouTube describes as "midway between a soul groove and a fascist war march" (Polyphonic, 2018). This introduces the cocaine induced fascination with fascist themes that Bowie experienced during this period. The experimentation and chaotic start to this song that is representative of his interests developed through cocaine use, is commonly accepted as a significant era in Bowie's career and has received considerable positive feedback. This suggests that cocaine use has helped progress and influence Bowie's music, particularly considering that this album and song was an indication to his 'Berlin trilogy' which followed (Pegg, 2004: 205-206), it is arguable that the cocaine abuse which inspired *Station to Station* (1976) also inspired his more recent albums, therefore having further positive effects on his music.

The first verse introduces Bowie's new persona, "The return of The Thin White Duke, throwing darts in lovers' eyes." This ostentatious introduction depicts the dark themes representative of both The Thin White Duke and Bowie himself. It is immediately apparent that there is significant overlap between the on-stage persona and Bowie's personal life. This is an example of how the cocaine induced paranoia and negative outlook on life is encompassed in both his music and performance. The appearance of his persona was also affected by cocaine. Bowie weighed 95 pounds at the height of his cocaine addiction, which was accompanied by a diet of peppers and milk (Anderson, 2010). This arguably adds to the aesthetics of Bowie's performances in which he discusses these themes.

During his cocaine addiction, Bowie "rarely slept and filled his time reading books" (Griffiths, 2017). The lyrics, "Here we are, one magical moment" are a reference to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610-1611) [2004]. Here, Bowie paraphrases the sorcerer Prospero, who becomes consumed by his magic and finally relinquishes it by the end of the play. This is an example of the influence of mysticism as a cause of his cocaine use. This also forms a parallel between Bowie's music and magic (Polyphonic, 2018). Another example of mysticism is found in "lost in my circle" which is likely a reference to Kabbalah (Jewish mysticism). The belief of stations in Kabbalah refers to where god, wisdom, and the infinite may reveal themselves. The lyrics, "Here are we, one magical movement from Kether to Malkuth," reinforce the theme of Jewish mysticism. 'Kether' refers to the crown and 'Malkuth' to the kingdom in Kabbalah. The

movement includes the listener in ‘here we are’ and shares the experience. This effectively includes the listener into the spiritual affair that Bowie was experiencing due to his cocaine use. This may therefore allow the listener to somewhat experience the cocaine induced psychosis themselves.

In line with another prevalent theme in rock music, Bowie references satanic themes in the lyrics, “making sure white stains”. This is a reference to occultist Aleister Crowley’s *White Stains* (1898) which was among many eccentric books Bowie was reading during his sleepless cocaine sessions (Griffiths, 2017). Bowie’s music and performance share similar attributes to Crowley’s ideologies. Ballinger (2016) states that,

“Parsing Crowley’s legacy, one of the key aspects of magic is the transformation of the self (and, possibly, the wider social reality) through acts that focus the imagination/will towards such change, such acts including sex, drug consumption, meditation, and creative performance (i.e., rituals). In this vein Bowie can be considered a distinctly magical musician whose whole career revolved around the transformation of the self and the wider culture through the ‘ritual performances’ of rock music, such as concerts, recordings, and videos” (Ballinger, 2016)

This further reinstates Bowie’s influence of the occult and the listeners involvement in these ideologies via the ritualistic aspects of his music and performance, which were exaggerated and integrated in his work mainly due to his cocaine abuse. Ballinger’s statement also depicts the ritualistic aspects of sex and drugs, which are interlinked with rock music and culture. The 1970s was the most influential period for Bowie, which “transformed rock culture” (Ballinger, 2016). Ballinger particularly notes Bowie’s Thin White Duke persona and his musical experimentation, which was an influence on his later work. These influencing aspects are particularly evident in “Station to Station” (1976), which demonstrates how the effects of his cocaine abuse were directly influential on his subsequent music and artists who were inspired by him. More research is needed to determine what extent these aspects of Bowie’s music influenced other artists; however, it is noteworthy that the influential aspects were fabricated largely due to his cocaine use. The effects of satanic and occult references and symbology are discussed further in chapter 8.4 regarding cocaine use and heavier styles of rock music.

Following this section, “Station to Station” (1976) transitions into an upbeat disco-like section in which Bowie sings “got to keep searching and searching,” which implies the Thin White Duke’s search for meaning and connection with the world around him (Polyphonic, 2018). Bowie may also be signifying that he too is lost in his search for meaning due to his cocaine influenced research of esoteric literature, especially considering the overlaps between character and reality highlighted previously. This is underpinned by the following lyric “It’s not the side effects of the cocaine.” This appears to be an overtly ironic statement that claims his cocaine use is the probable cause for his inability to connect. Nile Rodgers confirmed that Bowie was more serious during this period but became much more friendly and animated after he became sober from cocaine (Getlen, 2014). This supports the proposition that the dissociation which Bowie sings of in “Station to Station” (1976) is his own due to his cocaine abuse. Bowie’s guitarist Carlos Alomar told the post that at this time, Bowie would often forget the lyrics to songs on stage due to his cocaine use, and Alomar would have to act as substitute for Bowie during performances (Getlen, 2014). This shows the negative effects of how cocaine affected Bowie’s music and lifestyle.

Nevertheless, it is arguable that cocaine had a positive impact on “Station to Station” (1976), and ultimately Bowie’s Career. Alomar recollects that “In order for him (Bowie) to stay up all night and finish the tasks at hand, it (cocaine) was a huge factor,” he adds, “Its function was to keep you alert, and that’s what he was doing. It did not stop his creativity at all.” (Getlen, 2014). This suggests that cocaine use aided Bowie’s production of “Station to Station” (1976) by helping him to focus and remain productive. In an interview with Cromelin (1976) Harry Maslin, discusses Bowie’s spontaneous production methods. Maslin states, “To understand the way David works is to know that you can’t understand the way David works. He’s always changing things, just changing completely, so it’s hard to tell at times what he’s talking about. Right before the mixing we would change the lyrics of a song” (Cromelin, 1976). Bowie’s procedure is sporadic and constantly changing, which is also representative of cocaine effected behaviour. Tangential thinking may be caused by the effects of the cocaine, and Bowie would likely to have been showing pressured speech alongside erratic behaviour due to cocaine’s effects. His altered state may have drastically changed the song during this process due to the constant changes in sporadic moments prior to mixing. Given that these effects would have added to the avant-garde aspects of “Station to Station” (1976), and that the song is accredited

for its avant-garde qualities, it is arguable that the effects of the cocaine have enhanced his music.

Bowie was very open about his drug use, and particularly the influence that it had on his music. Although the media during the 1970s covered this subject, it seemingly had no detrimental effects on his music. In 1975 the UK newspaper *Record Mirror* nicknamed Bowie 'Old Vacuum Cleaner Nose' (Chapman, 2020: 28). The comedic phrasing by the paper may suggest that the media's response to his addiction was relatively relaxed, which could effectively further encourage a positive attitude from the readers and fans. In Bowie's interview with Cameron Crowe (1976), he discusses his likeness towards fast drugs. When asked how drugs have affected his music he states,

"The music is just an extension of me, so the question really is, What have drugs done to me? They've fucked me up, I think. Fucked me up nicely and I've quite enjoyed seeing what it was like being fucked up." (Crowe, 1976)

Here, Bowie admits that drugs have affected his music, though his opinion is seemingly positive towards this affect. Crowe (1976) refers to an interviewer who labelled Bowie's *Young Americans* (1975) "a fucked-up LP from a fucked-up rock star." This album was also during his cocaine addiction, which came to its zenith during *Station to Station* (1976). Despite the negative response from this reviewer, Bowie later acknowledges the reference to cocaine in "Station to Station" (1976), to which he says he has no reservations about using the reference in the song. Crowe (1976) highlights that this may easily be construed as advocating cocaine use, to which he asks Bowie if this is the message. Bowie explains,

"I have no message whatsoever. I really have nothing to say, no suggestions or advice, nothing. All I do is suggest some ideas that will keep people listening a bit longer. And out of it all, maybe they'll come up with a message and save me the work. My career has kind of been like that. I get away with murder." (Crowe, 1976)

Bowie seems to acknowledge that themes and references of drug use are controversial and may incite drug use. However, he says that he 'gets away with it' and claims that his music is devoid of messages. Knowing this, it would be unintentional and unlikely if these songs caused listeners to use cocaine.

STATIONTOSTATIONDAVIDBOWIE



Figure 15 David Bowie: Station to Station Album Cover (Taken from <https://www.bowiebi-ble.com/albums/station-to-station/9/#:~:text=Schapiro%20also%20took%20the%20cover,Man%20Who%20Fell%20To%20Earth.>; accessed June 6th 2020)



Figure 16 Screenshot of The Man Who Fell to Earth (1976)

Figure 15 depicts the album artwork for *Station to Station* (1976) which shows Bowie's imitation of his character in Roeg's *The Man Who Fell to Earth* (1976) shown in Figure 16, a screenshot in the film at approximately 1 hour 8 minutes 48 seconds. Figure 15 was taken on the set of the film by photographer Steve Shapiro, who worked with Bowie extensively during this era. Both figures portray the aesthetic similarities between the characters. Bowie's Thin White Duke persona was influenced significantly by the character in the film (Newton), who is an alien who becomes miserable and finds solace in drinking. Newton falls in love and the film features many explicit scenes of sexual behaviours. This is exploitative of the common themes of sex and drugs often attributed to rock music. Considering that the Thin White Duke is largely based on Newton and that the Thin White Duke was also a large part of Bowie, which became an aspect of his personal life, it shows how Bowie and "Station to Station" (1976) were also influenced greatly by sex, drugs and alienation.

In an interview with Shin (2016), Shapiro discusses a photoshoot he did with Bowie which includes several images of Bowie drawing images of the sephiroth (the stations) of Jewish mysticism, of which "Station to Station" (1976) refers to. Figure 17 shows the back cover of the 1991 re-release of *Station to Station* (1976) featuring one of these images.

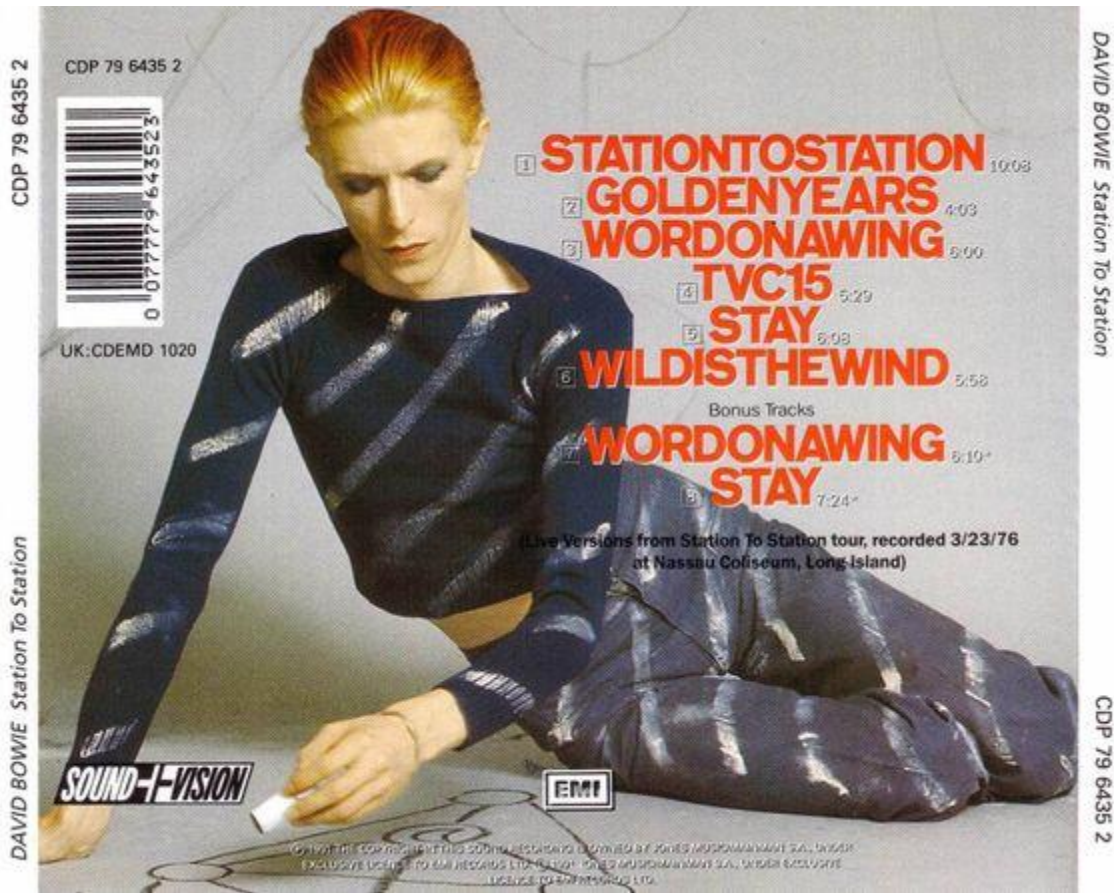


Figure 17 David Bowie: *Station to Station* 1991 Re-release (Taken from <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/230387337157313583/>; accessed June 6th 2020)

This reinforces the theme of mysticism in Bowie’s music which was enhanced by his cocaine use. The style of clothing worn by Bowie was also worn in his music video for “Lazarus” (2016), which Shapiro states was attributed to the influence of *Station to Station* (1976) and the spiritual mood during this period which continued through his life (Shin, 2016). This demonstrates how the themes of “Station to Station” (1976) and the ideologies that Bowie had at the time impacted the rest of his personal life and career.

“Station to Station” (1976) marks a pivotal moment in Bowie’s career, which was undeniably influenced significantly by cocaine use. The song, performance, and persona all reflect this discovery. The various juxtaposing themes, such as religion, mysticism, drug use, occultism, and his blend of musical styles create lots of ambiguity which makes the song’s message unclear. This has posed a problem for many artists who reference drug use, particularly Ian Dury, whose music shall be studied in the next subchapter.

8.3 Ian Dury – Sex & Drugs & Rock & Roll (1977)

Ian Dury is a punk-rock icon whose music affected the course of rock history. As Johnny Turnbull (The Blockheads' guitarist) discusses in an interview with *The Quietus* (2012), Dury's most popular song "Sex & Drugs & Rock 'n' Roll" (1977) gave common parlance to the phrase in rock culture. There are few cocaine references in British punk-rock music in the 1970s, and though this song does not reference cocaine directly, its title suggests cocaine use, and this phrase has been used synonymously with cocaine-related behaviours. The adage was used in the title of the previously mentioned radio interview between Clapton and Block (2007) entitled *Sex, Drugs and Rock 'N' Roll: Clapton After 'Cocaine'*.

Superficially, this song appears to accredit sexual behaviours and drug use with the opening stanza, "Sex & Drugs & Rock 'n' Roll, is all my brain and body need, Sex & Drugs & Rock 'n' Roll, are very good indeed." However, Dury's explanation of the song's meaning is the antithesis of this claim. Dury clarifies, "with this song I was trying to suggest there was more to life than either of those three – sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll, or pulling a lever all day in a factory" (Welch, 1995). Rather than a celebration of the hedonistic lifestyles of many rock stars and celebrities, the song is a detached depiction of these aspects, meant to highlight the contingency of them in rock culture. Nevertheless, the media's misrepresentation of the song's meaning, and possibly the media's realisation that the actual message may not be reciprocated by the listeners, led to the song being prohibited by radio stations. Dury explains, "It was banned by the BBC when we released it as a single, but it sold about 18,000 copies" (Welch, 1995). 18,000 copies may seem like a low figure; however, this was also due to their record label, 'Stiff'. Co-writer and guitarist Chaz Jankel explains, "That was the company's policy at the time – to go for fast sales on every single and then to delete it," He adds, "So we didn't get much chance to climb up the main chart" (Dome, 2016). This would have undoubtedly affected the amount of copies sold, airtime, and publicity the record received. The uninformed misunderstanding of Dury's message may have contributed significantly to this effect. Nevertheless, it reached 51 in the UK charts in 2010, with 2 WoC.

Sonically, the song was influenced by drug use. The melody was taken from the bassline in Ornette Coleman's "Ramblin'" (1960). Like Dury, Coleman wasn't a drug user, but "junk ran like a virus in his bands" (Spencer, 2007). Coleman's bassist, Charlie Haden, was an avid drug user. This caused him to leave the band (Myers, 2014). Considering that Dury used the bassline from a musician who was heavily influenced by drugs, it is plausible to suggest that drug use influenced the bassline, guitar riff, and melody in Dury's song.

Reinforcing the song's meaning, and contrary to the other musicians discussed in this thesis, Dury did not use nor like cocaine. In Rosso's (1984) Ian Dury Documentary, Dury exclaims, "I really hate cocaine," he adds, "cocaine is twice the price by weight of gold," and explains that the gold is still there the next day, whereas all the cocaine is gone. This is like J.J. Cales's message in "Cocaine" (1976), which states, "don't forget this fact, you can't get it back, cocaine." Dury adds that once the cocaine has gone, "you've just turned into a fascist overnight" (Rosso, 1984). This also reflects Bowie's experience during *Station to Station* (1976), regarding his obsessions with fascist mythology and Nazis. Additionally, Dury tells Schruers (1978), "I don't take any stimulants or uppers," he explains, "every hour you stay up on coke or pills or whatever is an hour off the other end of your life". This highlights Dury's hatred towards cocaine use. He also states that "sex is about as important as a cheese sandwich" (Schruers, 1978). Here, Dury emphasises the ideologies on which the message of "Sex & Drugs & Rock 'n' Roll" (1977) is based upon, and it shows that his own ideologies reflect the songs meaning. Interestingly, this contrasts with the popular beliefs of many rock stars.

There are many references to drugs in punk-rock culture, however, there is a surprising lack of cocaine references in the music. Nevertheless, it is evident that drug use was common in punk-rock culture due to the previously discussed ideologies in chapter 5.3. Regarding Dury, considering that he reportedly never took cocaine, cocaine has not directly affected him, therefore it could not have had any possible creative or productive effects on his music. However, the presence of cocaine pre-existing in rock culture has influenced the song, which responds to these attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, the song is likely not to have been created without the use of cocaine in rock culture.

Like the other case studies, this song is equally as ambiguous. The ambiguity of the song's message has arguably caused more issues for Dury due to the lack of record sales. Unlike the other case studies, Dury did not use cocaine, and the connotations to cocaine use are much less dominant in his performances and lifestyle. He did express, much like Clapton, that the song was anti-drug in interviews. However, this did not seem to become apparent to the public. Dury intended to write a rock parody, highlighting the unnecessary use of drugs and sex in the lifestyles of rockstars. The other songs hint at this notion but some appear to depict a positive attitude toward these themes. This is similar to Black Sabbath's "Snowblind" (1972), which shall be evaluated in the next subchapter.

8.4 Black Sabbath – "Snowblind" (1972)

Lastly, this research shall analyse the song "Snowblind" (1972). The reason for choosing this song is due to Black Sabbath's iconic place in rock history. The band encompasses all the previously discussed rock related attitudes, behaviours, and symbology. Their album *Vol. 4* (1972) is one of their most successful albums and was greatly influenced by cocaine. Snowblind was the original title of the album, so the song is the focal point of this chapter. The original title was rejected by the record company because of its reference to drug use (Moskowitz, 2015: 78).

The lyrics detail the experiences of taking cocaine, inspired by the band's heavy cocaine consumption at a Bel Air mansion where they worked on this album. At first glance, the song is seemingly pro-cocaine, however a deeper analysis of the lyrics suggests otherwise. The first and second verse reads:

"What you get, and what you see.
Things that don't come easily.
Feeling happy in my pain.
Icicles within my brain."

"Something blowin' in my head.
Winds of ice that soon will spread

Down to freeze my very soul.
Makes me happy, makes me cold.”

Here, Osbourne describes the immediate and pleasurable effects of cocaine use. The lyrics use snow and ice as metaphors to describe cocaine. However, in the third verse these effects become negative. The third verse reads:

“My eyes are blind, but I can see.
The snowflakes glisten on the trees.
The Sun no longer sets me free.
I feel the snowflakes freezing me.”

This depicts the user’s reliance on cocaine use. The lyric, ‘the sun no longer sets me free,’ tells the listener that normality is not enough anymore for the user. Cocaine has taken over the body and warmth (or being sober) is no longer enough. However, the user in this song is ignorant to the negative effects. In the fourth verse:

“Let the winter sun shine on.
Let me feel the frost of dawn.
Fill my dreams with flakes of snow.
Soon I'll feel the chilling glow.”

they encourage the feeling of the ‘frost’ (cocaine). The user dreams of cocaine use and pre-empts their next dose.

The tempo rises during the fifth stanza. Here, the user directs their message to the listener, telling them that they are in control and that by not taking cocaine, they are the losers. It reads:

“Don't you think I know what I'm doing.
Don't tell me that it's doing me wrong.
You're the one that's really the loser.
This is where I feel I belong.”

This seemingly conveys a message in favour of cocaine use, though it signifies the denial and delusions of addiction. It also depicts the user distancing their friends or family. The last verse:

“Kiss the world with winter flowers.
Turn my days to frozen hours.
Lying snowblind in the sun.
Will my ice age ever come?”

is discussing the need for constant cocaine use. This emphasises the desperate addiction related to cocaine use. ‘Frozen hours’ may be referring to the blackouts that Osbourne experienced at the mansion (Lester, 2013).

Overall, the song depicts an individual’s experience taking drugs, highlighting some positive but mainly negative effects. This may have been a subconscious cry for help from the band members due to their struggles at this time. Listeners or audiences, particularly young ones, may not comprehend the deeper meaning behind the lyrics, as they are not entirely clear. This may focus their attention on the exciting rock aesthetic accompaniments and message of cocaine, which may reinforce positive feelings towards cocaine use. As will be discussed, other features on this album are seemingly pro-cocaine orientated and may contribute to this effect. This could encourage listeners to use cocaine and buy this record due to its messages. The backing vocals which whisper ‘cocaine’ may also induce this effect or encourage those who already use cocaine. Similarly, those individuals may also buy this record through a shared interest, or because the song has enabled an association between their cocaine use and this music, which may cause a relapse.

The album cover also contains cocaine-related symbology. The back of the album contains the message, “We wish to thank the great COKE-Cola Company of Los Angeles.” This is praise given by the band to the cocaine they used whilst making the album. According to the band, cocaine has aided them significantly in the making of this album. This may be particularly influential to fans who buy the album. Similarly, Geezer Butler sported a bass sticker during live performances around the time of *Vol. 4* (1972) that reads “enjoy cocaine,” in the style of Coca-Cola’s brand image. Figure 18 shows this.



Figure 18 Geezer Butler's "Enjoy Cocaine" Bass Guitar Sticker (Taken from <http://www.feelnumb.com/2011/12/09/geezer-butlers-enjoy-cocaine-bass-guitar-sticker/#lightbox/0/>; accessed May 4th 2020)

Additionally, during performances of "Snowblind" (1972), Osbourne often shouts the word 'cocaine' energetically, and uses the 'peace' hand gesture with both hands. Doing the 'peace' gesture may form a relation between word and symbol, creating positive correlations to cocaine use which is projected to the audience. An image of Osbourne doing this gesture is also seen on the front cover of the album, thus reinforcing these positive connotations. The way that listeners perceive music can depend on a variety of factors, including their background, experiences, environment, and interests. From a neurological standpoint, the listener's neurons in the brain are triggered when listening to and watching performances through auditory and visual stimulation. Molnar-Szakacs and Overy's (2006) study offers insight into how music can trigger memories, evoking emotions and intensifying the listeners' and audiences' social experiences. The study suggests how music acts in the same way as language, by communicating emotion and meaning to the person perceiving it. By reviewing neuroimaging evidence, the neurologists "propose that these aspects of musical experience may be mediated by the human mirror neuron system" (Molnar-Szakacs & Overy, 2006). David Byrne (2012), the lead singer and guitarist for Talking Heads, offers a musician's perspective on these effects, conveys how people perceive basic emotion, and explains the brain activity which occurs in the observer of someone who displays the emotion visually. He states that when one person smiles at another, the neurons in the brain associated with the facial muscles in the perceiver react to this, as well as the emotional neurons associated with smiling. He claims that "this shared representation (as neuroscientists call it) is essential for any type of communication" (Byrne, 2012). A similar effect may occur via visual cues on stage during live performances of songs that reference cocaine, like when Osbourne smiles and uses the 'peace' hand gesture over the word 'cocaine'.

Furthermore, Osbourne has mimed sniffing cocaine on stage during this song. This may also encourage positive cocaine attitudes and possibly cause cocaine-related behaviour among fans. At some performances, particularly during the 1970s, artificial snow falls onto the stage as part of the performance. This is like how David Bowie theatricalises a 'trip' on stage as previously

mentioned, which enables the audience to visualise and experience it themselves on a physical level. Arguably, this may also entice the audience and incite cocaine use.

These types of symbolism pose positive attitudes towards cocaine. Therefore, audiences may be encouraged to use cocaine, particularly youth culture, as cocaine may be viewed as a helpful substance in making music and performing on stage. Such audiences may also feel closer to the band members and feel that cocaine use is an essential part of rock culture. As Myers and Twenge (2017: 191) identify, many paths lead to persuasion, including the peripheral route, which is “focusing on cues that trigger automatic acceptance without much thinking.” The example that Myers and Twenge use is how tobacco companies produce adverts that feature beautiful imagery rather than focusing on arguments that favour smoking. Similarly, Ozzy Osbourne’s ‘peace’ sign may implicitly and automatically build attitudes via repeatedly associating cocaine use with peace and happiness. This effect could cause an increase in cocaine use among rock fans. Moreover, Cialdini’s (2008) illustration of six principles of persuasion suggests several factors that may increase the power of the influence of cocaine references in “Snowblind” (1972). This includes authority (as previously discussed in this thesis). Black Sabbath delivers these references as accomplished and professional musicians, and therefore may better influence the audience due to a sense of credibility. Also, likeness (as will be discussed in chapter 9) may affect the audience’s response to these possible influences. Furthermore, social proof may affect fans’ judgement by following the example of others to validate how they think and behave. If others are using cocaine, it is more likely that they will too.

As the band goes into the fifth verse, which speaks directly from the perspective of the cocaine user, the music arguably personifies the experience of a cocaine trip. This starts with a solo guitar riff. As this begins, the tempo suddenly increases from approximately 117bpm to 130 bpm. This is seemingly representative of the ‘rush’ that cocaine users experience after administration. During this section in live performances, Osbourne commonly motivates the audience into jumping and clapping. Like cocaine, this stimulates the audience, moves blood around the body, and produces dopamine, norepinephrine, and serotonin. This is also exemplary of how performance may simulate a ‘trip’ which allows the audience to experience a drug ‘high’.

It is possible that cocaine has also influenced the mixing and production sound of *Vol. 4* (1972). It was the first album that Black Sabbath produced themselves, with Patrick Meehan. They had two engineers, though Black Sabbath would have had significant influence on their actions. The lower frequencies of the mix appear cluttered and generally lack definition. In a review of the album from MrLtia1234 (2015) on YouTube, this is referred to as ‘muddy’ sounding. The review comments that this may reflect their state of mind at the time due to cocaine use. In reflection of this statement, one reviewer states that “when you listen to that [...] it feels like you’re on drugs” (MrLtia1234, 2015). Whether this effect was intended or unintentional, it is probable that cocaine has influenced the mix. Though this effect would generally be considered to diminish the quality of the music, it arguably enhances the listening experience as it relates to the song’s cocaine theme and aurally exposes listeners to the band’s state of mind. This may allow the audience to experience a ‘pseudo-high.’ Additionally, it is suggested that all metal music post-*Vol. 4* (1972) which features this discrete ‘muddy’ sound derives from the influence of this album (MrLtia1234, 2015). Some listeners view Black Sabbath’s drug use positively. In *Rock & Metal Combat Podcast* (2015) one fan’s review of *Vol. 4* (1972) argues that “drugs rule, and so does Black Sabbath on drugs.” They also state that this is their favourite Black Sabbath album, which signifies that cocaine use has significantly increased the value of Black Sabbath’s music. They also reveal that *Vol. 4* (1972) is the only album which enables them a euphoric high when listening to it. This is synonymous with MrLtia1234’s (2015) statement that it feels like you’re on drugs when listening to the album. If the influence of this ‘muddy’ effect is prevalent in more recent metal albums, it could suggest that a similar effect on the listener is being employed.

Contrasting with the many positive reviews of *Vol.4* (1972) by fans, Black Sabbath received many negative critical reviews by the media in their early career. As McIver (2014: 95) states, the band were shocked at the herd of bad reviews they received for their debut album *Black Sabbath* (1970). McIver (2014: 95) describes *Vol. 4* (1972) as an ‘echo’ of these events, yet the album achieved gold status within a month in the US. It reached 13 on the US Billboards 200 with 31 WoC, and 8 in the UK Official Charts with 10 WoC. It was also certified platinum by the RIAA. This was the first Sabbath album to be certified silver in the UK (Popoff, 2011: 224). Seemingly, despite the cocaine references and effects that cocaine may have had on the album, and the critics negative responses to this album, record sales continued to increase, and

the record achieved great success. This suggests that cocaine use has not hampered the sales or popularity of this album.

The findings show that cocaine use is significantly represented in “Snowblind” (1972), in musical performance, the album artwork, and the sonic aspects of the music. Cocaine’s representation is again ambiguous because the views toward it are juxtaposed throughout. This is confusing, particularly due to Osbourne’s well documented lifestyle influenced by cocaine use.

Overall, all four case studies depict extremely ambiguous messages toward cocaine use. This makes it difficult to determine whether the songs are pro- or anti-drug, though the research shows that they all pose negative attitudes toward cocaine. There is a unanimous concern for the influence of these songs on their audiences (as discussed in the next chapter), and sonically they all contain elements of rock music which may represent cocaine use. Additionally, though all four songs are significantly influenced by cocaine, the music marks a pivotal and positively life-changing movement in the life and career of each performer. These songs are among the most popular and successful of their repertoire, and subsequently had a significant impact on British rock culture, which proves that cocaine has also had this effect.

9. Audiences and Drug Use

To discover why audiences may use certain drugs, it is important to research the popularity of drug use at concerts and festivals. This chapter examines the research of recent festivals to determine these outcomes, as studies of such nature are unavailable from this thesis' period of research. Subsequently, this dissertation aims to discover parallels between modern and past festivals to uncover a possible correlation between preference of music genre and drugs, specifically rock music's relationship with cocaine. Once this has been established, a closer look at rock subcultures from a psychosociological standpoint is applied to understand the possible increased risk of such fans to use cocaine.

9.1 Festivals

Quinn and Burn-Murdoch's (2012) study reveals the types of drugs at music festivals via an analysis of seized substances. Their study was conducted at festivals across England, including the Isle of Wight Festival, Bestival, Download, Sonisphere, Glastonbury, Leeds, Reading, Wireless, and WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) festival. This covered various genres, including rock, dance, and folk music. The study revealed that many festivalgoers were using cocaine at the Isle of Wight Festival and Bestival. It shows that most cocaine seizures took place here. These festivals were comprised of approximately 50,000 fans of rock, folk, and dance music. The study showed that heavy metal fans largely prefer Jack Daniels and various other alcohol. It also suggests that festivalgoers are switching from cocaine to ketamine due to economic stress after 2009. This could imply that other drug users could not afford cocaine and therefore resulted in other substances.

Sonisphere and Download are the two largest predominantly rock festivals in the UK, therefore they are the focus of this research. According to Quinn and Burn-Murdoch (2012), in 2009 the highest number of drugs seized at rock festivals is as follows. At Download, these substances were £537.60 worth of cocaine (grams), £42.00 of crack cocaine and £301.00 worth of Methandienone (tablets). Also, £249.90 of cannabis (bush), £1.90 of cannabis (resin) and

£102.00 worth of Ketamine. At Sonisphere, the police seized £840.00 of herbal cannabis (grams), £14.00 of cannabis (wraps) and £5.00 of cannabis (cigarettes). The highest quantity of drugs seized at V festival was cocaine (grams), at £6,652.80 and crack cocaine (grams), at £84.00. This suggests that cocaine use may be a preferred substance among rock fans due to the increased amount of seized cocaine at rock festivals. However, Sonisphere did not reflect this theory, as cannabis was much more popular. V Festival also featured main artists such as: Lily Allen, The Specials, and Dizzee Rascal, none of which are rock musicians. In this instance, pop and mixed music audiences seemed to prefer cocaine more than rock audiences do. The statistics may also be affected by the number of attendees. Sonisphere saw approximately 60,000 attendees in 2009, whereas Download had approximately 120,000. The larger and more successful festival may have also attracted a wealthier audience who could afford cocaine, and the more prestigious festival may attract more prestigious rock fans.

Though the statistics may support the theory that modern rock fans may prefer cocaine than other fans, they may misrepresent the actual quantity of drugs at each festival. This is dependent on numerous factors, including the competency of the police. Substances such as cocaine and MDMA may also be more easily concealed due to their odourless nature, though the cost and increased risk of taking these drugs to certain security guarded festivals may also alter the statistics.

To determine a more accurate result, this thesis compares the statistical data of seized substances with Tomáš Mackulák et al.'s (2019) analysis of wastewater at festivals, which aimed to determine the drug preferences of festivalgoers in comparison with their preferred musical genre. It is possible that a correlation between both studies will more accurately depict a relationship between audience members and their drug preference. The wastewater analysis also removes the unreliability of the police's competence to seize a mean average of each drug and provides an objective representation of drug use among audiences. This research was carried out in the Czech Republic and Slovakia via an investigation of the influent of 6 wastewater treatment plants. The tests were conducted during 7 music festivals of varying genres, including rock, pop, metal, country and folk, dance, trance, multi-genre, and ethnic music. The results showed that the amount of cocaine and methamphetamine increased in a load of wastewater at rock and dance music festivals, with ecstasy being the most dominant at dance music festivals.

The overlap with Quinn and Burn-Murdoch's (2012) study is that cocaine is increased at rock music performances. The wastewater analysis also found that the consumption pattern of illicit drugs for metal music genres remained stable. The most dominant drug for metal genres was tobacco.

Festival culture in the late 1960s and 1970s in the United Kingdom was notorious for its cannabis and LSD scene. Festivals of this time include the Glastonbury Free Festival (1971), which featured David Bowie, Hawkwind, Fairport Convention, and Quintessence; the Windsor Free Festival (1972-1974), which featured various rock artists and was brutally suppressed by the police; and the Trentishoe Whole Earth Fayre (1973-1976), which in '73 also featured Hawkwind. Possibly the most iconic rock festival of this period is Woodstock (1969). The festival was famously laden with various drugs, particularly cannabis and LSD. The line-up included Jimi Hendrix, The Who, Janis Joplin, Santana, and Jefferson Airplane. It is possible that cannabis and LSD may have led to other types of substance abuse. Though these two drugs are dominant, stimulants may have been used to counteract the negative effects.

Nevertheless, there is no significant evidence that shows increased cocaine usage at festivals during the 60s and 70s. This may be due to the lack of accessibility to cocaine during this period. As previously discussed, cocaine was reserved for the elites and was a highly expensive drug. The festivals mentioned above were mainly free of charge, and this may have attracted an audience with low income. Therefore, they would probably not have been able to afford cocaine. These audiences were predominantly 'hippies', as previously discussed. Their lifestyle was against the corporate world and materialistic attitudes. As highlighted by The Encyclopaedia Britannica (2020), "hippies felt alienated from middle-class society, which they saw as dominated by materialism and repression, and they developed their own distinctive lifestyle." Their criticism of middle-class values, which was a part of their anti-work attitudes, also suggests that those involved in the counterculture did not have much income. As mentioned previously, their lifestyle included a pro-drug attitude. Psychedelic drugs were thought to expand their consciousness. Cocaine does not offer these desired effects, and the aggressiveness that is associated with cocaine use is the antithesis of the hippies' message of peace and love.

The music at the rock festivals during the 60s and 70s also encompassed elements of psychedelia and folk (Hawkwind/Janis Joplin/Jimi Hendrix). Legs McNeil says, “music is effected by the drugs you’re taking,” and “there’s definitely different vibes to different music” (Rolling Stone, 2016). Likewise, the hippy counterculture used psychoactive drugs to enhance the music with the same vibe. This explains why these drugs were prevalent at the 1960s and 1970s festivals.

The statistics by Quinn and Burn-Murdoch (2012) and Tomáš Mackul’ak et al. (2019) suggest an increase in cocaine use among rock fans. This would suggest that the style of rock music at recent festivals may have comparable aspects to cocaine’s effects. Due to cocaine’s stimulating effects and its aggressive qualities, heavy styles of rock would arguably suit these characteristics. However, the statistics showed no significant increase in illicit substances for metal music fans at festivals. Contrastingly, the most seized substance at Sonisphere in 2009 was cannabis. The line-up consisted of bands such as Motörhead, Anthrax, Slayer, Megadeth, Slipknot and Metallica. These bands are extremely heavy and have been influenced by their heavy metal predecessors, including Venom, Black Sabbath, and Judas Priest. Sonisphere headliners Metallica were particularly influenced by Black Sabbath. This is shown by the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame’s (n.d.) video of members James Hetfield and Lars Ulrich inducting Black Sabbath into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame, in which they express their gratitude for inspiring them. Considering that the statistics from Sonisphere suggest no significant cocaine use and that the music at this festival was performed with the same style and influence of 1970s heavy metal bands, this may propose that although heavy subgenres of rock may have similar characteristics to cocaine, this does not affect the listener’s or audience’s choice to use cocaine. However, as the next subchapter shall explore, it is important to understand any possible links between the characteristics of the music and the fans. Correlations that may present themselves must be understood to comprehend whether the music influences the fans in this way, or that the fans are attracted to such styles of music because of their predisposed characteristics and ideologies.

9.2 Likeness

Cultures often share similarities in values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. A likeness to others due to similarities in personality traits, musical preference, and personal interests may engage others into a culture. This chapter explores how this may occur regarding rock culture.

There are several reasons why similarity may increase likeness. Hampton, Boyd, and Specher (2019) conducted a study among previously unacquainted individuals which proposes several of these. This includes consensual validation, cognitive evaluation, certainty of being liked, fun and enjoyable interactions and self-expansion opportunity. As for consensual validation, meeting individuals who share our attitudes may make us feel more confident about our own. This could be applied to rock culture and cocaine use. If another individual's attitude towards cocaine and its possible involvement with rock culture is positive, then there is an increased chance of feeling more confident of that attitude if you already had it. This could increase the number of cocaine users in rock culture and create a culture that feels confident about those views. However, knowing that this research has previously shown that rock fans generally do not share these attitudes, it is likely that a culture of non-cocaine users will develop as a result.

A cognitive evaluation may increase an individual's likeness of someone else because they feel confident about themselves, learn that the other has a commonality, and therefore like that person too. This leads to an assumption that the other individual has more positive characteristics also. Regarding rock culture, an individual may discover a similarity in music taste or music, and therefore assume that their drug use is also a positive characteristic if this is the case.

The certainty of being liked may also increase an individual's likeness, due to the assumption that someone whom the individual has something in common with is more likely to like the individual, and similarly, they are more likely to like them back. It is also possible that the plausible increase of drug users in culture may inadvertently create more users, due to an increase in fun and enjoyable interaction at events, concerts, etcetera, because the audience members and fans have more in common.

Another possible factor that may increase likeness is self-expansion theory. This could mean that individuals feel benefits by gaining new knowledge and experiences by engaging with someone else. Sprecher, Treger and Wondra (2013) show that individuals are more likely to see self-expansion opportunities with individuals who are like them, rather than those who are not. Therefore, people's shared interest in rock music or cocaine could cause a shared interest in the other by gaining new experiences and likeness to one another. These factors could also be possible for the interaction between audience members or listeners, and the musicians. If the musicians knowingly and openly take cocaine, the audience may feel more of a connection with the musician, feel that cocaine use and other substances are socially acceptable and part of the culture, feel that they are going to have more fun, enjoyment, or new experiences and knowledge. This could lead to an increase in cocaine users in rock culture.

9.3 Risk for Fans

This chapter focuses on heavy metal music as it has received much controversy and has historically been associated with drug use. Lots of research and studies indicate high risk for drug use within this subgenre. Preceding research has long debated the influence of heavy metal music and its subgenres on fans (Arnett, 1991). It is important to understand this research and evaluate any potential risk to determine if and how heavy metal music may influence cocaine use. This includes analysing common characteristics among fans and understanding if and to what extent these factors may contribute to substance abuse.

Aiming to identify several common characteristics among metal fans, Arnett (1991) conducted a study that compared the traits of 54 male and 30 female high school adolescent heavy metal fans to 55 male and 105 female high school adolescent nonfans. He states that,

“Boys who liked heavy metal music reported a higher rate of a wide range of reckless behavior, including driving behavior, sexual behavior, and drug use. They were also less satisfied with their family relationships. Girls who liked heavy metal music were more reckless in the areas of shoplifting, vandalism, sexual behavior, and drug use, and reported lower self-esteem. Both boys and girls who liked heavy metal music were higher

in sensation seeking and more self-assured with regard to sexuality and dating”. (Arnett, 1991: 573)

In addition to this research, Hansen and Hansen’s (1991) study examined the relationship between musical preference and the individual’s social judgements and personality characteristics. Compared to nonfans, metal music fans were higher in Machiavellianism and machismo, and lower in need for cognition. Reinforcing Arnett’s findings, Hansen and Hansen also claim that heavy metal fans estimated higher of consensus among adolescents for antisocial, drug-related, sexual, and occult-related attitudes and behaviours.

As previously discussed in this thesis, many of these characteristics may also lead to drug use, including reckless and anti-social behaviours and low self-esteem. Also, drug use is a form of sensation-seeking which may contribute to an audience’s influence on cocaine use if they have this personality trait. As Arnett’s (1991) study shows, both boys and girls were higher in this trait, and therefore may be more likely to use cocaine.

The links between music and sexual references have been established, as have the commonalities between the effects of sexual intercourse and drug use. Musicians have often portrayed promiscuous sexual attitudes and behaviours in their private lives as well as on stage and in their music. In Elton John’s autobiography *Me* (2019), he admits how cocaine use fuelled his hedonistic sexual behaviours, and that cocaine acted as an aphrodisiac. This included using cocaine as a means of organising orgies and persuading straight men into having sex with one another. Rock fans may be influenced by the promiscuous endeavours of their rock idols to behave in similar ways and share these attitudes, which could increase simultaneous cocaine use and sex among fans. By understanding that metal fans have reportedly had a high rate of sexual behaviours and attitudes, and that rock musicians have illustrated the same views; it is important to determine how drug use may be a cause for sexual behaviours or vice versa.

Cocaine and sexual intercourse have had a long historical association and both influence dopamine. As highlighted by Sofuoglu and Sewell (2008), cocaine also inhibits the brain by increasing levels of serotonin, which relates to mood, and norepinephrine, which increases stamina and energy. Though high levels of serotonin may lead to decreased arousal, the possible delay of orgasm may encourage individuals to use cocaine to last longer during sex and increase performance. Also, the pleasurable effects caused by dopamine, and an increase in heart

rate and blood pressure, may enhance the physical experience. According to Washton (2019), cocaine has historically been identified as being potentially aphrodisiacal, and it may enhance sex drive. Washton and Zweben (2009) conducted a study that surveyed cocaine users to identify relationships between cocaine use and sexual behaviours. They discovered that cocaine had attributed to increased sex drive, sexual fantasies, and sexual acting-out behaviours of over 50% of male participants; however, less than 20% of females reported these effects. It is important to note that a significant number of users do not experience the aphrodisiacal effects of cocaine, however, this is still a possibility among rock fans to make the connection between rock music, cocaine and sexual behaviours. The research has shown that although women have responded to these effects, there are significantly fewer women who disclose these effects than men. The reason for this is unknown thus far and requires further investigation.

Nonetheless, the predominant consumers of rock music are male. This is shown by the British Phonographic Industry (BPI) (2015), who published statistics of the gender ratio of consumer spending on music in Great Britain in 2014. The statistics show that males account for 67.4% of consumer spending on rock music. The highest female ratio of consumer spending was for pop music at 44%. Chaker (2016: 148) explains that characteristics such as loud volume, speed, aggressiveness, and complexity are associated with masculinity. Catchiness, softness, pleasantness, and commerciality are often deemed female or gay characteristics.

The themes and characteristics of heavy styles of rock music are representative of the effects and characteristics of cocaine and hard drug use. Chaker's questionnaire surveyed over 500 black and death metal fans at 2 German summer festivals in 2007. The statistics show that black metal fans gave a proportion of 83.4% males and 16.6% female, and similarly for death metal fans a proportion of 86.2% male and 13.8% female (Chaker, 2016, p. 150). These statistics show how the male to female ratio among fans increases as the music becomes more 'masculine'. This may also indicate a rise in cocaine users in the heavier subgenres of rock music because males are statistically much more likely to use most illicit substances than females. This has been reported by several studies, including the National Survey on Drug Use and Health's (2017) report below (Table 1).

Demographic Characteristic	Aged 12+ (2015)	Aged 12+ (2016)	Aged 12-17 (2015)	Aged 12-17 (2016)	Aged 18+ (2015)	Aged 18+ (2016)	Aged 18-25 (2015)	Aged 18-25 (2016)	Aged 26+ (2015)	Aged 26+ (2016)
TOTAL	38,744	38,880	208	212	38,535	38,668	4,074	3,901	34,462	34,767
GENDER										
Male	23,269	23,383	118	104	23,150	23,279	2,420	2,268	20,730	21,011
Female	15,475	15,497	90	108	15,385	15,389	1,653	1,633	13,732	13,756

Table 1 Cocaine use in a lifetime (2015/2016) (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2017: 235)

This table reflects the estimate of males and females who have used cocaine in their lifetime, categorised by age groups in the years 2015 and 2016, numbers in thousands. As this shows, males are estimated to have used cocaine much higher than females in all age groups. This may be indicative of higher numbers of cocaine users among subcultures in which the male to female ratio increases. However, as previously stated, the fans of these subgenres have indicated no significant cocaine use. This implies that there is no link between subgenre and cocaine use. Due to the increased probability that there may be more cocaine users due to an increase of males in these subcultures, and the statistics which suggest no significant increase, it is possible that these subgenres may incite a decline in cocaine use among fans.

The effects of increased confidence and lowered inhibitions attributed to cocaine use may influence users to seek out sexual partners and sexual experiences which they may not normally do sober. The effects of addiction and intoxication can lead to risky behaviours, particularly sexual ones, by compromising the user's judgment and ability to make decisions. This could encourage individuals to exchange sex for drugs or have sex without protection. Many users have also reported having 'invincible' and 'animalistic' sexual experiences due to the influence of cocaine (SexInfo, 2017). A possible connection between rock music, cocaine use and sex, could be the energy and aggression in which they may encompass. In this sense, one may encourage the other through a suitability to one another. Once a connection has been established between sex and cocaine use, reciprocal relapse may occur. Washton (2019) explains how once a strong sex-drug connection has been established, attempts to stay sober are much less effective if sexual behaviours remain present, and the behaviours are powerful triggers for relapse and drug use. Similarly, compulsive sexual behaviours are likely to prompt drug use.

Research has also shown that it may be possible to condition animals to like certain music via cocaine use. Polston & Glick (2011) explore this possibility in their study of cocaine

conditioning in rats. This study created a model in which rats were given control over musical choice, which was between Miles Davis and Beethoven. After establishing musical preference, the rats were conditioned with cocaine to the music that they preferred the least. Initially, rats preferred Beethoven over Miles Davis, though overall they preferred silence. However, after conditioning, the rats preferred Miles Davis. The study concluded that music could cause a conditioned context preference in rats. Therefore, it is possible that this may also be true for humans regarding cocaine and rock music. Considering the possible sex-drug connection explained by Washton (2019), and Polston & Glick's (2011) findings, these connections may form a triad in which rock music, cocaine use and promiscuous sexual behaviours may act as triggers for each other.

Another connection that may encourage rock fans to use cocaine is the themes of the occult, anti-religion and satanism prevalent in rock music and culture. Most religious attitudes toward drug use are negative. In the Christian religion, this may be considered a 'sin', or 'haram' in Islamic tradition. The Bible states "Do not get drunk on wine" (Ephesians 5:18), and most Muslims consider alcohol haram. Similar views may be held towards the satanic messages and anti-religious attitudes discussed in rock music, which may be deemed as blasphemy. Purcell (2003: 40) states, Venom was "among the first bands actually claiming to adhere to satanism". Venom originate from Britain in 1979 and are considered the pioneers of black metal music. Their anti-religious repertoire which influenced many other black metal bands was forged from their heavy metal predecessors such as Black Sabbath. Otterbeck, Mattsson, and Pastene (2018) also state that black metal music is anti-authoritarian and is contrasting with the 'discursively normal'. As previously discussed, messages of anti-authoritarianism and contrasting from the norms of society is a key theme of rock music. Fans may attract to rock music because they relate to the themes of the music. King (1988: 295) states, "In a recently completed study of disturbed adolescents, nearly 60% of chemically dependent youngsters designated heavy metal as their music of choice. The teenagers considered heavy metal the musical expression of forces at work in their lives—violence, promiscuous sex, and increasingly, Satan". This suggests a connection between drug use, violence, sex, the occult, and heavy metal music. If these themes are involved in other subgenres of rock music, it could indicate an increase in drug users in the rock culture. However, studies during this period may be biased due to the influence of criticism and misunderstanding of heavy metal at that time. It is necessary to

understand how these themes are represented in the music and identify any links that may result in substance and cocaine use. Black and death metal music were created through the influence of heavy metal at the end of the 70s and 80s, and they exploit the themes of heavy metal in a more extreme and serious manner. As subgenres of heavy metal, the roots of this music lie in the ideologies of rock and heavy metal music. Therefore, it is important to understand how these key themes of the occult, violence, masculinity, and possible cocaine use originated from their 1970s predecessors.

Rock symbology also depicts images of the devil and occult-related imagery. The most significant and widespread of which is the commonly used rock hand gesture, also known as the sign of the horns. This gesture has many meanings in various cultures. It has historically been associated with devil worship or summoning the devil. The horns representing those of Satan. However, as Introvigne (2016: 467) explains, it was popularised in rock culture by British singer Ronnie James Dio, who was one of the most successful and popular heavy metal icons of the 1970s. Dio explains that this gesture was not intended as a symbol of the devil, but something that he acquired from his Italian grandmother. In Italian superstition, the gesture is called 'Maloik' or the 'evil eye,' which is intended to inflict the evil eye onto another individual or block the evil eye from someone else (Introvigne, 2016: 467). The evil eye is thought to inflict bad luck and misfortune onto those who receive it. In rock culture, it has resumed its prior connotations to the horns of the devil. Bands such as AC/DC have exploited this fact. Figure 19 shows a crowd of AC/DC fans wearing and gesturing devil horns.



Figure 19 A crowd of AC/DC fans in the front rows of the audience at Docklands (Etihad) Stadium, wearing and gesturing devil horns, on 11th February 2010 in Melbourne, Australia. (Taken from <https://rockmusicrevival.com/2018/12/27/youve-been-using-the-devil-horns-wrong-for-years-heres-what-it-really-means/>; accessed April 25th 2020)

This shows how rock music has symbology and themes of the devil and the occult. It is possible that this behaviour may encourage negative behaviour in some individuals by adopting a devil-like persona. Additionally, a common street name for cocaine is ‘the devil’s dandruff.’ Many have simply labelled cocaine as ‘the devil’ due to its destructive and dangerous qualities, which highlights an association between cocaine and the occult. Knowing that cocaine is associated with the devil and that audiences are influenced to adopt a devil-like persona, it is possible that part of this persona may involve cocaine use. The Church of Satan, founded by LaVey in 1996, is arguably the most popular modern satanic movement. However, contrary to historical satanism and popular belief, the ideology of the Church of Satan does not view Satan as a god. According to Stefon (2020) “LaVey presented Satanism not as the practice of evil or as the

worship of an actual Antichrist but as a kind of ethical egoism.” The Church of Satan (n.d.) clearly state on their website that they do not condone illegal activity, particularly the use of illegal substances, which is reinforced by multiple statements made by LaVey. Knowing this, even if rock music references satanic themes and adopts occult symbology and the fans are influenced to follow modern satanic policies, it is unlikely to incite cocaine use due to the negative attitudes posed towards drugs. Additionally, rock music and culture generally does not adhere to satanic and anti-religious attitudes but rather uses these themes as a cathartic and entertaining aspect of their music. Varga (2018) asked Ozzy Osbourne in an interview what he told people who thought Black Sabbath were Satanists. Osbourne responded with, “I’m not a guy that worships the (expletive) devil. When Black Sabbath started, we got invited to an (expletive) graveyard at midnight. We told them: “Our (dark) image is a joke.” As previously discussed, Black Sabbath developed their on-stage personas and musical themes from horror movies. Ozzy Osbourne is agnostic, and Tony Iommi is openly Christian. Though some fans may disregard this fact, it is improbable that the majority take these themes seriously, and would therefore not encourage any satanic, devil worship or occult attitudes and behaviours. However, the more extreme subgenres such as black metal which adhere to these themes may incite historical satanic ideologies. Therefore, it is possible that drug use may appeal to these fans, however, it is improbable that this would cause a significant increase in cocaine use, particularly due to modern satanic values.

Characteristics of rock fans may also include piercings and tattoos as a means of self-expression, or a way to honour or feel closer to their musical icons. Music has influenced many fans and has changed the tattoo culture in the west. DeMello (2014) expands on this development. She discusses how musicians in the west were rarely tattooed prior to the 1970s. Tattoos were often worn by convicts, sailors, soldiers, and often viewed negatively. Janis Joplin was the first to introduce a significant change of perception when she flaunted and openly discussed her tattoos. Shortly afterwards, Ozzy Osbourne, Steven Tyler, Rob Halford, and members of The Rolling Stones got tattoos. It is this development from rock history that has influenced many of the young fans and continued to influence musicians, bringing tattoos further into western culture (DeMello, 2014: 439-440). In Christianity, the bible states “Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the LORD” (Leviticus 19:28), which may be interpreted as tattoos are forbidden. Judaism holds a similar view, and

Orthodox Jews do not permit permanent changes to the body, aside from circumcision. In Islam, tattoos are generally considered haram, however, in Buddhism and Hinduism, tattoos are accepted and sometimes used as part of their culture. Nevertheless, tattoos may be a retaliation to these religious attitudes and may indicate a rebellious nature. Body art has also been associated with risk-taking behaviour and drug use. A study by Carroll, Riffenburgh, Roberts, and Myhre (2002) discovered that,

“Participants with tattoos and/or body piercings were more likely to have engaged in risk-taking behaviors and at greater degrees of involvement than those without either. These included disordered eating behavior, gateway drug use, hard drug use, sexual activity, and suicide. Violence was associated with males having tattoos and with females having body piercings.” (Carroll et al., 2002)

Though this does not confirm that body art influences risk-taking behaviour, it is important to note that many of these factors have been affiliated with rock music and its themes. Particularly, drugs and sexual activity, which are commonly linked through the adage ‘sex ‘n’ drugs ‘n’ rock ‘n’ roll’. Given that rock music has influenced many people to get tattoos and decriminalised them in western culture, this could indicate that the high number of people now with tattoos who are more likely to have engaged in risk-taking behaviour and drug use, are also those influenced by rock culture. However, the indications that tattoos may be anti-religious would arguably not influence drug-using attitudes due to the policies of modern satanism previously stated. Additionally, the other relative themes between rock music and the behaviours associated with body art are seemingly not influential on the fans, given that this research has shown no significant increase among fans for these types of attitudes and behaviours.

Moreover, gateway drugs such as alcohol, tobacco, and possibly cannabis may also lead to cocaine use, particularly by mixing drugs. Polydrug use can cause more unique and pleasurable effects for the user, however, this makes it much more dangerous to consume (Jeurgens, 2020). Some of the most used drugs, particularly for rock musicians and fans, include alcohol, cannabis, and heroin. The combination of heroin and cocaine (a speedball) may produce an intense new high, but it is incredibly dangerous (Jeurgens, 2020). Primack, Douglas, Kraemer (2010) studied the effects of exposure to music referring to cannabis on 9th-grade students in three schools across the United States. The study “supports an independent association between

exposure to cannabis in popular music and early cannabis use among American adolescents” (Primack et al., 2010: 515). Therefore, it is possible that song references to gateway drugs may also ultimately lead to cocaine use, and that cocaine references in music may have a similar effect on adolescents. As previously discussed, most individuals attain their musical preferences in adolescence, which is when they are most susceptible to influence. Consequently, the effects of such references in the music may have a greater, long-lasting effect on the individual.

Despite these possible risks for fans, this does not conclude that rock music and its heavier subgenres directly impose its themes and aggressive nature on fans. Conversely, more recent, and unbiased studies have revealed that the music may induce the opposite effects in its listeners and audiences. North (2010) conducted a study to explore the extent of possible correlations between personality traits and the liking of certain musical styles. 36,518 participants completed an online questionnaire that surveyed their likeness towards 104 different styles of music and their personality traits based on the Big five personality inventory. This study concluded that “the rock metastyle was associated with a mean standardized beta value of 0.006 for ‘gentle’” (North, 2010: 204). The ‘gentle’ categorisation was used as a proxy for the agreeableness trait. This contrasts with the view that anti-authoritarianism links to the liking of such music, and that rock fans are rebellious in nature. Additionally, fans of the heavier styles of rock music such as death and black metal state positive reasons for their preference for the music. Table 2 shows Chaker’s (2016) questionnaire analysis which presents the percentage of the most popular reasons that over 500 male and female death and black metal fans prefer these styles of music. The comparison between men and women portrays the preference for

masculine or less-masculine features among gender for both death and black metal music.

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
This music gives out a lot of energy and power.	53.7	65.9	85.7	80.3
Listening to this music brings me more inner peace.	34.1	35.6	28.6	42.7
I like head banging and dancing.	17.1	26.3	57.1	43.6
The music improves my mood.	46.3	32.2	45.7	63.3
I like the aggressiveness that the music gives off.	41.5	58.5	20.0	52.8
I can work off everyday stress through the music.	56.1	43.9	60.0	61.9
This music opens up another world where I can lose myself in dreams.	34.1	33.7	14.3	8.7
I feel strong and powerful when I'm listening to this music.	2.4	8.3	5.7	10.1
I can blot out feelings by listening to this music.	12.2	13.2	8.6	11.5
I feel balanced and free when I'm listening to this music.	43.9	40.0	48.6	47.7
... (open category)	19.5	16.6	14.3	14.2

Table 2 Reasons for the preference for death (left) /black (right) metal music (Taken from: Reasons for the preference for death (left) /black (right) metal music. In Heesch, F., & Scott, N., (Ed.), Heavy Metal, Gender and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Approaches (p.155). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge; accessed April 25th 2020)

As the report shows, the most popular reason for liking these subgenres is that ‘this music gives out a lot of energy and power’. Fans also recognise and enjoy the aggressiveness of the music. However, they also state that the music brings them more inner peace, improves their mood, and alleviates stress. This reinforces North’s (2010) discoveries and suggests that such heavier styles of rock music may act as a cathartic experience for its listeners. Therefore, although the themes and style of these subgenres of rock are often dark, violent, aggressive, and satanic; they do not influence fans to adopt these attitudes or behaviours. This would also suggest that cocaine references would also not impose this effect.

10. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to identify the way that cocaine has influenced the British rock and metal culture between 1964 and 1980. Based on this multimethodological and interdisciplinary research, it can be concluded that this has occurred in various ways, both positively and negatively. The historical analysis has shown that cocaine has had a cultural relationship with rock, metal, the 1970s, and Britain, and that these relationships have formed societies' attitudes of cocaine, particularly regarding its affiliation with rock culture. An analysis of the ideologies within rock subcultures has shown that drug use is recurrent in rock music and culture. Cocaine's relationship with predating genres has influenced these and has continued to influence music thereafter. Research on cocaine's effects on the body has shown that it has the potential to be used creatively, and the analysis of the music has explored several ways in which this occurs. It is debatable whether the possible positive influences of cocaine outweigh the negative. However, it is arguable that rock music would not have been created without it, and that these works have been consequential to the development of rock and rock culture.

Additionally, cocaine use was a significant part of the lifestyles of many rock artists, including Eric Clapton, David Bowie and Ozzy Osbourne. Although Ian Dury was not an avid cocaine user, cocaine has still played an important part in his life due to his musical references to drugs, and the effect that this had on his life. From the case studies in chapter 8, it is evident that cocaine has had a significant relationship with British rock music and culture, which is shown through its connections with several aspects of the songs in this thesis. This includes the sonic aspects, particularly regarding instrumentation, style, and lyricism, the influences on production and composition, musical performance, and the effects that cocaine has had on the lifestyles of these musicians which in effect manipulated their personas, decisions, and music.

This dissertation also signifies that the preconceived notion that rock music, particularly its heavier subgenres, does not invoke significant increases in cocaine or other substance abuse for fans. Conversely, it is possible that the preferred aspects of heavy rock subgenres provide balance and contentment that may discourage drug use or need for them.

For future studies, this research would provide useful information and a framework which may be used to determine the effects of various drugs on other musical cultures of different countries and genres. It is possible that this dissertation may enable future studies to pre-empt trends in music depending on increases of certain drugs in other cultures and countries. However, considering that this research shows that music is likely to not influence drug use among fans, it is unlikely that drug references in music will indicate a foreseeable rise in musical cultures due to their influence.

To further comprehend the possible creative aspects of drugs, future studies could employ a scientific approach to determine their effects on creative individuals regarding changes in style or an increase or decrease in their artistic abilities. However, this is subject to ethical research designs which are ethically approved, due to the direct testing of drugs.

Though music and performance have the power to influence fans, more research is needed to determine how individuals react to music that references cocaine. To further this research, I suggest that an analysis of the data of EEG brain scans of audiences and listeners should be conducted to determine similarities in reaction to music with cocaine references. Similar themes may be determined between performer and audience member. This may offer answers to why and how drug-referencing music and performance may affect people's emotions, likeability for the music, and decision to use drugs.

More research is required to establish a connection between cocaine use and record sales. An empirical study among fans of numerous subgenres, and an examination of the factors which may be indicative of any increase, such as sex, age groups, and use of other substances may help achieve this. Correlations between specific genres, such as an increase in aggression or males in male dominated subgenres, may also aid this connection.

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