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The Hardest Hate: A Sociological Analysis of Country Hate Music

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This research offers an ethno-musicological content analysis of country hate music from the 1960s. This analysis explains hate motivation in music by examining lyrics and musical themes in 23 songs. This research considers how white racial extremists use music to advance their goals and movement objectives through lyrics that dehumanize African-Americans and create imagery of white unity and solidarity. Most of the scholarly literature on "hate music" examines bands from the 1970s, such as the English band Skrewdriver, and hate-motivated heavy metal and racist skinhead music (Cotter). This study breaks new ground by examining an all-but-ignored time period in the history of the music of white racial extremists.

Introduction

Ethno-musicologists contend that music is a universal medium for conveying messages and meaning to listeners. So-called "hate music" is a medium used to spread intolerance, bias, prejudice, and disdain for particular "groups" held in low esteem by certain segments of society. Such music can serve to label, devalue, persecute, and scapegoat particular groups of people—namely minorities. While much recent attention has been given to "hate rock" (e.g. Brown; Cotter; Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk; Hamm), such as racist skinhead and neo-Nazi music (e.g. Skrewdriver, Rahowa), there have been no empirical examinations of hate themes found within country music. This absence is particularly noteworthy given that rock music's genesis can be traced to folk and country genres. Our purpose is to examine songs that pre-date the formal advent of "hate rock" in the 1970s. We call these songs "country hate music" because they can be placed in the country music genre based on their musical style.

We contend that music which pre-dates hate rock merits examination given that these musical traditions build upon one another. In addition, "hate music" encompasses much more than "hate rock" given the origins of rock music (i.e. folk

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tradition, country music, blue-grass, Americana). Our purpose is to examine a select group of songs that can be classified as "country hate music." These songs appeared on a few rather obscure labels in the 1960s. This analysis will provide a greater understanding of modern forms of intolerant music by examining some of the hate-based music which came before it. Such an examination aids in a better understanding of white racial extremist movements and activists both during the 1960s and today. With this goal in mind, we first address literature related to music, particularly as it is used in social movements. We also provide a brief discussion of the social psychology of hate and prejudice before a discussion of the country-based music that is the basis of this analysis.

Literature Review

While the sociological and rhetorical examination of music within society is rather extensive (Blaukopf; Martin; Shepherd), there is a shortage of literature that specifically examines hate music and its lyrics within popular culture (Brown; Cotter; Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk; Hamm). The available literature on music and society may be found in a number of different venues; most is located in journals that devote attention to the influences of popular culture and society. As Adorno noted, there has been significant academic examination of the sociology of music in general, and the role of music in social movements in particular. Music is a common social phenomenon—a cultural universal if you will—that spans nations, peoples, and societies. Music has many functions; it has been used to comfort in times of need, to entertain, to seek spiritual connectedness, to help pass the time, to persuade, and to provide rhythmic continuity to various social causes and ideologies.

Research conducted on the relationship between social movements and music indicates that music provides social movements with important themes, social meaning, and a sense of connectedness (Eyerman; Eyerman and Jamison; Rosenthal). Such "protest music" has been an important conduit for popularizing social movements—typically those of the political Left (Denisoff and Levine; Knupp; Kramer; Rodnitzky; Rosenthal; Roy). As Stewart, Smith, and Denton (2001) maintain, music in social movements possesses multiple functions, including the identification of direction and purpose, achieving movement legitimacy, requesting social change, and promoting members' commitment to the "movement." Perhaps a function more in line with any ideologically driven music is "serving the committed" (Rosenthal). In addition, Rosenthal notes that protest music can facilitate conversion to the movement's cause by "inoculating" society to its values. Therefore, new converts may face less resistance to the idea of joining the movement.

Different genres of music often reflect differing tastes and audiences. In the case of protest music, different musical traditions may be adopted by various social movements to reflect their respective ideologies (Eyerman and Jamieson). Music, then, serves as one representation of the differences perceived among individuals and groups. From a social psychological perspective, music can socially construct

meaning. Meaning, then, in the form of labels, stereotypes, and scapegoating can be easily and effectively conveyed through lyrics. However, the effectiveness of such symbolic conveyances is dependent on the meaning of words that are produced via the interaction between and among people (Blumer; Mead). The meaning of words—in our case lyrics—cannot be fully understood outside the context of social, or symbolic, interaction. Lyrics carry significance because the words in lyrics carry shared meaning for a particular group of people.

Shared meaning is also carried in the labels that we attach to groups of people. Allport maintains that social labels create defined in-groups and out-groups. As such, in-group members are afforded the opportunity to define out-group members with negative social identifiers. Typically, these socially constructed identifiers create a sense of group unity. They are intended to foster consensus among group members and provide the social psychological means by which individual difference can be ignored. An example of labeling is the practice of scapegoating, whereby out-groups are blamed for the misfortune and unhappiness found among members of the in-group (Allport; Tsesis). Negative social labeling and the companion practice of scapegoating are powerful societal forces that often go unchallenged by the true believer (Tsesis 85–98). White racialists use white power music (WPM) to convey such messages (Brown; Cotter; Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk) much like their predecessors.

Methodology

This study employs an ethno-musicological content analysis (Berg) to examine the lyrics found in a select number of country-based hate songs. As noted by Bresler, "Ethnomusicology aims to understand music in the context of human behavior. The researcher is concerned with broad questions of the use and function of music, the role and status of the musician, the concepts which lie behind music behavior and other similar issues." One of the means to understand these issues is to examine the lyrical content of the music as the lyrics often convey various levels of meanings. Content analysis is a standard approach used in the social sciences when examining the substance of a message. Sociologist Earl Babbie defines this approach as "the study of recorded human communications, such as books, web sites, paintings and laws". The well-known political scientist Harold Lasswell formulated the core questions of communication theory and content analysis: "Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect?" Ole Holsti offers a broad definition of content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (14).

Content analysis allows the researcher to examine a text—regardless of its form—for meaning. This meaning can take the form of manifest content or latent content (application of Merton). Manifest content is that which is apparent on the surface and is easily understood. Latent content is the social meaning carried by the content and is understood after a deeper analysis of the text. Latent content, then, must be

interpreted based on the presumed meaning or symbolic aspects of the text and is carried by the content itself (which can be sociologically analyzed as demonstrated by Maxfield and Babbie, among others). Thus the manifest content is direct, obvious, and intentional, while the latent content is indirect, subtle, and unintentional. In this study, the lyrics of our sample carry both manifest and latent content. Thus, content analysis is a systematic examination of the content of messages and the meaning found in those messages (Maxfield and Babbie). Our primary units of analysis are the songs examined while more specific units are the lyrics themselves. In all, we searched for emergent themes.

Before we present the manifest and latent content along with our analysis and findings, it is appropriate to discuss the music examined within this study. Twenty-three songs were analyzed.[1] All were originally 45 rpm (record singles) and were transferred digitally to CDs for transcription and coding by the researchers. The songs appeared on a number of different record labels, including Reb Rebel Records, Nash-T Records, Reb-Time Records, and Conservative Records. The songs also featured a number of different performers (i.e. individuals or performing groups), including the Son of Mississippi, Happy Fats, the Klansman, Colonel Sharecropper, Colonel Lou, the Dixie Greys, Odis Cochran and the Three Bigots, and Johnny Rebel.[2] The labels and performers can be traced to the civil rights struggle of the 1960s. As Malone notes:

> The struggles waged by black Americans to attain economic dignity and racial justice provided one of the ugliest chapters in country music history, an outpouring of racist records on small labels, mostly from Crowley, Louisiana, which lauded the Ku Klux Klan and attacked blacks (generally called niggers and coons) in the most vicious of stereotyped terms. (317)

The 23 songs in our sample were categorized and analyzed based on the manifest and latent content of their lyrics.

Hate Music Analysis and Findings

The songs we examined expressed hatred in a wide variety of ways. Some songs are spoken word, backed by such well-known scores as "America the Beautiful" and "Dixie." Other songs use unfamiliar, but upbeat and rousing, musical scores. Some songs make use of humor, while others are serious in their tone and expression. Some songs are filled with anger and calls for action against African-Americans, the federal government, or other perceived enemies (e.g. hippies, the NAACP). Still other songs use a more subtle approach in expressing perceived grievances against perceived enemies.

Despite the wide variety of country hate music examined, two broad categories emerged from the analysis of lyrics and musical presentation. These categories distinguished between the songs' symbolism and expression of ideology, values, and beliefs. Confrontational Hate Music is the first category. Confrontational Hate Music contains explicit expressions of hate, prejudice, racism, and white supremacy.

Confrontational Hate Music is actively engaged in political and social protest against perceived others, notably African-Americans. It actively and publicly confronts what the musicians or lyricists[3] perceived as social, political, and, of course, racial problems.

We call the second category of music Social Hate Music. Social Hate Music does not contain explicit white supremacist symbols, lyrics, or obvious racist metaphors. These musicians appear to be engaged in a quieter, less obvious attempt to transform the social system through musical critique. Much like social movement and counter-movement efforts of "boring from within," the songs that conform to this approach used music to criticize social conditions without using obvious hate motivation. While these musicians might conceivably have seen themselves as more subtle "white power advocates" or part of a broader social movement, we lack the evidence to conclude that they defined themselves this way. Their social critiques express concern with the "state of the country", but they did not present themselves as active white supremacists bent on forcefully defending white privilege.

Songs within the Social Hate Music category reflect an attempt to influence political and civic life directly through the attention generated by the music. For a musician to make and release music indicates that he has something to say, an opinion or concern to share. That there are members of the racist extreme, other than the infamous David Duke, following an often indirect strategy, raises many questions about the future of racism and white supremacy. Unfortunately, quite frequently the use of indirect music is overlooked or under-analyzed by most research on the extreme racist right (e.g. the work of Aho in *The Politics of Righteousness* and *This Thing of Darkness*; Ezekiel; Shanks-Meilie and Dobratz). Similarly, efforts at political positioning and coalition building among white racialists are frequently ignored and dismissed across the literature. Most scholarly attention is directed toward confrontational white supremacist activity such as the hate rock of Resistance Records. In many respects, the effort among the Social Hate Music musicians may be akin to the slow and patient political work of activists on the Christian right (see especially Sara Diamond's *Road to Dominion*). Musicians who adopt the Social Hate Music approach to conceal or minimize their racism via more socially palatable lyrics may do so to better advance long-term objectives. They may seek to hide their past or current activism within the broader white supremacist movement to gain access to political and social opportunities by bringing music fans to racist ideas and images. Another possibility is that these musicians are simply unaware of the consequences of the lyrics that they write.

Symbolic Themes in Confrontational Hate Music

After a thorough transcription of all of the songs analyzed in this research, the authors identified several key themes that fit into the categories of Confrontational Hate Music and Social Hate Music. Haig Bosmajian, author of *The Language of Oppression*, asserts that "the language of racism has been used for years to 'keep the

nigger in his place'" (7). This is readily apparent in Confrontational Hate Music due to the direct and obvious use of racist terms, symbolism, and metaphors. The themes evident in Confrontational Hate Music articulate the musicians' perceptions of African-Americans and others fighting for civil rights, offer a rationale for resisting the socio-political changes sought by the Civil Rights movement, and issued a call for "White unity" to protect Southern traditions of racism and white privilege. These themes combine to create the encompassing theme of the need for political, economic, and cultural segregation that illustrates the musicians' ideological stance on the social order.

Dehumanization of African-Americans

One of the most dominant themes in Confrontational Hate Music is the effort to deny the humanity of African-Americans. Confrontational Hate Music musicians justify their desire to continue oppressing African-Americans by reaching for a rhetorical strategy commonly used by forces of oppression—linguistic dehumanization of perceived enemies. The dehumanization of African-Americans is as old as the practice of slavery in the United States. According to John Oliver Killens:

> To justify slavery in a courageous new world which was spouting slogans of freedom and equality and brotherhood, the enslavers [colonists from England], through their propagandists, had to create the fiction that the enslaved people were subhuman and undeserving of human rights and sympathies. (cited in Bosmajian 35–36)

By painting African-Americans as inferior to whites in song lyrics, a linguistic wedge is driven between the races. Not only are Whites and Blacks portrayed as different, but one is described as superior to the other based on the meaning ascribed to their skin color (Allport). However, a more insidious implication is also illustrated—African-Americans are also portrayed as inferior to *human beings*. Thus, proponents of slavery successfully defended the practice from both a cultural and a legal perspective.[4]

Confrontational Hate Music musicians maintain this linguistic tradition via two tactics of dehumanization. First, they depict African-Americans as animals such as chimpanzees or other types of primates ("Nigger Hatin' Me," "Ship Those Niggers Back," "That's the Way a Nigger Goes," "Who Likes a Nigger?"), raccoons (i.e. "Coons") ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan," "Lookin' for a Handout," "Ship Those Niggers Back"), mules ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan," "Lookin' for a Handout," "Who Likes a Nigger?"), donkeys ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan," "Who Likes a Nigger?"), and bucks ("Ship Those Niggers Back"). This is most apparent in a song entitled "Ship Those Niggers Back":

> Shout for joy.
> White man's day is here.
> Hand that chimp his ugly stick
> And that buck his spear.

In this instance, African-Americans are dehumanized via their comparison to animals. The reference to "spear" also invokes images of Africa, thus setting up the chorus's call to "Send those apes to the trees, Ship those niggers back."

A second tactic of dehumanization points to another age-old cultural practice—portraying African-Americans in a highly cartooned fashion as "Jigaboos." This construct references stereotypical features that are used to describe the appearance of African-Americans as significantly different from and inferior to whites. The song "I's Gonna Stay a Jig" delineates some of these features:

> I was just poor Arkansas white trash,
> ...
> But now I've found the secret to success.
> I'm gonna black my face, kink my hair, grow me some lips,
> And I'm gonna stay a Jig.

Other physical features are described in the song "That's the Way a Nigger Goes":

> Nigger, nigger tell them lies.
> Black face and bloodshot eyes.
> Crooked toes and crooked nose
> That's the way a nigger goes.

The portrayal of this stereotyped appearance robs African-Americans of their humanity. It reduces them to cartoon imagery and fails to acknowledge their innate human needs, emotions, interests, and dreams. These socially stigmatizing lyrics dehumanize African-Americans further by suggesting genetic, cultural, and social inferiority. And, as a cartoon of genetic inferiority, they are presented as still less than human, thus making it easier to continue denying them their basic human and political rights.

Infantilization of African-Americans

A second theme that emerges from our analysis is that African-Americans are more child-like than whites. Based on our analysis, much of Confrontational Hate Music depicts African-Americans as incapable of independent thought and action. In keeping with the theme of dehumanization, these songs typically described African-Americans as weak, ignorant, easily led by others, and capable only of "doing as they are told." Those issuing the commands are privileged Whites and leaders of the Civil Rights movement. These individuals *act upon* African-Americans who are presented as incapable of social agency. For example, the songs "Move Them Niggers North" and "Ship Those Niggers Back" argue that discontented African-Americans should be relocated from the American South. The chorus of the former song states in direct terms:

> Move them niggers North.
> Move them niggers North.
> If they don't like our Southern ways,
> Move them niggers North.

"Ship Those Niggers Back" contends that African-Americans should be sent back to Africa rather than being "allowed to remain" in the United States. This song depicts whites acting upon African-Americans through the character of a Black man who is

forcibly placed in a leaky boat, cast out to sea with no compass, and left to drown. Whenever he complains about his plight, the audience hears sounds of a board hitting something and the African-American man cries out in pain. He is not consulted about his desire to relocate to Africa nor is he forceful in demanding that he be returned to safety. Rather, he is depicted as a weak and complaining character who lacks the ability to act on his own behalf.

Even songs that feature African-Americans who are actively campaigning for their civil rights portray them as followers rather than as decision makers. In "Lookin' for a Handout," African-Americans follow the commands of civil rights leaders without question: "But when their leader says, 'Hey nigger, demonstrate.'/Why, them Jigaboos don't even hesitate." Thus, African-Americans are infantilized and depicted as incapable of independent action.

African-Americans as Undeserving of Rights

A third recurring theme in Confrontational Hate Music songs is that African-Americans do not merit understanding, sympathy, or political, legal, and social rights. Within this theme, musicians argue that African-Americans do not "deserve" the legal rights for which they are pressing the state. This tactic of resistance is commonly used by those in positions of power and privilege. According to Bosmajian, "the resistance usually comes from the oppressor or would-be oppressor and is the result of the fact that he or she does not want to relinquish the power which comes from the ability to define others" (10). Confrontational Hate Music songs depict Whites in a favorable manner while presenting African-Americans as a problem for American society.

In Confrontational Hate Music, this argument is built upon several premises. The first premise follows from the portrayal of African-Americans as "subhuman." Confrontational Hate Music musicians contend that, because African-Americans are not human and are incapable of independent action, they should not receive basic human rights, let alone the same rights that are extended to white Americans. This is most obvious in lyrics that depict white violence against African-Americans (see discussion of "White Violence" below). Such violence is deemed as warranted because African-Americans are not content to "stay in their place."

Another premise embedded in these lyrics asserts that "rights" are a condition of skin color. This is best articulated in "That's the Way a Nigger Goes":

> They [Blacks] might as well give up the fight
> No federal judge can make them white.
> The job is up to you and me.
> Let's beat the NAACP.

The second line in this stanza suggests that the "rights" being sought by African-Americans are an exclusive condition of whiteness. Not even a powerful representative of the judiciary can alter this condition.

The infantilization of African-Americans also contributes to their depiction as being undeserving of political and social rights. In large part, it is used to portray them as idle and "shiftless." According to Confrontational Hate Music, African-Americans lack ambition ("Lookin' for a Handout," "Who Likes a Nigger?"), have no desire to improve their plight through education ("Lookin' for a Handout"), fail to pay taxes ("That's the Way a Nigger Goes"), and possess a sense of entitlement ("I's Gonna Stay a Jig," "Lookin' for a Handout"). In other words, African-Americans cannot provide for themselves and so expect to be provided for by others. "Lookin' for a Handout" makes this point in the following way:

> They're [African-Americans] hard headed as a dad-blamed mule.
> And the only reason they go to school
> Is so they can learn to sign their names
> When they become members of the welfare line.

Such depictions reinforce negative social stereotypes about African-Americans and create positive depictions of white Americans. Thus, Confrontational Hate Music musicians are able to cast African-Americans in a negative light by questioning their motivations and values (just as their humanity and intelligence was questioned in earlier themes).

Governmental Enablement of African-Americans

A fourth theme that emerged from analysis of these song lyrics relates to the role of the government. Several pieces of Confrontational Hate Music represented the federal government as facilitating the "shiftless" behavior of African-Americans by providing them with public assistance ("I's Gonna Stay a Jig," "Nigger Hatin' Me," "That's the Way a Nigger Goes," "Who Likes a Nigger?"). For example, the song "Nigger Hatin' Me" contends that the federal government provides such financial assistance to African-Americans alone:

> You gotta be black to get a welfare check.
> And I'm broke, no joke....
> And I ain't black you see,
> So Uncle Sam won't help poor nigger hatin' me.

Here, the song writer indicates that African-Americans expect to receive assistance without earning or working for it. In these song lyrics, this sense of entitlement appears to be recognized and condoned by the federal government.

Integrators as Troublemakers

A fifth theme not only examines what is presented as poor decision-making of social movement actors, but further supports the theme that African-Americans must be led. Within Confrontational Hate Music, anyone who supports the advancement of civil rights is considered the enemy. Social movement theorists (e.g. Stewart, Smith,

and Denton; Bowers, Ochs, and Jensen) argue that the presence of an oppositional force is essential to the existence and development of social movements. In this instance, the lyrics of Confrontational Hate Music identify several specific enemies, all of whom seek to integrate Southern society: the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan," "Move Them Niggers North," "Nigger Hatin' Me," "We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools," "Old Uncle Joe," "That's the Way a Nigger Goes"), the NAACP ("Nigger Hatin' Me"), federal judges ("We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools," "That's the Way a Nigger Goes"), the President ("Lookin' for a Handout," "Nigger Hatin' Me"). For example, the lyrics of "Nigger Hatin' Me" state,

> Mirror, mirror on the wall,
> Who is the blackest of them all?
> A man named King, it ain't no doubt.
> He's causin' trouble with his baboon mouth.

As these lyrics indicate, those who seek integration are "stirring up trouble." They cause trouble primarily by convincing African-Americans that they should reject their assigned place in traditional Southern society. African-Americans who follow their calls are depicted as regretting their decisions. Such is the case of Levi Coon, the unfortunate character in "Kajun Ku Klux Klan" who was tortured by the Klan for demanding that he be served in a café (see discussion of "White Violence" below). As the songs ends, Levi exclaims, "Oh lawzy [*sic*], White folks, I didn't mean a thing. Why did I have to listen to that demonstrator King?"

White Violence

An especially disturbing theme is the theme of white violence which is called upon to protect white privilege and Southern society. Confrontational Hate Music frequently portrays acts of violence being enacted upon African-Americans by Whites. The list of acts is lengthy and includes drowning ("She Died a Nigger," "Ship Those Niggers Back"), beating ("Ship Those Niggers Back"), tarring and feathering ("That's the Way a Nigger Goes"), shooting ("Nigger Hatin' Me"), using Blacks as bait during alligator hunts ("Who Likes a Nigger?"), and other unidentified acts of torture ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan"). This violence is depicted as a legitimate tool for resisting attacks on the oppressive status quo. However, none of the songs examined explicitly calls upon Whites to commit violence against African-Americans. Rather, the violence is suggested within the context of narratives and appears to serve as a warning designed to keep African-Americans "in their place." For example, the narrator of "Kajun Ku Klux Klan," which chronicles the story of Levi Coon noted above, explains:

> They tied up both his hands.
> He was at the mercy of the Cajun Ku Klux Klan....
> Levi knew it too.
> I knew what kind of torture they would put that nigger through.

This story tells African-Americans what could happen to them if they continue to demand rights to which they are not entitled. Acts of retaliation also are depicted as inevitable. As the lyrics of "Nigger Hatin' Me" assert:

> You know it, cause I'll show it.
> Stick your black head out and I'll blow it.
> And the NAACP can't keep you away
> From little old nigger-hatin' me.

In this instance, even an influential organization like the NAACP could provide no protection to an African-American man should a White man wish him harm.

Need for White Unity

Confrontational songs such as "We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools," "Move Them Niggers North," "That's the Way a Nigger Goes", and "Nigger Hatin' Me" make both implicit and explicit calls for white solidarity, the seventh theme that emerged from our analysis of these songs. Whites are called upon to safeguard the "Southern ways" that provide for white privilege. Identification is the primary rhetorical tactic through which this theme is enacted. The artists of Confrontational Hate Music attempt to promote perceptions of common ground to encourage other Whites to help protect their lifestyle from the threats being posed by the advocates for civil rights.

In *Language as Symbolic Action* and *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke describes several means by which communicators can promote a sense of identification with an audience. Two of these are evident in Confrontational Hate Music. The first type involves use of the "assumed we," a tactic that attempts subtly to promote perceptions of common ground, often by using plural pronouns. This is very evident in the chorus of "We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools":

> Oh, we don't want niggers in our schools.
> We're not for integration.
> Keep those niggers in their place,
> We'll have a better nation.

This same song asserts that only through a strong, unified front can "Southern ways" be preserved:

> Form a solid line of white men,
> Conservative we'll be.
> They'll never, ever overcome.
> Our schools will still be free.

The second tactic of identification evident in Confrontational Hate Music is "identification by antithesis," which advances the notion of a shared enemy. In Confrontational Hate Music, the common enemy consists of forces that are promoting civil rights. In "Move Them Niggers North," the common enemy consists of Northern civil rights workers:

Our South has been invaded by trashy lookin' crews.
They'll change our ways and take our schools
Away from me and you.
It's time for us to make a stand to keep our Southern way.

The songs also refer to several other "enemies" through which identification is encouraged: the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the NAACP, officials of the federal government and judiciary, and African-Americans who believe that they should be guaranteed the same rights as Whites (see discussion of "Integrators as Troublemakers" above).

Segregation

The theme of segregation is readily apparent in all of the Confrontational Hate Music examined in this study. Segregation entails preserving the historical racial division extant within Southern society. Whites are to maintain their positions of privilege and the inferior blacks are to "stay in their place." According to the lyrics of "Lookin' for a Handout," African-Americans are to "stop causin' all this trouble and be a good ole' nigger instead":

Don't try to integrate.
Be glad to segregate.
It's better that way,
Much better that way.

"That's the Way a Nigger Goes" echoes this refrain:

They'll never be as good as me.
We won't let them integrate.
We must always segregate.
Keep 'em in their place.

Confrontational Hate Music delineates a number of behaviors through which African-Americans can demonstrate that they are "staying in their place." These are largely cast as what they "shouldn't do" rather than behaviors in which they are encouraged to engage. For example, African-Americans are not to demand service at a café ("Kajun Ku Klux Klan"), attend White schools ("Move Them Niggers North," "We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools"), date outside their race ("She Died a Nigger"), march and demonstrate for equality ("That's the Way a Nigger Goes," "Kajun Ku Klux Klan"), or engage in any other behavior that "mixes up the races" ("Move Them Niggers North"). Thus, African-Americans should ignore, if not reject, the calls for change articulated by the civil rights movement. And, as the "White Violence" theme makes clear, African-Americans who fail to do so are subject to violent treatment by Whites.

The theme of "Segregation" appears to be a grander theme than the others that emerged from our analysis.[5] It is explicitly articulated within many of the songs and encompasses all of the other themes evident in the Confrontational Hate Music examined herein. In the language of Bormann's symbolic convergence theory ("Fantasy

and Rhetorical Vision," "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: Ten Years Later"; Bormann, Cragan, and Shields "In Defense of Symbolic Convergence Theory," "An Expansion of the Rhetorical Vision Component"), this theme represents the communicator's "rhetorical vision." According to Bormann, a rhetorical vision is the "unified putting together of the various scripts that gives the participants a broader view of things" ("Symbolic Convergence Theory" 133). As such, the vision is a wide-ranging narrative that catches up all of the smaller themes upon which it is built. It functions to delineate communicators' perceptions of reality, inform their understanding of their past and future, ground their values and ethical code, and guide their behavior. According to Bormann ("Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision," "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: Ten Years Later"), this vision can be "chained out," or spread, to others through a variety of channels, including the media. Once chained out to a larger group, the rhetorical vision can provide the motivation for group action. In this case, Confrontational Hate Music artists' vision of segregation is chained out to its audience through their recordings.

In the final analysis, Confrontational Hate Music establishes several attempts to justify hate crime and other forms of violence to protect a tradition and way of life that is seen as increasingly under siege by activists and African-Americans. These recordings delineate a divisive view of the world that legitimizes extant perceptions of African-Americans' inferiority and issues calls to maintain systems of oppression, even if it means employing violence to do so.

Themes in Social Hate Music

As noted earlier, Social Hate Music is more subtle than Confrontational Hate Music in its expression of hatred and protection of white privilege. In general, it delivers a critique of social and political life that is likely to be more palatable to the general public. The themes embedded in the Social Hate Music examined in this study form a narrative. The main characters are beleaguered white Southerners whose lifestyle is being threatened by federal forces that are supporting calls for integration and social change. These forces seek to restrict the "freedoms" and "liberties" enjoyed by Southerners. As in Confrontational Hate Music, the musicians call upon white Southerners to unite in defense of their homeland and way of life. However, the manner in which they do so is different.

Need for White Unity

The first and dominant theme that emerges from an analysis of Social Hate Music is the social and political need for white solidarity in the face of forces for social change. Much like songs that were confrontational in nature, Social Hate Music also displays a concern with generating and maintaining solidarity among white Americans. And, as before, the tool of identification is the primary device used toward this end. For example, the "assumed we" is evident in "Constitution Wagon," a campaign song written to support George Wallace's bid for the presidency:

We've had some others come and go,
And now look at the mess.
George Wallace is the man we need.
You know he is the best.

The use of the "assumed we" subtly suggests that the interests of the speaker and listener are joined in support of George Wallace.

Identification by antithesis also is apparent in a variety of songs. The enemies identified primarily are people "agitating" for civil rights ("Segregation Wagon," "Granddaddy Frog," "Black Power") and representatives of the federal government, including judges and the President ("Dear Mr. President," "Voice of Alabama"). Although the song "Black Power" is the only one in our sample that explicitly identifies African-Americans as an opposition force, it does provides a strong example of identification by antithesis in its call for White unity:

The ones who shout "Black Power"
Would bury you and me....
White men, stand together and register to vote.
Don't let them take away our land.

Identification also is promoted through references to Southerners' heritage. Specifically, artists employ symbols related to the Civil War, the most prominent federal "challenge" to the South prior to this time. Specifically, several songs reference "Johnny Rebel" ("Johnny Reb," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W.") and the Confederate flag ("Black Power," "Johnny Reb," "Segregation Wagon"). However, several songs ("Dear Mr. President," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W.," "Voice of Alabama") make it clear that these musicians view themselves as proud Americans as well. This allows them to capitalize on their Southern heritage while simultaneously noting their allegiance to the nation as a whole. Thus, they can circumvent the negative ramifications associated with their loyalty to the South.

Saving the Southland

The primary goal of Social Hate Music is to preserve the traditional lifestyle of the American South. This is the second recurring theme in Social Hate Music . Although the specific nature of this lifestyle is not delineated, the songs clearly articulate the desire to maintain the status quo. This is best illustrated in "Segregation Wagon":

To defend our Southern way of life,
We pledge our hearts and hands....
Our way of life we must protect;
It's up to me and you.

This song goes on to indicate that a key means of saving the South is to "drive out" the agitators. The battle metaphor in these lyrics and those of several other songs ("Johnny Reb," "Stand Up and Be Counted," "Why the KKK Burns the Cross") characterizes White Southerners as soldiers being called to war to defend their land

from interlopers. Such warriors are lionized in the song "Johnny Reb," which offers a nostalgic depiction of a brave Southern soldier during the Civil War:

> Johnny Reb was from the Southland
> Where the cotton grows so tall.
> And at the age of seventeen
> He heard his country's call....

Songs that incorporate the battle metaphor suggest that Southerners are willing to engage in violence and lay down their lives for their cause.

Threat to Freedoms

According to Social Hate Music, white Southerners are being called upon to defend their homeland because of a threat against the freedoms that they enjoy. These freedoms include the free exercise of the states over matters and issues not expressly given to the United States federal government in the Consitution. The issue of states' rights is a clear concern in Social Hate Music ("Segregation Wagon," "Vote for George Wallace"), freedom of choice ("Dear Mr. President," "Granddaddy Frog," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W."), and freedom of speech ("Granddaddy Frog," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W.," "Voice of Alabama"). This approach constitutes the third theme that arose in the analysis. The dangers are depicted most dramatically in several songs that critique the use of federal troops to address Southern discord. For example, the "Voice of Alabama" states:

> Are we not the same Americans
> That helped defend this great country of ours?...
> Then why did you send combat-ready troops
> All the way down here to my cotton field?

Some songs illustrate the threat to freedom posed by specific governmental action. For example, the lyrics to "Christmas Letter" provide a satirical look at the implications stemming from Title Two of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In this spoken word song, a store owner writes to his customers and employees that several steps must be taken to assure that the store complies with the new legislation:

> First, all Christmas trees must have at least 28.4 per cent colored bulbs.
> And they must be placed throughout the tree and not segregated in any manner.
> Second, Christmas presents cannot be wrapped in white paper....
> Under no circumstances is "I'm Dreamin' of a White Christmas" to be played.

These lyrics, which extend the federal legislation to illogical and ridiculous ends, demonstrate the frustration that White Southerners felt given their perceptions of the federal government's intrusion into their freedom.

Integrators as Troublemakers

A fourth theme in Social Hate Music focuses on the threat to Southern freedoms that is posed by those who are advancing the cause of integration. While this theme

appears in both brands of country hate music, Social Hate Music tends to identify a smaller list of "troublemakers." The list does include "agitators," but the judiciary, particularly federal judges and the Supreme Court ("Dear Mr. President," "Granddaddy Frog," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W.") and the President ("Granddaddy Frog," "Voice of Alabama"), are denoted as the primary "troublemakers." For example, in the satirical "Dear Mr. President," the artist argues that he is confused by the changes enacted by the federal judiciary and legislators. In his "letter," the artist asks the President to clarify the law with regard to several daily activities:

> My white coon dog won't hunt with my black bird dog.
> Could I get an injunction to make 'em hunt together?
> The black dog won't hunt coons and the white dog won't hunt birds.
> Do you suppose the judge can use legal persuasion on them?

The songs that feature this theme intimate that the movement toward integration is not only unwanted, but is resented. Still, some restraint is evident in the songs' tone. The musicians do not become strident and do not demonize the opposition when vocalizing their discontent.

Noticeably absent from Social Hate Music are attempts to paint African-Americans and leaders of the Civil Rights movement as "troublemakers." In Social Hate Music, the integrators make trouble not by marching and demonstrating, but by legislating and enacting law.

Segregation

Like Confrontational Hate Music, Social Hate Music also is grounded in a segregationist ideology which constitutes the final theme in Social Hate Music. However, in this instance, the ideology does not appear to be rooted in an overt concern with race. In fact, race is seldom mentioned in this brand of hate-motivated music. Rather, Social Hate Music appears to be more concerned with its ability to grapple with what artists view as federal interference in the sovereignty of the American South. The federal government is depicted as the primary threat to the traditional Southern lifestyle, rather than African-Americans who will not "stay in their place." A wide variety of action is suggested to deal with this threat, including petitions to leaders ("Dear Mr. President," "To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W.," "Voice of Alabama"), voting ("Constitution Wagon," "Vote for George Wallace"), and physical resistance ("Black Power," "Johnny Reb," "Segregation Wagon," "Stand Up and Be Counted," "Why the KKK Burns the Cross"). The segregation theme also serves as a grand theme in Social Hate Music, much as it does in Confrontational Hate Music . The other themes evident in this brand of hate-motivated music are encompassed by it and it grounds the artists' perceptions of the world around them.

Conclusions

Hate-motivated music is forged in the interacting realms of culture, politics, musicianship, and the law. The themes that arose from our analysis of this music

demonstrate a powerful social effort to bar the full practice of citizenship by African-Americans. Taken together, the lyrics and presentation of Confrontational Hate Music appear to justify hate crimes and other extra-legal actions to advance a perspective that disenfranchises African-Americans from full citizenship. While the symbolism in the music is distinct and less directly confrontational, Social Hate Music also encourages disparaging, racist, and disturbing views of African-Americans. The authors contend that, even given the differences in Confrontational Hate Music and Social Hate Music, the anticipated outcomes of this music are the same.

The question remains as to whether these musicians and social actors were able to convince individuals and members of white racial extremist movements to band together in the protection of white American Southern culture. Also unknown is whether these songs led directly to the commission of hate crimes. However, the fact that these songs were recorded and distributed to the public indicates the presence of an intolerant dimension of American culture that fought integration and the Civil Rights movement through music.

Future researchers should investigate and compare regional and local efforts to create and disseminate hate music. Research also is required that compares the actors, music, and lyrics of different forms of hate-motivated and racist music. For example, what does a comparison of neo-Nazi and racist skinhead music with country hate music illustrate about such music? Do they share lyrical themes? Is either form of music more closely tied to social and counter movements? This research fills a gap previously ignored by most studies of white racial extremist music. By combining an understanding of the "hate music" of the 1960s with future research, we may gain more insight into the evolution of hate music and the importance this music has for actors within the white racialist movement.

Notes

[1] The authors would like to express their appreciation to Dr Charles J. Stewart (Professor, Communication Department, Purdue University) for his generosity in contributing recordings of hate music to our sample.

[2] Not all of the recordings we examined were properly labeled. Therefore, we are unsure of the origin of several songs. Additionally, many, but not all, of the songs included in our study also appear on two racist compilation albums entitled *For Segregationists Only* and *Johnny Rebel: The Complete Johnny Rebel Collection*.

[3] It is not known if the performers wrote the lyrics that were performed in these songs.

[4] See arguments made by Chief Justice Tanney in the 1857 Dred Scott decision.

[5] This could explain why country hate music sometimes is referred to as "Segregationist Music."

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Appendix: Country Hate Music Song List

"Black Power." Author unknown.
"Christmas Letter." Happy Fats. Reb Rebel Records.
"Constitution Wagon." Colonel Sharecropper. Reb-Time Records.
"Dear Mr. President." Happy Fats. Reb Rebel Records.
"Granddaddy Frog." Author unknown.
"I's Gonna Stay a Jig." The Klansman. Nash-T Records.
"Johnny Reb." Colonel Lou. Conservative Records.
"Kajun Ku Klux Klan." Johnny Rebel. Reb Rebel Records.
"Lookin' for a Handout." Johnny Rebel. Reb Rebel Records.
"Move Them Niggers North." Colonel Sharecropper. Reb-Time Records.
"Nigger Hatin' Me." Johnny Rebel. Reb Rebel Records.
"Old Uncle Joe." The Dixie Greys. Conservative Records.
"Segregation Wagon." Colonel Sharecropper. Reb-Time Records.
"She Died a Nigger." The Klansman. Nash-T Records.
"Ship Those Niggers Back." Odis Cochran and the Three Bigots. Hatenanny Records.
"Stand Up and Be Counted." White Riders.
"That's the Way a Nigger Goes." Author unknown.
"To H.E.L.L. with H.E.W." Author unknown.
"The Voice of Alabama." Son of Mississippi. Reb Rebel Records.
"Vote for Wallace." Author unknown.
"We Don't Want Niggers in Our Schools." Coon Hunters.
"Who Likes a Nigger?" Johnny Rebel. Reb Rebel Records.
"Why the KKK Burns the Cross." Recitation by J Robert Jones. GD, Realm of NC.

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