

**From *War Pigs* to *Unsung Heroes*: The Criticism and  
Justification of War in Metal Lyrics**

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Tässä tutkimuksessa käsitellään heavy metal -kappaleiden sanoitusten sisältöä. Tutkimusmateriaaliin on valittu yksi teema, sota, jonka avulla avataan sanoitusten sisältöä ja merkitystä. Metallimusiikki alakulttuurina on tyylillisesti ja temaattisesti spesifi, ja sillä on omat musiikilliset tavoitteensa. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan erityisesti sitä miten sotaa kritisoidaan tai perustellaan heavy rock -sanoituksissa. Tutkimusmateriaalini koostuu 29 englanninkielisen kappaleen sanoituksesta vuosilta 1970–2012. Edustettuina on useita ajanjaksoja sekä maita. Yhdistävänä tekijänä on englannin kielen lisäksi se, että kaikki sanoitukset käsittelevät modernia länsimaista sodankäyntiä. Tekstit valittiin sen perusteella, että niissä ilmeni positiivinen tai negatiivinen näkökulma sotaan.

Tutkimus nojaa Theo van Leeuwenin legitimaatioteoriaan, joka puolestaan pohjautuu diskurssianalyysiin. Legitimaatioteoria käsittää neljä strategiaa, jotka voivat joko kritisoida tai perustella sosiaalisia käytänteitä. Ne ovat auktoriteetteihin vetoaminen, moraalinen arviointi, järkeistäminen ja mytopoeesi. Yksi tavoitteistani tutkimuksessani on selvittää legitimaatioteorian toimivuutta omassa materiaalissani. Käytän metodina lähilukua, joka mahdollistaa niiden sanojen ja ilmaisujen identifioimisen, jotka ovat näkökulmaltaan joko positiivisesti tai negatiivisesti sotaan suhtautuvia. Analyysini kannalta tärkeitä ovat sekä kieli- että kulttuurikonteksti, sillä ne määrittelevät sanojen merkityksen.

Analyysin perusteella kävi ilmi, että esimerkit jakautuivat eri strategioiden välille hyvin epätasaisesti. Auktoriteetteihin vetoamisen strategiasta löytyi vain yksi esimerkki, kun taas moraalisen arvioinnin esimerkkejä oli neljätoista. Lisäksi kaikkia legitimaatioteorian alaryhmiä ei löytynyt materiaalista ollenkaan. Osalla alaryhmistä oli useita esiintymiä, mutta osalla vain yksi. Esimerkkien epätasaisista jakautumista selittää mm. se, että tutkimuksen materiaalin kannalta kaikki alakategoriat eivät ole relevantteja. Jotta tutkimustuloksista saataisiin edustavampi, laajempi otanta olisi tarpeen. Legitimaatioteorian soveltuvuutta sanoitusten yhteydessä tulisi tutkia laajemmin.

Asiasanat: englannin kieli, heavy rock, sanoitukset, diskurssianalyysi, legitimaatioteoria, van Leeuwen, sota

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## 1. Introduction

Sensation seeking, aggressive, violent, powerful, exciting, loud, spectacular, intensive. These adjectives can all be used to describe metal music. Hated and loved, this music genre divides public and academic opinion alike. It has evolved from an underground rebellion against the mainstream music to being mainstream music itself, without losing the sense of rebellion. Heavy metal music was born in the 1970's in England with the rise to fame of the band Black Sabbath: "If metal could be said to have gotten started in any single place, it would be Birmingham, England, the industrial city whose working class spawned Ozzy Osbourne, Black Sabbath, and Judas Priest in the late 1960s and early 1970s" (Walser 1993: x). Mostly coming from a rough background and from poor living conditions, Black Sabbath played music that suited the gloomy industrial atmosphere, depicting the realities of living in a post-war industrial town; and challenged hippie-ideals by tangling darker issues such as alienation. From the beginning, metal music has been criticised and resented because of the aggressive style of playing and sometimes offensive lyrics. Many albums were banned in some countries and metal remained the music of the rebels for a long time (for further discussion on the efforts to ban and censor heavy metal music, see Gay & Lynxwiler 2000).

Recently, however, metal music has become more popular and widely spread (for example in radio and in television shows), and an awareness of the genre has extended. In Finland, metal music and metal musicians have been present in many TV-shows like *Idols* and *Kuorosota* (the Clash of the Choirs). With the escalation of this awareness, and the easy access provided by the Internet, the bands and their songs have become more accessible for everyone. However, there is still a sense of rebellion present in the lyrics of metal bands. Like punk music, metal song lyrics often present socio-political criticism. They defy authorities and comment on the structure of the society, often in a very provocative manner. Through the lyrics, metal bands participate in the discussion concerning societal and political issues,

such as the effects of religion and politics in the life of individuals as well as the society.

In my thesis, I aim to shed light to the more socio-political aspects of the lyrics. Metal music, as well as music in general, reflects the cultural and political aspects of the society and is thus worth studying. I argue that literary and linguistic studies are lacking in studies concerning metal music. Some researchers, which will be presented below, have examined the effects which listening to metal music has especially on the adolescent audience. Among others, they have studied effects on learning, effects on the listener's substance abuse and depression as well as the music's effects on the listener's behaviour, especially violent and aggressive behaviour. For a discussion on the problematic connection between music preferences and teenage behaviour, see Epstein, Pratto & Skipper (1990). They argue in that "[t]he music simply reflects already existing adolescent sentiments back to the youth subculture. From this perspective, popular music re-creates and affirms teenage behavior, it does not cause or create it" (Epstein, Pratto & Skipper 1990: 382). While this study clearly indicates that music lyrics actually are influenced by the youth cultures and not the other way round, the study of Ballard, Bazzini & Dodson establishes the hypothesis that certain music genres are likely to be viewed more negatively in terms of their effect on the listener (Ballard, Bazzini & Dodson 1999: 476). The two genres in question are heavy metal and rap. Also the study by Amy Binder (1993) delves into the genres of heavy metal and rap, this time in the connection with media representations concerning the harm of the two genres. A study by Aussaguel, Recours & Trujillo investigates the connection between metal music fans and mental health in France, dealing with depression and anxiety (2009). In general, this theme of analysis has been categorized by several scholars as 'moral panics' (Hjelm, Kahn-Harris & Levine 2011: 7; Klypchak 2011; and D. Gay & J. Lynxwiler 2000: 80).

Textual analysis, however, has not been applied to metal music as often as the types of analysis mentioned above. This is where the present study will fall in. Textual analysis of song lyrics opens up the underlying issues behind the lyrics which, in turn, reflect the specific cultural and political aspects of the society. One of the themes that occur in metal lyrics quite often is war. Black Sabbath for instance is

known for addressing issues of war in their lyrics, especially in a critical manner, such as in the song *War Pigs* which is present both in the title of the present study as in the analysis. Some metal albums have been entirely dedicated to the discussion about war, like Sabaton's album *The Art of War*, and there are bands such as Bolt Thrower & Hail of Bullets which base whole of their lyrical content on issues of war. The Hail of Bullets song *Unsung Heroes*, which is also present in the title of the present study, represents the other way of approaching war – glorification and justification. Together the two song titles – *War Pigs* and *Unsung Heroes* – represent two opposite aspects of war presented in the material. Of course, various representations and opinions about war can be found: some lyrics express a strong anti-war statement, while others emphasise the pride and honour of fighting for freedom and some are even misanthropic in nature, promoting the destruction of mankind.

The following questions are relevant for the present study:

1. What strategies are used in metal lyrics either to criticise or justify war?
2. Does the lyrical/musical genre of metal music affect the choice of strategy?

The main theory in the present study is the *legitimation theory*, which has been applied to discourse analysis by Van Leeuwen (2008). The legitimation theory explains how and by what means social practices are justified. The theory can be used to both justify and criticise, and van Leeuwen uses the terms to *legitimise*<sup>1</sup> and to *delegitimise* (2008: 106). Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework of the study, including critical discourse analysis and the legitimation theory. Chapter 3 examines the genre of metal music with its origins and 'evolution'. Chapter 3 will also consider the stylistic features of metal music. Chapter 4 introduces the methodology, and the analysis follows in chapter 5. The findings of the analysis are discussed in chapter 6, and chapter 7 concludes the study.

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<sup>1</sup> Van Leeuwen uses the American spelling in his writing, whereas I will use the British spelling. Therefore for example *to legitimize* is spelled *to legitimise* in the present study.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1. Critical discourse analysis

The critical study of language aims at revealing the hidden agendas and ideologies behind spoken or written utterances. Among the key researchers in the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) are Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. This group of researchers was also a pioneering one; they started to develop CDA to its current form. CDA, as we know it today, is a very broad and general theoretical framework, which can be used to decode linguistic, political and social texts alike. Among the most important issues arising from a critical discourse analytic study are the context of language and the power relations and structures within it. Context is the framework which determines the conventions and participant relations of the discourse. Van Dijk explains that within linguistics, the concept of context is ambiguous: on the one hand, it refers to the verbal/linguistic context or the *co-text*. On the other hand, context refers to the social situation of language, i.e. the social and cultural context (van Dijk 2009: 2).

Power, on the other hand, reveals the relations between different participants in the interaction; relations between the writer and the reader, or between the speaker and the hearer etc. CDA provides tools to the analysis of written and/or spoken interaction and shows which participant has more power in the interaction and by which means this power is expressed. CDA can also illustrate the inequalities created by an uneven distribution of power (for a more detailed discussion, see Fairclough 1989). The fields in which power relations are highlighted are political discourse as well as media discourse; both domains have the power to influence and to shape general opinion and thus both fields of discourse have a powerful status. The analysis of political language (e.g. in presidential speeches) can reveal a great deal about hidden power structures and hierarchies (e.g. ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ or ‘the enemy’). For example the study of Krizsán (2011) analyses the first person plural pronouns and the way in which they shape collective identities in the political discourse and the European Union. A critical discourse analysis of political language can bring forth the ideologies behind stabilised conventions. Hodges and Nilep explain that

discourse not only describes and reflects but actively contributes to the understanding and interpretation of events that occur in the world (2007: 2). Discourse can also stabilise these events into conventions. Wodak and Meyer explain that conventions are created and naturalised by dominant structures, and the ideologies behind these conventions are obscured with the effect that they are then taken as 'given' (2002: 3). Critical discourse analysis can unravel these conventions and show the ideologies behind them.

Critical discourse analysis is the theoretical framework also for the main theory used in the present study, the *legitimation theory* by Theo van Leeuwen. This particular theory identifies the different means in which social practices are justified. Similar to the framework theory of CDA, the legitimation theory intends to reveal what kind of language is used or strategies employed to persuade an interlocutor, or in other words: what are the means by which certain arguments are justified. Analogous to CDA, the legitimation theory is very much dependent on context and the ideologies behind conventions. In addition, the notion of power is important for both CDA and legitimation theory. Before presenting the legitimation theory van Leeuwen, which is used in the present study, I will discuss the term *legitimation* and the different contexts and studies it has been used with.

## **2.2. Legitimation**

*Legitimation* as a concept appears in several studies and it has been most prominent in the field of sociology. According to Berger and Luckmann, “legitimation ‘explains’ the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings” and “justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives” ([1966] 1987: 111). In other words, legitimation explains the characteristics of social practices and validates these characteristics by attaching certain values to them. They explain further, that “[l]egitimation not only tells the individual why he *should* perform one action and not another; it also tells him why things *are* what they are” (ibid., emphasis in the original). Legitimation is thus a tool which contributes to the understanding of both the functions and the fundamental nature of social practices. Reyes defines legitimation in the following way:



Legitimization refers to the process by which speakers accredit or license a type of social behavior. In this respect, legitimization is a justification of a behavior (mental or physical). The process of legitimization is enacted by argumentation, that is, by providing arguments that explain our social actions, ideas, thoughts, declarations, etc. In addition, the act of legitimizing or justifying is related to a goal, which, in most cases, seeks our interlocutor's support and approval. (Reyes 2011: 782).

The key notions in Reyes's definition of legitimation (or legitimization) are *justification*, *argumentation* and *goal*. The essential and fundamental aspect of legitimation is the act of justification, in which social practices are either reinforced or dismantled through various argumentative strategies. The goal, as Reyes suggests, is to convince the interlocutor with the different strategies of argumentation, or to acquire the interlocutor's approval. The possible motivations for acquiring the approval are various: "to obtain or maintain power, to achieve social acceptance, to improve community relationships, to reach popularity or fame" (ibid.).

Legitimation theory has been applied in different fields of study and in connection with a great variety of issues. For example, the study by Cutler explores the rhetoric of legitimation in the connection of homosexuality in her article "Educating the 'variant,' educating the public: gender and the rhetoric of legitimation in *The Ladder* magazine for lesbians" (Cutler 2003: 233), while Hjelm tackles the issue of religious legitimation in his article "Between Satan and Harry Potter: Legitimizing Wicca in Finland" (Hjelm 2006). The study by Esch discusses specifically the legitimation of the 'war on terror' through the use of political myths such as 'American Exceptionalism' (2010). These kind of myths create a certain kind of atmosphere, where the division between 'us' and 'them' becomes easier to recognize. They emphasise the superiority of one participant, while demonise or criminalise the other.

The notions of legitimation, as used in the present study, are presented by Theo van Leeuwen in his study *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Analysis* (2008). The following section will discuss his four strategies of legitimation.

### 2.3. Van Leeuwen's four strategies of legitimation

The theory of legitimation, which is used in the present study, has been developed by Theo van Leeuwen. Together with Ruth Wodak, he has used the theory to analyse the formal responses to family reunion applications in Austria (van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999), and again in their article concerning the discursive construction of unemployment in Austria (van Leeuwen & Wodak 2002). Van Leeuwen describes the theory further in his work *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Analysis* (2008), and it is this work which I will focus on in the present study.

One of the key concepts in van Leeuwen's legitimation theory is *social practice*, which as a concept belongs to the field of social sciences. The concept is defined both in the work of van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and the work of van Leeuwen (2008), and the definition of the latter will be used here. Van Leeuwen explains that all texts are representations of social practices, as writing about and reporting something is a social practice (van Leeuwen 2008: 5). A phenomenon becomes a social practice when it is reported in writing. It becomes a part of the shared knowledge, of competence:

What about weather reports, for instance? Surely the weather is not a social practice? No, but whenever reference is made to it in texts, it will be, and can only be, via social practices or elements thereof. Weather reports, for instance, objectivate the social practices of meteorologists—practices of observation, of recording, and of performing mathematical and linguistic operations on these observations and recordings. (ibid.)

This suggests, that weather in itself is not a social practice, but it represents other social practices, such as those of observation and recording that van Leeuwen mentions. Weather is discussed through social practices. By stating that writing and reporting something is a social practice, van Leeuwen expresses the idea that through a written form, the nature and quality of institutions and phenomena comes into existence, and through these written forms they can be evaluated and eventually justified or criticised. According to van Leeuwen, all social practices can be defined by certain characteristics or attributes. Van Leeuwen lists the following elements that occur always when social practices are performed: *participants, actions,*

*performance modes, presentation styles, times, locations, resources and eligibility conditions* for the participants, locations and resources (van Leeuwen 2008: 7-12). As his material, van Leeuwen uses a corpus of texts which are related to the subject of “first day at school”: texts for children, parents and teachers alike. Within the social practice and in the context of going to school, children and teachers represent the participants; taking a child to school is an action, while performance mode in a way qualifies the action (van Leeuwen 2008: 8). Presentation styles are related to dress and body grooming exercises (e.g. school uniforms); times and locations define the definite time and place of the event and resources are the tools and materials that are related to the social practice (van Leeuwen 2008: 10-12).

Using van Leeuwen’s theoretical framework for social practices, I will now show that war can be considered a social practice. My examples are all related to modern, western war, and cannot be applied to all possible practices of war. Firstly, the *participants* in war range from the soldiers and their commanders to the political entities, which include the politicians, the governments and states etc. In addition, the home-front and the media can be considered participants within the concept of war as well. The role of the participants depends on the point of view and the context: the participants can be the target of legitimation or delegitimation – as for example when criticism is expressed towards a unit commander – or they can function as the main source of de/legitimation – for example when the criticism or justification is given by a person who holds authority, and who thus presents the judgement.

The *actions* within the social practice of war include, for example, going to battle and fighting on a concrete level, or decision-making of the unit commander or politicians on a more abstract level. Reporting and writing news articles about the proceedings and consequences of war can also be considered actions, as they are activities which are connected to the concept of war and contribute to the general and public opinion and understanding of war. When these actions are evaluated and positive or negative qualities are attached to them, this qualification represents the *performance mode*. For instance, the action of fighting could be qualified by stating that the soldiers fight for their country or for freedom and the politicians make rapid and difficult decisions. As for the *presentation style*, which relates to dress and body

grooming exercises, the soldiers are required to wear specific military uniforms which separate them from civilians, and politicians have their own dress code.

The temporal and spatial aspects are defined by the concepts of *time* and *location*. Time can be represented by specific dates when certain battles were fought, or the duration of the war in years. The duration can even be measured according to the period of time which includes war and the subsequent years it takes for a society to recover from the crisis. The specific locations of war can be represented on the micro level by the cities where certain battles were fought, or on the macro level by the countries, continents or even entire cultures which are affected in any way by the war. The *resources* or the tools and materials of warfare are, for example, the armament and the vehicles.

The *eligibility conditions* describe the nature of the participants, locations and resources. All of the characteristics listed and described above are dependent on the cultural context, but especially the case of eligibility condition is subject to such consideration. An eligibility condition for the soldiers (participants), for example, is that the soldier must not be under-aged and must have gone through some military training. However, this condition might apply only to the western conception of the military. In some cultures, this condition would not be valid, as child soldiers do exist. Similarly, not all soldiers in the history of warfare have had a military training of any kind. However, for the purposes of the present study, certain characteristics of war are established and the basis of these definitions is the western point of view. Similarly, the eligibility conditions for locations and resources are dependent on the cultural background. From the western perspective, not all kinds of building can be described as official military headquarters: there are certain eligibility conditions that must be met. The same applies for the resources: only certain types of vehicles or armament are used in the military.

By using Leeuwen's definition of the characteristics of a social practice to describe the different concrete and abstract aspects of war, it can be argued that written representations of war can be considered social practices, and therefore the theory of legitimation can be applied to it. Next the four main strategies of legitimation, which discuss the different ways of justifying or criticising a social practice, will be

explained. The four strategies are *authorization*, *moral evaluation*, *rationalization* and *mythopoesis*.

### **2.3.1. Authorization**

De/legitimation by means of *authorization* is done, as the name suggests, by referring to a source (person or institution) of authority. Van Leeuwen divides authorization further into the categories of *personal authority*, *expert authority*, *role model authority*, *impersonal authority*, *the authority of tradition* and *the authority of conformity* (van Leeuwen 2008: 106-109). Van Leeuwen explains that *personal authority* “is vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution, e.g., parents and teachers in the case of children” (ibid.: 106). Parents and teachers have authority over the children, and it is related to their status as older and more experienced and knowledgeable. Another example of status-related authority is an officer justifying his/her operational decisions to a soldier. However, the latter case could also be regarded as justification through *expert authority*, in which the legitimation happens by referring to an expert authority: de/legitimation of this type uses a person’s (academic) knowledge and expertise rather than their status (ibid.: 107).

The boundaries between personal authority and expert authority are, in general, rather fuzzy. Van Leeuwen explains that teachers and parents can be considered personal authorities, because they have a certain status in the institution of school. However, a teacher can also be considered an expert of their own field. For this reason, it is difficult to say where personal authority ends and expert authority begins. Because van Leeuwen does not discuss personal and expert authority at any great length and provides examples only from the field of education, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between these two categories. An expert in an institution has both personal authority as well as expert authority, so the judgement between the two subcategories must be made based on each specific case of de/legitimation separately.

A further category of authority is *role model authority*. Van Leeuwen describes role models as “members of a peer group or media celebrities imitated from afar, and the mere fact that these role models adopt a certain kind of behavior, or believe certain things, is enough to legitimise the actions of their followers” (van Leeuwen 2008: 107). In western culture, media celebrities have an effective role: they have the authority to shape the opinion of the general public, and thus they can be defined as role models. In addition to these individual celebrities, also groups can be considered role models. In the 1960s and 70s, the hippie movement was protesting war and especially the Vietnam War. Their campaigns and demonstrations gained a lot of publicity and followers, and for several people, certain ideals were justified just because the hippie movement declared them as such.

In addition to the authority vested on people, there is also *impersonal authority*, which represents legitimation through laws and regulations. This type of legitimation is revealed by certain nouns, such as *policy, regulation, rule, law*, etc., or adjectives and adverbs such as *compulsory, mandatory* and *obligatory* (van Leeuwen 2008: 108). A statement such as *it is obligatory to stop your car before a stop-sign even if there is nobody around* relies on the shared knowledge that laws must be obeyed or else there will be consequences: even if there is nobody around to witness the obedience or disobedience. The law in itself is enough to justify the need to stop. This shared knowledge might be explicitly stated by the law, or it might be more of a policy or a code which needs to be followed. What is crucial is, as explained above, the use of certain nouns and adjectives/adverbs which denote the impersonal authority, such as *law* or *policy* or *mandatory*. In the military, there are both strict rules as well as certain codes which the soldiers must be aware of. There is for example the U.S. Military Code of Conduct. Its first article states, that “I am an American, fighting in the forces which guard my country and our way of life. I am prepared to give my life in their defense” (Army Study Guide 2013). The code of conduct defines a set of parameters the soldiers must act upon.

The *authority of tradition*, on the other hand, comes from words such as *tradition* and *custom* (van Leeuwen 2008: 108). Authorization through tradition relies on things being done as they always have been done, or as van Leeuwen explains: “Here, the implicit or explicit answer to the ‘why’ question is not ‘because it is

compulsory’, but ‘because this is what we always do’ or ‘because this is what we have always done.’ It is then assumed that this will, by itself, carry enough weight to go unchallenged” (ibid.). The authority of tradition suggests that what has been done in the past is either the best way or alternatively the only good way, and thus worth doing still. The last form of authorization is the *authority of conformity*. It is, to some extent, similar to the authority of tradition: both forms of authorities legitimise through what other people have been or are doing. While legitimation through authority of tradition emphasises how things have always been done, authority of conformity considers what other people are doing now: “The Joneses have bought a new car, so we must do so as well” (my example). Authority of conformity suggests, that if someone (friend, neighbour, free-time activity group) is doing something, then so should you (van Leeuwen 2008: 109).

The six types of authority legitimation explained above are expected to be shared knowledge for both the speaker/writer and the recipient; otherwise the legitimation would not work. In addition to this, the aspect of cultural context, which was discussed earlier, is important. It is also important in connection with the next section, which discusses the second strategy of legitimation; moral evaluation.

### **2.3.2. Moral evaluation**

*Moral evaluation*, as the name suggests, is a legitimation strategy which aims to justify or criticise by appealing to moral values. These moral values can be denoted by words such as *good* and *bad*, but van Leeuwen deems these words troublesome, and explains that moral evaluation is more often connected to “specific discourses of moral value” rather than to mere words (van Leeuwen 2008: 109-110). With these specific discourses van Leeuwen refers to judgements about what is *healthy*, *normal* and *natural*, but these discourses are not explicitly stated, merely hinted at (ibid.: 110). He explains further, that there is no clear and straightforward way to distinguish moral evaluations: a linguist has to rely on commonsense cultural knowledge (ibid.). For this reason, moral evaluation is not as simple to detect as authorization: it depends on cultural parameters. The cultural context determines whether a social practice is moral or immoral, and by stating that the discourse

analyst has to rely on common cultural knowledge (van Leeuwen 2008: 110) van Leeuwen highlights that the linguist must be aware of specific cultural contexts. This, on the other hand, includes acknowledging both the cultural background of the linguist as well as the immediate cultural context of the target of legitimation. The cultural context also determines whether the legitimation is successful or not.

The three subcategories of moral evaluation are *evaluation*, *abstraction* and *analogies*. *Evaluation* is best detected through the use of evaluative adjectives, which at the same time discuss the concrete aspects of the object of legitimation and comment on the moral or immoral aspect of it (van Leeuwen 2008: 110). In connection with his corpus, which includes texts dealing with the first day at school, van Leeuwen discovers that adjectives such as *natural* and *normal* were used on several occasions (ibid.). These adjectives of *naturalization* can legitimise something by stating that it is natural that an event happens or that a reaction follows (van Leeuwen 2008: 110-111). The identification of naturalization is not always simple: naturalized legitimation does not appear to justify or legitimise at all: it presents the phenomenon as natural and normal, and therefore as something above moral evaluation. Van Leeuwen explains that the difference between something actually natural and something which is claimed to be natural can be recognised with the help of the concept/criterion of human intervention (ibid.: 111): if in fact something could be changed by mere human intervention, the phenomenon is not really of natural order, but rather, of moral or cultural order.

The second form of moral evaluation is *abstraction*, in which legitimation is achieved by emphasising the moral quality of a practice rather than the mere sequence of actions. Van Leeuwen uses the example of a child going to school: instead of stating that the child is about to start learning in an educational institute, the child “takes up independence” (van Leeuwen 2008: 111). This abstraction gives the concrete act of starting school a positive and uplifting connotation, as independence is a generally appreciated concept in western culture. Abstraction of a practice thus legitimises by bringing up the good ‘moral’ qualities of an institution or a phenomenon.



Finally, moral evaluation legitimation can also be achieved by means of *analogies*, or comparisons. The strategy of legitimation through analogies is to compare a social practice to another practice and thus illustrate its good or bad qualities. In one of his examples, van Leeuwen compares the starting of school for a child and the starting of a new job for an adult: both the child and the adult feel nervous as they are about to start something new (ibid.: 111-112). With this analogy, van Leeuwen communicates the aspect which is familiar to a large group of people: starting a new job can create anxiety. By using this shared experience in the core of the analogy, van Leeuwen connects the adult's experience to a child's experience, and thus legitimates the child's nervousness to the adult.

The strategies of moral evaluation discuss the moral values with the regard of specific cultural parameters. However, all of the strategies of de/legitimation are to some extent dependent on moral codes and values. The next section discusses the other aspect which is commonly appealed to – reason – and it is also viewed in connection with morality. The strategy of rationalization relies on reason as well as on the shared knowledge of what is right and what is expected.

### **2.3.3. Rationalization**

In the case of moral evaluation, legitimation occurs through a shared set of values between the speaker/writer and the recipient. It comments on what is good, bad or natural. Rationalization, on the other hand, appeals to reason rather than emotion. However, as van Leeuwen explains, rationalization cannot function as a legitimation without moral values (van Leeuwen 2008: 113). He divides rationalization into two categories: *instrumental rationalization* and *theoretical rationalization*.

The first category, **instrumental rationalization**, comments on what is purposeful, useful and effective (van Leeuwen 2008: 113). It can be further divided into *goal orientation*, *means orientation* and *effect orientation*. Goal orientation expresses the purposeful action by an actor x to achieve a predetermined goal, which is a certain action or state. Oftentimes an example of goal orientation includes a purpose clause *to*, *in order to* or *so as to* (van Leeuwen 2008: 114). Van Leeuwen describes the

desired action or state as “conscious or unconscious motives, aims, intentions, goals etc.”, and provides the following example: “Jane’s teacher used eye contact and facial expression to establish positive bonds with her” (ibid.). In this example, Jane’s teacher is the actor, whose action – using eye contact – has the goal to establish positive bonds with Jane. The purpose clause *to (do something)* illustrates what the actor does to achieve the desired goal. Rationalization by means of goal orientation points out that a certain type of action will achieve certain types of goals, in good and in bad, and is thus either worth doing or worth avoiding.

Means orientation, on the other hand, focuses on the purposeful action and on the means to the end rather than the actual goal. The purposeful action is designated by the use of expressions such as *by*, *by means of* and *through* (van Leeuwen 2008: 114). In the following example by van Leeuwen, the purposeful action and the means to the end follows after the expression *by*: “The skillful teacher can save the new entrant’s face by showing herself to be on his side” (ibid.: 115). The means in this case is *showing oneself to be on the pupil’s side*, the goal or the end being *saving the new entrant’s face*. The structure can also be broken up, which is illustrated by another example from van Leeuwen: “Formal group time is a powerful mechanism for social control”. In this example there is no clear *by*-structure, but the phrase could be read as *social control can be maintained by formal group time*, in which *formal group time* is the means and *social control* is the goal.

Van Leeuwen’s final category of instrumental rationalization is effect orientation, which focuses on the outcome of actions (van Leeuwen 2008: 115). Effect orientation is quite close to goal orientation, as both orientations look at the result of the action. However, whereas goal orientation only suggests an outcome and mainly aims at a certain goal, effect orientation states that the outcome will follow if the purposeful action is taken, and focuses on the actual outcome. Compare these two examples by van Leeuwen:

1. Your child has to learn to control aggressiveness, so as to be accepted by others.
2. Your child has to learn to control aggressiveness, so others accept him.

In the first example, the acceptance is the goal that will hopefully be reached by controlling the aggressiveness. In the latter example, the acceptance is stated almost as a truth: the purposeful action will result in this end.

The second main category of rationalization is **theoretical rationalization**. While instrumental rationalization focuses on what is purposeful, useful or effective, theoretical rationalization is based on a truth condition: on “the way things are” (van Leeuwen 2008: 115-116). The strategies of theoretical evaluation evaluate the nature of an activity in a similar manner to naturalization, but as van Leeuwen explains, theoretical rationalization is more explicit about the representation of the truth (ibid.: 116). Theoretical rationalization can be divided into three subcategories: *definition*, *explanation* and *prediction*.

The subcategory of *definition* describes one activity in relation to another, moralised activity, and these two activities are linked together by an attributive link such as *is* or *constitutes*; or by a significative link such as *means*, *signals* or *symbolizes* (van Leeuwen 2008: 116). In other words, the nature of one activity is established through a connection with another activity, which is moralised in a sense that it is either good or bad. Van Leeuwen provides the following examples:

1. Transition is a necessary stage in the young child’s experience.
2. School signals that her children are growing up.

The first example defines the activity of *transition* in connection with the certain stage in the young child’s experience, and the moral judgement in this phrase occurs through the expression *necessary*. By stating that transition is necessary in this certain stage, the transition that is to take place in the future is legitimised. The second example connects the institution of school to the physical and mental maturing of a child. As school progresses, the child gradually moves to adulthood. In this example, *school* is defined in connection with *growing up*.

The last two subcategories of theoretical rationalization are explanation and prediction. If definition focuses on the activity, *explanation* focuses on the actor in

the activity. It describes the general attributes of the actor or the habitual activities of the actor: doing something in a certain way is natural and/or appropriate to the nature of the actor (ibid.: 116). Van Leeuwen provides an example: “Parents use the same route to school each day because small children thrive on routine” (ibid.). In this example, the actors who are explained are the children: it is habitual to children that they need routines. This way *using the same route to school* is legitimised. In the case of *prediction*, legitimation is based on expertise, as the following example from van Leeuwen demonstrates: “Don’t worry if you or your child cries. It won’t last long.” (ibid.) In this example, someone with expertise is predicting that crying will not last long. Predictions can, in principle, be denied or argued against by contrary experience (ibid.). In other words, if a contrary experience occurs, the prediction can be denied.

According to van Leeuwen, Berger and Luckmann distinguish between two further subcategories of rationalization: *experiential* and *scientific rationalization* (van Leeuwen 2008: 116). He quotes Berger and Luckmann:

[Berger and Luckmann] described *experiential rationalizations* as “various explanatory schemes relating sets of objective meanings,” and they added that “these schemes are highly pragmatic, directly related to concrete actions” and that “proverbs, moral maxims and wise sayings are common on this level”. (van Leeuwen 2008: 116)

The quotes from Berger and Luckmann that van Leeuwen is using are actually used by the authors to describe one of the different levels of legitimation; their study does not use the terms *experiential* or *scientific rationalization* at all. Instead, they explain that the first level of legitimation, *incipient legitimation*, is “present as soon as a system of linguistic objectifications of human experience is transmitted” (Berger & Luckmann 1987 [1984]: 112). In other words, this first level of legitimation exists initially and is actually already encoded in the language, and is “the foundation of self-evident ‘knowledge’ on which all subsequent theories must rest” (ibid.). The second level of legitimation “contains theoretical propositions in a rudimentary form” (ibid.). The quotations from Berger and Luckmann’s study, that van Leeuwen uses to explain experiential and scientific rationalization, actually describe the second level of legitimation. Since Berger and Luckmann do not actually use the terms *experiential* and *scientific rationalization* in their work and neither do they

belong to van Leeuwen's own categories, I have decided not to include these subcategories of rationalization in the analysis of the different strategies of legitimation.

Now that the different parameters of legitimation by way of rationalization are established, the final category of legitimation – mythopoesis – will be presented.

#### **2.3.4. Mythopoesis**

Mythopoesis is a legitimation strategy of narrative nature: the justification or criticism is carried out by means of storytelling. Van Leeuwen divides mythopoesis legitimation into two subcategories: *moral tales* and *cautionary tales* (van Leeuwen 2008: 117-118). Legitimation through moral tales focuses on rewarding the protagonist “for engaging in legitimate social practices or restoring the legitimate order” (ibid.: 117). The moral tale includes a happy ending of some kind, which legitimises the possible hardships to go through before finishing the action. To illustrate the strategy of moral tale, van Leeuwen takes as an example the event which is often traumatic to children: leaving the security of home (ibid.:117-118). After this event has been successfully overcome, the happiness that stems from surviving the first day at school becomes the reward.

Contrary to the strategy of rewarding, cautionary tales focus on the unhappy endings that come to those who will not follow social norms and engage in non-conforming actions. Consider for example the children's story *The Boy Who Cried the Wolf*, found in Aesop's fables. In the story, a shepherd's boy tricks the villagers two times by shouting that there is wolf about to eat the flock. After the villagers realise it was a trick, they do not react to the boy's screams when a wolf actually attacks and eats the whole flock (Aesopica 2012). The moral of the story is that one should not lie: liars are not believed even when they are telling the truth. By telling this cautionary tale to a child, an adult delegitimises lying.

What is apparent with the strategy of mythopoesis is that it only appears in certain kinds of texts. Narrative structures are usually excluded from for example newspaper

articles. In connection with education and pedagogy, the strategy seems more appropriate. In addition, the genre of song lyrics is so free in form that strategies of mythopoesis might appear.

As the theory of legitimation has now been elucidated, the musical genre of the material will be introduced. Next, the definition of metal music as well as its origins will be established, and then the stylistic features of metal music will be described.

### 3. Metal music

This chapter aims to elaborate on the origins of metal music as well as its progression and expansion. Understanding the origins and motivations behind metal music contributes to the comprehension of the genre in terms of the characteristic lyrical content which is relevant for the present study. In fact, the musicological aspect complements the lyrics and vice versa. In other words, aggressive or melancholy music affects the interpretation of the lyrics, and the lyrics provide concrete readings to the atmosphere created by the music. Although the present study focuses on metal lyrics, the musicological aspect is always present in the sense that it distinguishes metal music from the other genres even more than the actual lyrics.

There are probably as many opinions about the origins of metal music as there are different genres. Walser identifies African American blues as the origins of metal (Walser 1993: 8-9). He explains that this connection is often neglected or not seen as an important one. “The debt of heavy metal to African-American music making has vanished from most accounts of the genre, just as black history as [sic] been suppressed in every other field” (Walser 1993: 9). The connection between African-American blues and metal music lies in the melancholic themes as well as the rhythmic flow of the music. The first metal bands have been to a great deal influenced by blues, which is heard both in the sounds and in the lyrical content of the songs.

In addition to blues, some researchers and heavy metal fans trace the influences to classic music – especially dark and pompous compositions such as those of Wagner (*Metal: A Headbanger’s Journey* 2005). The actual term *heavy metal* was first used by the band *Steppenwolf* in 1967 in their song *Born to Be Wild* in the expression *heavy metal thunder* (Gross 2004: 120), but several music historians trace the origins of metal to other bands at the end of 1960s and to England: the three bands which are most commonly acknowledged as the first metal bands metal are Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath and Deep Purple (Walser 1993, Kahn-Harris 2006). The golden age of the three aforementioned bands was in the 1970s, which was a decade that saw for example the release of the album *Paranoid* by Black Sabbath, including the title song

that has become one of the most widely recognized heavy metal songs in history. With these three bands, the popularity of metal started to spread. As Walser states, “[h]eavy metal shows became increasingly spectacular as musicians performed in front of elaborate stage sets to the accompaniment of light shows, pyrotechnics, and other special effects. Incessant touring of these impressive shows built the metal audience in the 1970s.” (Walser 1993: 10) The target audience was the youth culture – and especially young, white males (Krenske & McKay 2000) – who embraced metal music due to its rebellious nature and its distinct sound and look.

The 1980s saw a phenomenon called “the new wave of British heavy metal” (Walser 1993, Cope 2010), which introduced bands such as Iron Maiden, Saxon and Def Leppard. The emergence of this new type of music was very important for the development of metal music, because rather than taking influences from e.g. blues and rock like previous bands, the new wave of British heavy metal – from now on referred to as NWOBHM – was influenced by metal music itself, and took it to a new level (Kahn-Harris 2006: 2). NWOBHM incorporated new aspects to the metal music, such as

[T]he augmentation of the down-tuned, distorted guitar sounds, sequenced power-chords, angular riffs, modal lines, multi-sectional structures and Gothic/anti-patriarchal aesthetic first developed by Black Sabbath.... Thus the progress of metal as a genre is marked by both stability and the process of mutation where the core elements remain but are influenced by technological innovation. (Cope 2010: 95)

By the end of the 1980s, metal had diversified so much, mixing different styles, that discussion concerning the term *heavy metal* became necessary; it was no longer capable of explaining all the new genres that had arisen (Walser 1993: 3). Heavy metal was later connected to the first wave of metal music, and the term *metal* was adopted as an umbrella term for all the previous and new genres alike. Often new styles were created by bands experimenting with new methods, such vocal distortion or “screaming”. For example Death, an American band, developed such a unique style, that a sub-genre called *death-metal* was born. Other new sub-genres that emerged were for example *thrash-metal* (Metallica, Anthrax, Slayer) and *black metal* pioneered by bands such as Venom.



From a musicological point of view, there are some features that are shared by all the sub-genres of metal music. One of them is the power chord:

Produced by playing the musical interval of a perfect fourth or fifth on a heavily amplified and distorted electric guitar, the power chord is used by all of the bands that are ever called heavy metal and, until heavy metal's enormous influence on other musical genres in the late 1980s, by comparatively few musicians outside the genre. (Walser 1993: 2)

The power chord is thus one of the most recognizable and easily defined features of heavy metal. The other features are not as easily defined. The most important instruments are guitar, bass and drums, and often there are two guitarists in a band (solo-guitar and rhythmic guitar). One element which is certainly related to metal, but not shared by all metal bands, is a vocal technique known as *screaming* or *growling*. Another common feature is a fast tempo and an aggressive style. Jeffrey Arnett argues that what makes metal is the "high-intensity auditory sensation: pounding rhythms, high distortion in the tone of the electronic guitars, and 'singing' that more resembles an angry scream" (Arnett 1993: 423).

In addition to distinct musicological features, metal music and its subcultures discuss and express certain thematic issues that are not usually discussed within other music genres. One of the themes which come up frequently is the notion of power (Walser 1993, Krenske & McCay 2000). Walser argues that "musical articulation of power is the most important single factor in the experience of heavy metal" (Walser 1993: 2). To say that power is the most important single factor is quite strong, but nevertheless, power is a recurrent theme in metal lyrics, especially of the 80s and 90s. According to Arnett, another recurrent theme within the metal subculture is alienation: "a sense of skepticism, pessimism, or outright rejection of the possibilities for living that the society seems to offer, a sense of estrangement from the world" (Arnett 1993: 440). Alienation and scepticism refer to the attitudes towards the rest of the society. Within metal music, however, there is a sense of *solidarity* and a certain sense of *indifference towards* other genres of music. Other frequent notions within metal music are for example power in its different forms and the contemplation of death and mortality as well as individual, societal or global demise.

One of the themes which occur in metal music is also socio-political criticism. There is debate whether or not metal music can be considered a politically concerned genre of music. On the one hand, metal music is considered to be apolitical:

Heavy metal is frequently referred to as being apolitical; this is a phrase used by critics, fans and musicians alike. Often this is a veiled rejection of politics understood as meaning governmental party politics or state organized political processes. (Scott 2011: 224)

In other words, people inside the metal scene as well as those outside view it as a genre which does not participate on the political discussion. On the other hand, there are metal movements which can be classified as politically active:

Regarding politics and the apolitical, heavy metal has elements involved in local and global pursuits of social justice, expressions of individual and national identities as well as being a music entertainment medium. Thus, the subject matter of politics is not only on the lips of many metal scene members; one can find artists who are politically engaged, through their work in expressing particular views or being politically active. (ibid.: 225)

Therefore, the argument that metal music is apolitical is invalid. However, metal bands producing music and lyrics with a critical view of socio-political issues do not necessarily view themselves as politically inclined bands. Some of the issues dealt in metal lyrics are merely reflecting the contemporary social and/or political conditions. One of these types of issues is war: several bands – which still might define themselves as apolitical – discuss war from a certain perspective. The thematic of war in metal lyrics will be discussed further in connection with the material of the present study in chapter 4.

The following section takes a brief look at the studies done on metal music. By illustrating the scope of subjects and themes it is easier to appreciate where the present study falls in.

### 3.1. Previous work on metal music

Research concerning metal music is generally related to the effects the music has to its listeners. Several studies suggest that metal fans are more depressed and aggressive than others. Some studies attach violent behaviour to metal music (as discussed already in chapter 1). A lot of debate has also arisen from the definition of the genre in general. One of the names that come up often in connection with academic research on metal music is Robert Walser. He discusses metal from a musicological point of view, but provides nevertheless important information concerning my topic of analysis. He sheds light on the early phases as well as the developments of heavy metal. He also provides definitions and terminology which is crucial in understanding heavy metal music.

Walser provides a very thorough examination of metal music and attempts to cover all areas and contexts related to it. However, attempting to cover all aspects related to metal music is grandiose. Different perspectives should be given equal weight. I suggest that it is not necessary to try to cover all aspects, but rather, focus on one aspect and cover it as thoroughly as possible. My perspective in the academic study of metal music is content-related. I will briefly introduce a few of the studies here.

The number of studies related to metal has augmented as the popularity of metal has increased. There are studies for example about (metal) music and its effects on soldiers, and how music helps soldiers to cope with war. One of these studies is that of Jonathan Pieslak, who discusses the many functions of music in the soldiers' life during war (Pieslak 2009). He lists the following functions: music in military recruiting, inspiring young men and women to join the army; music as an inspiration for combat, lifting the spirits of the soldiers; music as a psychological tactic, as for example the use metal songs such as *Enter Sandman* (Metallica) or *Bodies* (Drowning Pool) as a means of handling and interrogating detainees; and music as a form of expression for the soldiers (Pieslak 2009). Pieslak's study is thus more related to the social and psychological effects of music.

Different styles or sub-genres of metal music have also been studied. Kahn-Harris explores the scene of extreme metal. He applies a holistic and spatial analysis to

extreme metal music. He argues that “holistically speaking, extreme metal needs to be considered as the locus for a huge range of interconnected practices, texts, institutions and social phenomena” (Kahn-Harris 2006: 11). Kahn-Harris shares Walser’s view, which is that an approach as thorough as possible should be taken. However, Kahn-Harris narrows his material down to extreme metal. Another study which examines extreme metal is that by Allett. She explains that “[e]xtreme metal is a collection of music genres (including death metal, black metal, doom metal and grindcore) that are stylistically diverse, but united in the artists’ pursuit of extremity, intensity and dissonance in music” (Allett 2011: 165).

While Walser discusses metal from a very general point of view and Kahn-Harris and Allett investigate the scene of extreme metal, Leigh Michael Harrison discusses heavy metal from a geomusicological point of view, studying the connection between music and geography (Harrison 2010). His viewpoint is especially the 1960s and 1970s Birmingham as the birthplace of heavy metal. Also Avelar’s discusses music in connection with a specific location (Avelar 2003). His article discusses the band *Sepultura* and the way in which it has incorporated aspects of the Brazilian culture and nationality into their music.

The studies introduced so far represent several different fields of research, but none of them presents a textual or linguistic approach. This is where the present study will fill a gap in the research. In the following section, the stylistic features of metal music will be introduced in order to locate and detect recurring themes and notions more easily in the analysis of the material.

### **3.2. Stylistic features of metal lyrics**

Metal was chosen as the genre of music lyrics in the present study because there is little or next to no research or analysis conducted on metal lyrics, and because metal lyrics have a distinct style of expression. Furthermore, one of the subjects which appear recurrently in metal lyrics is war, and for this reason, finding metal songs about war was quite easy. Metal lyrics, as any subgenre of poetry and lyrics have

features which at the same time characterize it and exclude other subgenres and categories. This section aims to discover these distinctive features.

One of the fundamental aspects within any subgenre of metal music is being in touch with the darker side, or as Gross argues: “[t]he preoccupation with the darker side of life is evident as well as the use of some words that you won’t hear on the radio often” (Gross 2004: 123). Issues which can be classified as representative of the darker side of life range from individual melancholy to occultism. As for the words one does not hear on the radio, metal lyrics often use provocative and offensive language. In addition to the notion of darkness, one fundamental concept in metal lyrics is the notion of power (Gross 2004: 124). Gross explains that metal “offers images of power, fame, glory and free sex” (ibid.: 126). However, Gross’s views seem outdated, as the themes he mentions are more connected to the metal music of the 80s and 90s. Contemporary metal music addresses a great variety of topics, ranging from political issues to aspects of everyday life, such as a visit to a doctor. In an interview, the *Twisted Sister* vocalist Dee Snider claims that one of their songs which was deemed offensive and shocking was in fact only discussing the tonsil surgery of their guitarist (*Metal: A Headbanger’s Journey* 2005).

One recurrent theme in metal music is religion. Biblical vocabulary and references are common, and this kind of vocabulary is used both to promote Christianity (see Moberg 2011 for a study on Christian metal) and to criticise it. For example the study of Phillipov examines the Norwegian black metal scene, which is known for its strong anti-Christian and occultist ideologies (Phillipov 2011). The material of the present study does not include songs with a clear anti/religious view, but biblical references were found in several lyrics. As the purpose does not appear to be the promotion or criticism of religion, they will be considered stylistic features rather than thematic features.

The next chapter examines the material and methods of the present study and offers insight into process of finding the appropriate songs.

## 4. Material and methods

Song lyrics were chosen as the material of the present study for several reasons. Firstly, as a form of popular culture, they have more liberties with expression, that is, more freedom in terms of style and vocabulary than for example in academic texts. Military jargon distances the reader from warfare:

Military discourse, when presented to nonspecialists, combines both the obfuscating and the depersonalizing features of jargon, presenting the violence of war in a sterile language that both renders the experience nearly unintelligible and suppresses the presence of individual actors within it.

(Hill 2008: 176)

Song lyrics do the opposite: they bring forth the individual actors and discuss warfare from a point of view which is comprehensible and approachable for a non-specialist as well. Secondly, by means of rhetoric devices such as metaphors and by careful word choices, song lyrics can discuss issues on a much deeper level than appears on the surface. For example, certain word choices such as *murder* instead of *death* may reveal a lot about the tone and attitude of a particular song. With word choices and other methods, song lyrics can also aim to provoke and to raise questions. This aspect of provocation – together with the liberties in form and expression – makes song lyrics a very fruitful material for legitimation theory. With strong expressions and provocations, instances of legitimation or delegitimation are easier to detect.

The lyrics were chosen based on the manner in which they discuss war. As the main theory of the present study is the theory of legitimation, the lyrics needed to have some kind of a perspective on war, or some aspect of judgement, be it negative or positive, so that instances of criticism or glorification would be detectable. In addition, to have a common ground for all of the songs, the lyrics were selected based on the type of war they discuss. All of the lyrics reflect modern 20th century war, while the lyrics examining 19th century and older wars or mythical wars were excluded.

In the search for the songs, it became obvious that it is easier to find a song that is clearly against the concept of war than it is to find songs which explicitly support or

glorify war. For this reason there are more songs in the sample that can be defined as anti-war songs: the proportion reflects to some extent the real number of anti-war metal songs against the pro-war songs. Another issue with choosing the songs is that it proved to be somewhat difficult to categorize the songs according to their presentation and conception of war: some of the songs could be seen as both criticising and supporting war, so the division is not as simple as it seemed at first. Numerous songs were excluded in the selection process because they did not show a clear enough presentation of war.

Among the selected lyrics there are 11 American bands, 7 British bands, 3 German bands and one Swedish, Dutch and Brazilian band. The number of countries and their proportion in my material is somewhat representative of the main countries which produce metal music. A great deal of metal music comes from the United States, and Britain has also produced a significant number of world-famous bands. There are numerous other countries as well which are known to be 'metal-friendly', but the material of the present study does not cover them, because the theme of the lyrics is not necessarily related to war. The lyrics which are included provide concrete and clear examples of war-related issues. The reason why the American bands dominate in the material of the present study is that the American presence in modern war is to such great extent covered in mass media. The Vietnam War as well as the wars in Iraq and in Afghanistan have been discussed by academics, news and popular culture alike. For this reason, war has also been present in the popular music as well.

The lyrics were selected mostly with the help of different discussion forums with the topic of best war-related metal songs. Once the lyrics were chosen, they were searched from different sites. Eighteen of the lyrics were found from the bands' official websites, one from the original booklet from the CD, and the rest of the lyrics were found from different websites providing lyrics for songs. These websites include lyricsfreak.com (2 songs), darklyrics.com (2), elyrics.net (2) and lyricsmode.com (4). All of the chosen lyrics were tested through various different lyrics-websites, and the websites which had all the same forms were chosen, excluding the websites which had different spellings, spelling errors or different words altogether. However, as there was no official source behind the lyrics, but the work of fans, there is no guarantee that the lyrics are all absolutely correct. All of the

bands did not provide lyrics in their websites, and the lyrics are not always present in the CD-booklet either.

The method of close reading is applied in the present study. The lyrics are examined on the basis of finding specific words and expressions which reveal a particular attitude or position about war. As was discussed for example in the connection with discourse analysis in 2.1., context is a central aspect in any kind of discourse analytic study. Consequently, context plays an important role also in the present study. The words and expressions are not studied in isolation, but in connection with the thematic framework of the song. Therefore the conventional and established meaning of a word might change when it is viewed in another connection. In order to reveal implicit or even explicit attitudes, there are two types of songs in the material which will be compared: songs which express an anti-war statement and songs which glorify war. Through the method of comparison it is easier to detect which strategy of legitimation is used more commonly in the anti-war song and which strategies are more common for the pro-war songs.

The present study also aims to test van Leeuwen's theory, which revolves around a specific corpus of education and pedagogy and focuses on a psychological approach. The approach of the present study is textual analysis rather than a psychological one, and the corpus is based on a material which is stylistically very different from van Leeuwen's corpus, which discusses issues of education and pedagogy in a factual and even theoretical manner. The present study aims to reveal if legitimation theory is as successful the corpus of the present study, which is completely different from the original one, or if in fact van Leeuwen's findings are tightly connected to a specific context.



## 5. Analysis

### 5.1. Introduction to findings

In this chapter, the material of the present study will be analysed by applying van Leeuwen's legitimation theory. Some aspects need to be taken into account before the actual analysis can commence. Firstly, one of the fundamental aspects in the analysis is context, which was discussed in section 2.1. in connection with critical discourse analysis. In relation to the material of the present study, context is not merely the physical, textual context of the quotation, namely the lyrics of the song, but also the cultural context. The viewpoint of the lyrics is specialised: warfare and its causes and consequences are presented from a western perspective. For this reason, concepts such as *victory*, *sacrifice* and *freedom* need to be defined within this specific cultural framework. War, from a western perspective, is oftentimes caused by political reasons, and is fought on foreign ground on several occasions. Consequently, war from a western perspective is perceived differently in comparison to conflicts in one's home country. Distance of this nature can have an effect on the perception of war. In addition to political reasons, wars have been fought over religion. For example war in the Middle East can be the consequence of different religious fronts clashing, and this type of war is perceived differently by the Middle Eastern culture than it is by the western culture. Of course, political and religious motivations cannot be separated from one another, and together with culture they are the greatest motivators in any war.

Another matter which requires discussion is the aspect of individual freedom versus the emphasis of the unit in military context. Western culture is primarily an individualistic culture, where the rights and freedoms of an individual are emphasised. The army is one of the few institutions left, where the focus is on the group rather than an individual, and for this reason military undertakings have been present in the media and have invited criticism and resentment from the general public. Of course, war in a very general level is resented globally because it always brings casualties, and especially because it is often the civilians who suffer the most. Within the framework of western culture, the causes and consequences of war are

estimated from a particular point of view and with specific interests, such as the aforementioned individuality. The aspect of human rights and responsibilities are also viewed differently depending on the cultural background.

Finally, the aspect of the proximity of war needs elaboration. Proximity here refers to geographical proximity, i.e. whether the conflict is local or distant; as well as the psychological proximity, i.e. whether or not the war actually affects the individual's life. Consider the following examples:

- a) A country attacks another country which is geographically far away
- b) A country defends itself from the attack of another country
- c) A country is not directly involved in war but follows it from distance

In each case, the take on war is different. In example a), emphasis might be on supporting the troops fighting on the foreign ground, while in example b) the concern is survival and defence, in which case the fighting becomes a necessity rather than a choice. In example c) the distance might allow for a more objective viewing: both parties in the war are evaluated and especially the causes are evaluated. Of course, there are several different scenarios which might take place, and the examples above illustrate only a few of the possible scenarios.

When these aspects are taken into consideration, it is natural that different and opposite judgements of war occur. All of the aforementioned issues make de/legitimation of war a fruitful subject for the material of the present study. Of course, the conclusions reached in the present study are not necessarily the only possible ones, as works of this kind of art may be interpreted in several ways.

This chapter is organised in the following way: section 5.2. discusses the aspects of legitimation through authorization; 5.3. focuses on moral evaluation; 5.4. illustrates the use of rationalization; 5.5. elaborates how legitimation occurs through mythopoesis and finally, section 5.6. discusses the cases which are ambiguous and which do not fit into any of the categories presented by van Leeuwen.

## 5.2. Authorization

Authority is a strong and multilayered concept in the military, and the hierarchical structure is complex. The troops, brigades and divisions all have their head commanders who have the highest authority in the unit. These commanders give orders to their officers and sergeants, who again, give orders to the soldiers. On the other hand, the commanders are under the authority of the political heads of the country, and again, the success of the political heads depends on the general public, who have the power to vote.

The first example represents delegitimation through authorization:

- (1) Soldier boy, made of clay / Now an empty shell / Twenty one, only son / But he served us well / Bred to kill, not to care / Do just as we say / Finished here, Greeting Death / He's yours to take away / Back to the front / You will do what I say, when I say / Back to the front / You will die when I say, you must die / Back to the front / You coward / You servant / You blindman (Text 8)

In [1], the personality of the one who holds the authority is not revealed, but it can be assumed that the person is the head of the division or brigade the soldier is in, as the person is giving direct orders. The authority comes from the expression *you will do what I say, when I say*. Because the person has a status of authority, making the soldier return back to the front and dying – if necessary – is legitimised. However, while it is the personal authority which legitimises the orders given in this extract, the song is actually delegitimizing war through this example. The beginning of the example illustrates the delegitimation: a young man, an only son is bred to kill, and as a result, is now but an empty shell. The instances of first person narration (e.g. *he served us well, Do just as we say*) are all connected to giving orders and being higher on the hierarchical structure than the soldier, so the *we* and the *I* represent the army and the army officials. By illustrating how soldiers must obey their authorities and die if must be, the lyrics emphasise the fragility of a soldier's life rather than the pompous and patriotic aspect. The effect is created by the exaggeration: *You will die when I say*. In reality, a commander would certainly not order a soldier to die, but to fight. To a soldier, the order to go back to the front might seem as an order to die, though, and this is what the lyrics communicate. The soldier is referred to as a

*coward*, *servant* and a *blindman*, defining the role of a soldier as unappreciated and ungrateful, illustrating the bleak and uninspiring side of being a soldier. Parallel to the aspect of ordering the soldier to die, the lyrics are exaggerating by implying that a general would call a soldier a coward or a servant or a blindman. The effect of this exaggeration is it makes the hearer/reader sympathise with the soldier and resent the military authorities, and with this strategy, delegitimises war.

The material of the present study did not offer any further instances of delegitimation or legitimation through authorization, and for this reason, the analysis will now move on to instances of de/legitimation by means of moral evaluation.

### **5.3. Moral Evaluation**

In this section the different occurrences of moral evaluation are analysed<sup>2</sup>. Moral evaluation includes the subcategories of *evaluation*, in which (de-)legitimation happens through evaluative adjectives; *analogies*, which compare one social practice to another and thus highlighting either its moral or immoral quality; and *abstraction*, which emphasises the abstract moral qualities of a social practice rather than its concrete attributes. A few aspects need to be clarified before the actual analysis. The evaluative adjectives have been chosen according to the context as well as the thematic framework. These evaluative adjectives were selected based on their inferred negative or positive meaning. Furthermore, also verbs and nouns have been included in the group of evaluative words, as they have the capability to evaluate and estimate as well. Another aspect which needs precision is legitimation through analogies: van Leeuwen explains that a social practice is compared to another social practice to highlight either the good or the bad qualities of the target which is being compared. However, the material of the present study includes also examples of comparisons of people to animals; humans to machines etc. All forms of comparisons will be included, as for example the comparison between humans and animals discusses characteristic behaviour models rather than physical appearance.

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<sup>2</sup> War as a concept cannot be moral or immoral, because moral qualities can only be assigned to humans and not things. Thus, it can be argued, that it is the people acting within the framework of war who are assigned moral qualities.

Finally, the cultural aspect (more discussion on the cultural aspect in 5) needs to be taken into account. As van Leeuwen explains, moral evaluation is firmly connected to cultural values, and it cannot be viewed in separation from them. One culture's tradition might seem unacceptable or at least problematic to another culture. As was discussed earlier, the point of view in the material of the present study is western, so the values behind the different judgements of war are also western. Thus, in the search of evaluative words, it is the western context which determines the meaning.

Let us first take a look at examples of delegitimation by way of evaluation:

- (2) A soldier's heart / Reflecting back at me / I keep seeing mutilated faces / Even in my dreams / Distorted images / Flashing rapidly / Psychotically abusing me / Devouring my brain (Text 17)

In [2] the expressions which are inherently negative are *mutilated* and *distorted*. Both expressions share a sense of disfiguring what is considered to be normal or good or natural. They express the way war mutilates and distorts people and societies. These two words are associated with nightmares and nightmarish experiences: the protagonist is distressed by these warps both in the waking hours as well as asleep. These adjectives convey the psychological suffering which is caused by war, and in consequence, the reader is encouraged to take the side of the soldier. In addition to the adjectives, the negative judgement is presented through the verbs *abusing* and *devouring*. The effect of the verb *abusing* derives from it being presented as psychological violence, as it is generally used to refer to a physical mistreatment. By suggesting that the images are psychologically abusing the protagonist demonstrates powerfully the effect of war on the protagonist. The verb *devouring* is in its concrete sense related to eating extensively and rapidly. The inanimate subject – *distorted images* – is devouring the brain of the protagonist, and in this connection *devour* conveys the protagonist's rapid psychological decline. The evaluative words of [2] are presenting war from a negative perspective. However, the criticism of war in this example could stem from the illustration of the psychological damage it does to the soldiers, and thus the example could be interpreted as an instance of effect orientation.

A parallel strategy can be noticed in [3]:

- (3) A soldier of misfortune / I owe my pain and suffering / To this hell / These demons / Ripping through my soul / Evil's relentless hostility / Won't let me sleep / Shellshocked / Battle mortise / Devastating insanity / Flashbacks / Panic attacks / Death's rotting / He's coming for me! (Text 17)

In [3] there are several instances of evaluative words and different thematic word groups. One of the thematic groups is that of physical suffering, including words such as *pain*, *suffering* and *death*. These words describe the physical suffering of the soldier, while another group of words illustrates the mental anguish: *shellshocked*, *devastating insanity* and *panic attacks* reflect the psychological aspect. In [3] there are also several biblical references: words such as *hell*, *demons*, *soul* and *evil* connect war and post-war emotions to a spiritual battle between hell's demons and the protagonist's soul. This biblical imagery portrays war as the cause of the hellish experiences, presenting a negative evaluation of war.

The final example of delegitimation by way of evaluation reflects the purpose of war:

- (4) In the middle of a war that was not started by me / Deep depression of the nuclear remains / I've never thought of, I've never thought about / This happening to me / Proliferations of ignorance / Orders that stand to destroy / Battlefields and slaughter / Now they mean my home and my work / Who has won? / Who has died? / Beneath the remains (Text 6)

In [4] the words which are inherently negative are *deep depression*, *ignorance*, *destroy*, and *slaughter*. *Deep depression* can refer to the soldier's misery after war, or it can refer to the melancholy of a post-war society alike. Similarly *ignorance* can be interpreted as the soldiers' unawareness of reasons behind warfare and the uncertainty of future, or it could as well be the general public's ignorance as regards the actual events and circumstances of war. As for the words *destroy* and *slaughter*, the reference is more straightforward and emphasises the detrimental nature of war. Finally, the expression *beneath the remains* closes the thematic circle, as *remains* can refer to both the soldier and the post-war society alike: the remains are what is left when the destruction and slaughter is over. By focusing on these aspects of warfare, the lyrics are delegitimising war.

The previous three examples illustrate how evaluative words can criticise and delegitimise war. The following two examples demonstrate how evaluative words can glorify or support war.

- (5) Let me feel the spirits soar / Destroy the enemy / Striking at the evil core / For all the world to see / This day will last forever / Deep in the hearts of men / Courage and victory / Remember, remember (Text 13)

The way in which example [5] legitimates war through evaluation is twofold. Firstly, the opposite party is judged as an *enemy* and as an *evil* entity, and the protagonist states that it must be destroyed. Attaching these negative qualities to the other party makes it more distant, excluding the humane qualities and thus makes it easier to condemn. Secondly, it attaches positive qualities, such as *courage* and *victory*, to the protagonist's side. These attributes are attached to the soldiers in the expression *[d]eep in the hearts of men*. These word choices portray the soldiers as successful and courageous and highlight the glorious aspect of war: the protagonist wishes to *feel the spirits soar*, that is, sense the escalation of emotions which springs from going to battle with the enemy. With the pompous tone and the careful word choices, [5] legitimises war.

The strategy in example [6] is comparable:

- (6) They will not live to tell the tale / We'll strike at dusk and fight 'til dawn / Tonight our foe is bound to fail / Our time is now all ready at arms / Upon our chosen ground dead men marching / No sign of hope / Victory will be ours before the dawn breaks / Tonight we charge (Text 22)

The juxtaposition of *us* and *them*, or the good side and the bad side is evident in the lyrics through the abundant use of pronouns: *they*, *we* (2 instances) and *our/s* (4 instances). The emphasis of personal and possessive pronouns highlights the division between the two opposing sides, and the use of the complementary word *foe* reveals the attitude towards the other party, or 'them': they are the enemy, who need to be destroyed because they are walking on *our chosen ground*. Again, as was the case with [5], there is a prediction of *victory* and on the other hand, destruction for the foe, who has *[n]o sign of hope*. The two examples, [5] and [6] depict the honour and

courage which is tied to defending one's country instead of accenting the horrors of war, and thus these examples are legitimising warfare.

While evaluation can be somewhat difficult to detect at times, *analogies* are easier to discover. If a social practice or entity is compared to another, it is an analogy. Some of the instances here described as analogies could also be seen as metaphors, but as van Leeuwen uses the term analogy, which is a broader concept, metaphor is considered to be included within analogies. The following extracts are all examples of delegitimation through analogies. Examples [7] and [8] compare war to sports and games:

- (7) Infiltration push reserves / Encircle the front lines / Supreme art of strategy / Playing on the minds / Bombard till submission / Take all to their graves / Indication of triumph / The number that are dead / Sport the war, war support / The sport is war, total war / When victory's a massacre / The final swing is not a drill / It's how many people I can kill (Text 24)
- (8) Cities in ruins / Bodies packed on minefields / Neurotic game of life and death / Now I can feel the end / Premonition about my final hour / A sad image of everything / Everything's so real / Who has won? / Who has died? (Text 6)

The analogy in example [7] is between war and sports. At first glance, the extract might seem as a case of legitimation: sports are generally considered to be an activity which has positive physical and psychological effects by improving health and offering release from stress. In addition, the expression *supreme art of strategy* gives the impression that the protagonist admires the strategic skills which the military officials possess. However, expressions *victory's a massacre*, *playing on the minds* and *bombard till submission* suggest that the extract is in fact a case of delegitimation. The words *massacre* and *submission* bear a negative meaning, and by using them in the connection with sports, the lyrics present a negative statement about war. A further notion that comes from the analogy of sports and war is that sports and games are activities which are not taken seriously by all, and which can be played just for the sake of entertainment. By contrasting the horrors of war to sports, the lyrics describe the aspect of killing just 'for sports'. Example [8] has a similar analogy as example [7]: war is compared to a game, in which the winner of the game



lives and the loser dies. The game in this extract is *neurotic*, which highlights the aspect of unpredictability. A neurotic person constantly watches over their back and is suspicious of everything. When applied to war and battles, the term reflects the uncertainty which is present in the battlefield. As for the expression *game of life and death*, imagery parallel to example [7] arises: victory means life for some and massacre for others.

While with the previous examples the object of comparison was war itself, the following example examines people and human existence.

- (9) Generals gathered in their masses / Just like witches at black masses / Evil minds that plot destruction / Sorcerers of death's construction / In the fields the bodies burning / As the war machine keeps turning / Death and hatred to mankind / Poisoning their brainwashed minds / Oh lord yeah! (Text 27)

In [9] the targets of delegitimation are the politicians and those who send the soldiers to war while standing back themselves. The analogy in this example involves mystical and magical creatures: *witches* and *sorcerers*. They are presented as malicious through the adjective *evil* and the complement *of death's construction*. In the same way, the words *plot* and *poisoning* highlight the negative connotation. Plotting in general refers to making plans behind someone's back, and especially plans which might harm another person. Particularly in children's stories and mythologies, evil wizards plot to achieve their master plan. The analogy in [9] suggests that politicians are making plans which will be harmful for the soldiers. Poisoning, in this example, refers to the general public (*mankind*), which is led on to think well of the politicians: as the lyrics say, they are *brainwashed*. The comparison of the politicians to wizards and sorcerers emphasises the power to influence people's minds and to twist reality. The expression *war machine* presents war as an institution which is deprived of any traces of humanity. The comparison of war to a machine has two sides: firstly, a machine does not have emotions. Secondly, a machine is built to complete the task it was set to do, and it will not stop even if the situation would require it to stop. This analogy suggests that the war machine persists and keeps on going, and that the resistance of individuals is futile.

The theme of machines is present also in example [10]:

- (10) In the gloom the gathering storm abates / In the ships gimlet eyes await / The call to arms to hammer at the gates / To blow them wide throw evil to its fate / All summers long the drills to build the machine / To turn men from flesh and blood to steel / From paper soldiers to bodies on the beach / From summer sands to Armageddon's reach (Text 20)

In [10] the comparison is between a human being and a machine. The extract illustrates that in becoming soldiers, men are turned *from flesh and blood to steel* and the group of soldiers is gradually, through long-lasting drills, made into a machine. Comparing the soldiers to a machine presents them as a faceless and emotionless unit, and excludes the individual traits. A machine does not have emotions and cannot question anything: it does what it has been built for. The concept in example [10] is that ordinary men are built into soldiers: they are constructed. On a concrete level, machines are built from different pieces of metal, plastic or other materials. The status of a soldier is built by the army and the building blocks are the physical training as well as the set of values which are presented to the soldier. The final point giving the analogy a negative connotation is the phrase *from paper soldiers to bodies on the beach*. This contradicts the turning of flesh and blood to steel: the soldiers, even with their training, remain as fragile as paper and end up as bodies on the beach. Referring to the soldiers as *paper soldiers* indicate the way in which soldiers only exist on paper: for a general who never gets in touch with the soldiers their identity remains unknown. The anonymity further detaches the soldiers' humanity, and turns them *from flesh and blood to steel*.

Another type of analogy related to humans is the comparison of humans to animals:

- (11) Shepherds they herd the mindless trance / As the flock follows the puppet's dance / In a fatal romance / All that they needed was a pretext, war's next / Heads to the chopping blocks / And our necks are next / For those who died / Who fought for our rights / Whose children now slaves / They're turning in their graves (Text 2)

The analogy in [11] is created by comparing the soldiers to a *herd* and a *flock*. A herd and a flock consists, in literal meaning, of animals, which follow a shepherd or which function as a group. Comparing the soldiers to animals diminishes their value and emphasises that they are dependent on their leader. They are a mindless group who

simply follow orders. In addition to comparing the soldiers to animals, there is a comparison between war and dance. The flock following the puppet in the *mindless trance* reflects the group of soldiers following the puppet; the commander of their division or troop, while the puppet is moved by the puppet master. This analogy illustrates the complex hierarchy of the military which was discussed earlier: authority comes in different forms and in steps, starting from a faceless puppet master and ending up to the soldiers. The aspect of the mindless trance reflects the necessity of a soldier to forget emotions and engage in a battle when told so.

Together the analogies of animals and dance form the idea that soldiers must abandon their most humane characteristics and engage in the *fatal* and last *romance* that is war. Comparing war to a romance can be seen as representing the steps of a young man becoming a soldier and finally taking part in war: the recruitment process emphasises the glorious and honourable aspect of being a soldier and defending one's home country and its values, i.e. representing the first stages of a romance; the relationship takes a new, fatal form, when the soldier is sent to war. The relationship which started as something glorious ends up fatal.

The final category of moral evaluation is abstraction, in which a social practice is judged morally by presenting abstract, moral qualities rather than concrete ones. The analysis of abstraction will start with examples of delegitimation:

- (12) Bombs to set the people free, blood to feed the dollar tree / Flags for coffins on the screen, oil for the machine / Army of liberation, gunpoint indoctrination /The fires of sedation / Fulfil the prophecy (Text 11)

In example [12] the first abstraction is the phrase *Bombs to set the people free, blood to feed the dollar tree*. In relation to war, it is a common rhetoric device to say that the purpose of war is to bring democracy to the people, even though the actual motives behind war may be something different. As an abstract concept, democracy can be used to legitimise war. However, by referring to the bombs as the liberator of the people, the phrase mimics this rhetoric but criticises it at the same time by showing the cost of democracy. It thus delegitimises war. The latter part of the phrase – *blood to feed the dollar tree* – uses the same kind of abstraction. The

military in the United States receives annual funding which is based on taxes paid by the citizens. By stating that it is blood which feeds the dollar tree, the extract discusses the way in which the funding enables the bloodshed, and that the bloodshed in turn gives more funding to the military. The expression *Army of liberation, gunpoint indoctrination* ironically portrays the army as the liberator of people. What makes the phrase ironic is the context: democracy and liberation is established through *gunpoint indoctrination*.

Abstraction can also be used to legitimise:

- (13) This is dedicated to all those who have given their lives to uphold their beliefs / Not to those who try to demean their sacrifices / You have no right / For those who fought for our rights and for those who gave their lives / And for the families whose loved ones died / It's their honor for which we still fight. (Text 28)

Example 13 focuses on the patriotic aspect of war and emphasises the honour of the soldiers. Rather than saying that the soldiers engaged in battle, the aspects of sacrifice for the sake of a shared set of beliefs and values is highlighted: the soldiers gave *their lives to uphold their beliefs* and *fought for our rights*. The notion of honour is also emphasised: *It's their honor for which we still fight*. It is ambiguous whether the honour is related to the families whose lost ones died, or to the soldiers who died, but nevertheless, honour is an abstract concept which in this case legitimises the actions – fighting – of the soldiers. The lyrics accentuate both the side of the soldiers as well as the home front, which is seen in the expression *the families whose loved ones died*.

A similar kind of strategy can be seen in examples [14] and [15]:

- (14) Pay for all of those in pain / For those who died in vain / Scars from battle nevermore / Still we march off to / War / War / War / War is my shepherd (Text 26)
- (15) A faithful world behind the war / Nothing remains but endless peace / That's what we'll always fighting for (sic) / The bad will fall at least / We should be proud of our glory / Because of our past / The time is right to realize We'll standing to the last (sic) / We've been called to defend our freedom /

Our grief has turned to anger / We've seen the decency of loving people /  
Deliver them from foreign danger (Text 5)

In [14], the aspect of needless death and suffering is emphasised: instead of going to battle, the protagonist accentuates that fighting represents avenging for *those in pain* and for *those who died in vain*. The expression *War is my shepherd* is a biblical reference. A shepherd generally refers to the Christian god, who watches over his lambs – humans. In [14], war is the shepherd, who watches over the soldiers. War is the institution which allows for the vengeance the protagonist desires. These abstractions legitimise going to battle. Similarly in example [15] the abstract values which legitimise war are *peace*, *freedom* and *glory*. *Peace*, in this extract, represents the ultimate goal of war, which is apparent in the following phrase: *Nothing remains but endless peace / That's what we'll always fighting for*. Parallel to example [14], there are biblical references. The opposing side is referred to as *the bad*, which as a notion exists in juxtaposition with *good* or *virtuous*. *The bad* represent a *foreign danger*, and the good and the virtuous or the *loving people* must be *delivered* from that danger. *Deliver someone from something* is a biblical expression related generally to the act of a priest releasing a person from their sinful thoughts or actions, or from evil. In [15], the enemy is represented as a biblical, evil entity. Attaching this type of quality to the enemy makes it more distant and abstract, which makes it easier to justify war against them.

Next the analysis will move on to instances of rationalization, which approach argumentation from another direction.

#### **5.4. Rationalization**

As was discussed in section 2.3.3, rationalization appeals to reason rather than emotion. It focuses on the purposefulness or the truth condition of actions or phenomena. The analysis of this section is divided into instances of instrumental rationalization and theoretical rationalization. Instrumental rationalization includes the subcategories of goal orientation, means orientation and effect orientation, while

theoretical rationalization is further divided into explanation, definition and prediction.

The first strategy of rationalization is goal orientation. As was discussed in 2.3.3, goal orientation expresses the purposeful action by an actor x to achieve a certain action or state. There is only one instance of goal orientation in the material of the present study, and it is an instance of legitimation:

- (16) When the eagle cries / Blood will flow / When the eagle cries / For freedom's fight / When the eagle cries / We love her so / When the eagle cries / We will sacrifice / Out of the ashes came a tempting vengeance / But we are focused, we seek redemption / We are free / We'll stay free / All they've done is make us stronger / The sleeping giant is asleep no longer / If need be / We'll die free (Text 29)

Example [16] legitimates war as the purposeful action which has the goal to secure freedom. In the western perspective, freedom is one of the most commonly used thematic in connection with war. The goal is communicated in the phrase *For freedom's fight* and occurs repeatedly throughout the extract: *we are free* / *We'll stay free* / *If need be* / *We'll die free*. The eagle refers to the home country, and it is commonly used to refer especially the United States. The home country in this extract is personified through the use of personal pronoun *her*, which gives the impression of fighting for a female person, or even for a mother figure. Because the importance of the home country and of freedom is highlighted, the death of the soldiers (*we will sacrifice*, *We'll die free*) is justified. In addition to the recurrent use of the word *free*, the use of future tense expresses intention and prediction rather than certainty (*Blood will flow*, *We will sacrifice*, *we'll stay free*). However, example [16] could also be categorised as an example of abstraction, which was discussed in the previous section. What could constitute as a feature of abstraction is the notion of *freedom*, which was also present in example [15]. This shows again how the strategies overlap.

In van Leeuwen's theory of legitimation, the strategy that comes next is that of means orientation, which de/legitimizes by focusing on the meaningful action. As no instances of means orientation were found in the material of the present study, the

analysis will move on to the last category of instrumental rationalization, which is effect orientation. Effect orientation suggests that a certain outcome will necessarily follow if a certain action is taken. First I will look at instances of delegitimation, in which the outcomes are mostly negative, and related to the death and suffering caused by war. One aspect of warfare is the threat of the nuclear war, which is discussed in the following to examples:

- (17) If none of us believe in war / Then can you tell me what the weapon's for / Listen to me everyone / If the button is pushed / There'll be nowhere to run / Giants, sleeping giants / Winning wars within their dreams / 'Till they wake when it's too late / And in God's name blaspheme (Text 18)
- (18) The day will come, you cannot run / White hot clouds fill the sky / See the red flare, blasting hot air / There's no place left to hide / Blinding our eyes as the sun turns to black / A world full of hatred and fear / All are committed, there's no going back / There'll be no one left to hear (Text 3)

Example [17] discusses the Cold War. The participants in the extract, or the *giants*, are the Soviet Union and the United States and the *killer* refers to the nuclear threat. The threat or the outcome of the nuclear war is communicated in the phrases *If the button is pushed / There'll be nowhere to run*. In other words, if the bombs are set off, nobody will survive. There are also biblical references: the expression *in God's name blaspheme* conveys the idea that the giants or the two nations are acting as god and playing with the lives of people. The expression *Winning wars within their dreams* criticises the aspect that both participants believe in victory, while the reality is mutual destruction (*'Till they wake when it's too late*). The outcome of a nuclear war would be the death of a great mass of people. Example [18] uses a similar kind of vocabulary and thematic. The phrases *you cannot run*, *there is no place left to hide* and *there'll be no one left to hear* all refer to the mass destruction created by a nuclear strike. The irreversible outcome is emphasised in the sentence *There's no going back* and the cause behind the effect is expressed in the sentence *White hot clouds fill the sky*.

In addition to the threat of a nuclear war, the lyrics express the death and physical suffering of soldiers as one of the outcomes and effects of war. Examples [19] and [20] discuss death as the consequence of war:

- (19) The fear and all the sadness / Of what it has become / In this world of madness / Another soldier gone / Salute the highest honour / The folding of the flag / Finally the end is / Another bodybag / And all the time your comrades / Their backs against the wall / A band of brothers fighting / One by one they fall (Text 7)
- (20) Another battle's over / It's a million soldiers / Never rise again / We lost a million friends / You can't understand / If you weren't there / You felt different then / Marching Off To War (Text 10)

Example [19] accentuates death in the phrases [*s*]alute the highest honour / [*t*]he folding of the flag and in the sentences *Finally the end is* / *Another bodybag*, and finally in the expression *One by one they fall*. The first expression may appear to be a positive expression, as it refers to *the highest honour*, and honour is generally considered to be desirable. What makes the extract an instance of delegitimation, however, is the context. Words such as *fear*, *sadness* and *madness* reveal the atmosphere of the extract. *Folding a flag* refers to the convention of covering the coffin of the deceased soldier with the flag of the soldier's home country. Therefore, referring to folding a flag as the highest honour seems ironic. The expression [*i*]n *this world of madness* captures the essence of the extract: death is both the ultimate negative effect of war as well as the ultimate honour of war.

In example [20], the death of the soldiers is again highlighted, this time in a concrete way by referring to the number of deaths: *It's a million soldiers* / *Never rise again*. The number is repeated, but the second time it appears in connection with *friends* rather than *soldiers*: this aspect is presented in the phrase *we lost a million friends*. By emphasising the social relations, the extract highlights the aspect that soldiers are not faceless mass, but individuals who belong to a social network of friends and family. Thus, example [20] brings forth the side of the home front.

Examples [21] and [22] focus also on the suffering and the death of the soldiers and thus delegitimise war:

- (21) It's a stalemate at the frontline / Where the soldiers rest in mud / Roads and houses all is gone / There's no glory to be won / Know that many men will suffer / Know that many will die / Half a million lives at stake / At the fields of Paschendale / And as the night falls the general calls / And the battle carries on and on / What is the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile?



[...]

Know that many has suffered / Know that many has died / 6 miles of ground has been won / Half a million men are gone / And as the men crawled the general called / And the killing carried on and on / What was the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile? / There's no price for a mile (Text 21)

- (22) Without food or water / Not allowed to rest / Constant molestations / The heat intense / Executions / Bewildered men / With loss of thousands / Assembled in camp / Emaciated corpses / Depressed environment / Deteriorating carcasses / Malnutrition ailments / Nightmare of captivity / This condition is / Hell / General debilitation / Repulsive smells (Text 23)

Example [21] emphasises the death and suffering of the soldiers by asking a rhetorical question: *What is the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile?* The consequences of war are presented in the following phrase: *Know that many men will suffer / Know that many will die / Half a million lives at stake*. The purposefulness of war is reflected in the phrase *There's no glory to be won*. The lyrics express the idea that the price of the mile which was gained by fighting is death, and that there is no glory in war. This expression functions as the fundamental base of delegitimation in the example. These questions the lyrics ask at the beginning of the song are answered towards the end of the song: *What was the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile? / There's no price for a mile*. The lyrics first express an uncertain prediction concerning the outcome of war, which is revealed by the use of future tense: *Know that many men will suffer / Know that many will die*. The future is only predicted and not yet determined. Towards the end of the song, the prediction becomes a reality, as the future tense changes into a past tense: *Know that many has suffered / Know that many has died* and the outcome is that *Half a million men are gone*. In example [22] the focus is on the physical suffering of the soldiers. The expressions and words used are concrete and revealing: they depict the different kinds of hardships the soldiers encounter, ranging from starvation and exhaustion to finally death. What is worthy of noting with example [22] is that it could also be classified as an instance of evaluation: there are several different words (*molestations, executions, emaciated corpses, depressed environment, deteriorating carcasses, malnutrition, nightmare of captivity, hell, general debilitation* and *repulsive*) which could be seen as evaluative words. Again, it is illustrated that the strategies of legitimation overlap.

In addition to physical pain and suffering, one outcome of war is the psychological damage and post-traumatic stress that soldiers suffer from. Examples [23] and [24] discuss the psychological effects of war:

(23) Years and years of bloodshed and warfare / Our mission was only to get in and kill / A free vacation of palmtrees and shrapnel / Trading innocence for permanent psychotic hell / Hearing voices from miles away / Saying things never said / Seeing shadows in the light of the day / Waging a war inside my head (Text 25)

(24) I know you raped me / And rocked my soul and life / You screwed my brain And offered me a line / You set my heart on fire / To make me stick like glue / You know I'm coming / Down to the point of fear / You make me eat myself / I scream in pain in vain / To lose the last bit of identity / And forget humanity (Text 15)

In example [23] the psychological effects of war are portrayed powerfully in the expression *trading innocence for permanent psychotic hell*. The actions in war, or the constant killing, are presented in the phrase *our mission was only to get in and kill* and the effect of these actions is psychological damage, which is reflected in the phrases *hearing voices*, *saying things never said* and *seeing shadows in the light of the day*. These expressions suggest that the soldier is losing his mind, and the phrase *waging a war inside my head* reflects the way in which war is fought not only in the battlefields, but in the mind of the soldier as well. Example [24] discusses psychological damage through a protagonist who speaks to an unidentified receiver, who most likely represents war itself. The psychological effects of war are evident in the expressions *I know you raped me / And rocked my soul and life / You screwed my brain* and *You make me eat myself / I scream in pain in vain / To lose the last bit of identity / And forget humanity*. The mind of the soldier is damaged in the process of warfare, which is illustrated by the reference to the loss of identity and humanity.

Examples [25] and [26] examine further the psychological effects of war by discussing the insecurity and unpredictability of being a soldier:

(25) On the edge - spirit begins to break / Chances unsure - not much more you can take / Weakness grows - nerves start to crack / Far from safe - there is no turning back / A fine line - between victory and defeat / At the midpoint - uncertainty complete / Confusion prevails - unsure which way to move / Holding no hope - there is nothing more / nothing more to prove (Text 4)

- (26) But if they tell you that I've lost my mind / Baby it's not gone just a little hard to find / By the time this letter gets home / I'll be gone gone yeah gone / And if they tell you that I'm m.i.a. / Think a little less about me each day / Cause if I ever get back / I'll be shell shocked whoa / Shell shocked yeah  
(Text 16)

In example [25] the psychologically challenging conditions are expressed in the phrase *spirit begins to break, not much more you can take*. The soldier in this example is about to break down spiritually. The phrase *weakness grows - nerves start to crack* further suggests the aspect of a psychological trauma, while the phrases *uncertainty complete* and *holding no hope* express a sense of definitiveness and closure. In [26], the protagonist is writing a letter to his beloved. The psychological effect of war on the soldier's spirit is detectable in the expression *But if they tell you that I've lost my mind / Baby it's not gone just a little hard to find*. This implies that the mind of the soldier is already distorted while he is at war, and if he ever returns, he will be affected by the post-traumatic stress, which is communicated in the expression *I'll be shell shocked*.

The strategy of effect orientation is a very successful one in the material of the present study, as it had the most representations. Next the analysis will move from instrumental rationalization to theoretical rationalization. The instances of theoretical rationalization were limited to one instance, namely an instance of delegitimation through explanation. The strategy of explanation is to describe the actor's habitual or characteristic activities and/or behaviour. Example [27] presents war as the actor:

- (27) Now that the war is through with me / I'm waking up, I cannot see / That there's not much left of me / Nothing is real but pain now (Text 12)

In example [27] war is personified: it takes action which is directed towards the protagonist. The war is *through with* the protagonist, as an active entity. War can thus be considered the subject or the actor. The characteristic activity or behaviour of war is that after it is through with someone, that person is left injured, in pain or even dead. War has destroyed the body of the protagonist and left him in pain. This characteristic behaviour of war and its negative consequences are emphasised and

thus the extract is delegitimising war. However, as the negative consequences are accentuated, the example could also be categorised as a case of delegitimation through effect orientation, as the protagonist in the extract is describing the physical and psychological damage war has left him with.

As there were no more instances of theoretical rationalization in the material of the present study, the analysis will now move on to the last strategy of de/legitimation, mythopoesis.

### 5.5. Mythopoesis

Legitimation through mythopoesis is a strategy in which justification or criticism occurs through moral tales or cautionary tales. In the material of the present study, only two instances of mythopoesis were found, but they are important nonetheless. Both of the examples are instances of cautionary tales. Example [28] is a post-mortem reflection of a young soldier, looking back at his experience as a soldier:

- (28) We all volunteered, and we wrote down our names / And we added two years to our ages / Eager for life and ahead of the game / Ready for history's pages / And we fought and we brawled and we whored 'til we stood / Ten thousand shoulder to shoulder / A thirst for the Hun, we were food for the gun / And that's what you are when you're soldiers / I heard my friend cry, and he sank to his knees / Coughing blood as he screamed for his mother / And I fell by his side, and that's how we died / Clinging like kids to each other / And I lay in the mud and the guts and the blood / And I wept as his body grew colder / And I called for my mother and she never came / Though it wasn't my fault and I wasn't to blame / The day not half over and ten thousand slain / And now there's nobody remembers our names / And that's how it is for a soldier.  
(Text 1)

In example [28] the protagonist is a young man (the opening lines of the lyrics reveal that the protagonist is only 16-years old), who goes to war and dies in battle. The expectation of the protagonist is that being a soldier is glorious, which is reflected in the phrases *Eager for life and ahead of the game* and *Ready for history's pages*: the soldier expects to be remembered for his actions in war. The experience turns out to be something different: the phrase *food for the gun* presents the protagonist and his friend as objects, as the subject of the phrase is *gun*. At this point of the extract, there

is a twofold transformation. Firstly, the soldier transforms into a child again, which is evident in the expression *Clinging like kids to each other* and in the protagonist's sudden need for comfort and reassurance: *And I called for my mother and she never came*. Secondly, the glory of being a soldier and being remembered for it transforms into being a faceless body in the battlefield. The contrast between the first part – the glorious role of a soldier – and the second part – dying in the battlefield and calling for his mother – illustrates the difference between expectation and reality. It is a cautionary tale which warns young soldiers of glorifying war in their mind, as the reality is much more raw and dangerous.

Example [29] is another instance of a cautionary tale, which is a first person narration. The narrator tells the story of a soldier who has died in battle:

(29) In a foreign field, he lay / Lonely soldier, unknown grave / On his dying words, he prays / Tell the world of Paschendale / Relive all that he's been through / Last communion of his soul / Rust your bullets with his tears / Let me tell you 'bout his years / Laying low in a blood filled trench / Killing time 'til my very own death / On my face I can feel the falling rain / Never see my friends again / In the smoke, in the mud and lead / Smell of fear and the feeling of dread / Soon be time to go over the wall / Rapid fire and the end of us all / Whistles, shouts and more gun fire / Lifeless bodies hang on barbwire / Battlefield nothing but a bloody tomb / Be reunited with my dead friends soon / Many soldiers eighteen years / Drown in mud, no more tears / Surely a war no one can win / Killing time about to begin (Text 14)

The actual narration starts with the expression *Let me tell you 'bout his years*. Similarly to example [28], this extract draws attention to the terrors and the pain a soldier experiences. The awareness of death is evident in the phrase *Never see [his] friends again* and the feelings of *fear* and *dread* are present. The rest of the extract stresses the instances of death in the expressions *Lifeless bodies hang on barbwire*, *Battlefield [is] nothing but a bloody tomb* and *Be reunited with my dead friends soon*. As in example [28], the aspect of the soldiers' age is emphasised: *Many soldiers eighteen years, drown in mud, no more tears*. Finally the nature of war is commented on: *Surely a war no one can win / Killing time about to begin*. This phrase suggests that the deaths of the young soldiers are in vain, as the war cannot be won by anyone, or rather, that even the winning side is the losing side, as war always brings death.

This aspect is also the essence of the cautionary tale: winning wars always comes with a price. Young soldiers turn into *unknown graves*.

Now that all of the four strategies have been analysed, I will introduce two instances which could not be categorised into any of the main strategies.

## 5.6. Ambiguous cases

This section will present instances of delegitimation and legitimation, which cannot be clearly placed in any of the categories presented by van Leeuwen. These instances all show clear evidence of being either against or in support of war. They are included despite their unclear status, as their existence proves that there are gaps in the legitimation theory which need to be considered.

- (30) Nothing seems to ease the pain, the reaper's shadow still remains / Sniper lets the bullet fly, in the distance someone die / The town becomes an empty shell, come and spend a day in hell / Forgotten what we're fighting for, no-one wins this bloody war (Text 9)

In example [30], the anti-war statement stems from expressions such as *nothing seems to ease the pain*, *the town becomes an empty shell* and *forgotten what we're fighting for, no-one wins this bloody war*. In this case, it is difficult to point out single words or expressions which denote delegitimation, but rather, it is the entirety and the tone of the lyrics which reveal the connotation. Words or expressions such as *pain*, *reaper*, *empty shell*, *hell* and *bloody* do reflect negative ideas, and could then be interpreted as evaluation, but the expressions rely more on a shared and intuitive knowledge of the sufferings caused by war. In addition to evaluation, example [30] could be seen as delegitimation through effect orientation, in which the outcome of war is pain and death and destruction of towns and cities. The expression *forgotten what we're fighting for* questions the ultimate reasons or motives behind war, and as the essence of things or the truth condition is one of the interests of theoretical rationalization, it should be represented by one of the subcategories, or definition, explanation or prediction. However, the phrase does not actually define the actor, the

action nor is it based on expertise. In this case, a new subcategory of theoretical rationalization is needed.

Example [31] is also a somewhat problematic, and is therefore placed in this section:

- (31) You don't know what's in our hearts / This is our time, we've made our mark  
/ And you can't understand, we'll fight till we fall / But what do you want to  
do? / The time is right for you / To stand on your feet and answer the call /  
Stand up, for the first time, and shout it, woah-oh / The last command is  
heard across the land / Stand up, for the first time, and cry out, woah-oh /  
Hear the call we are, the Last Command (Text 19)

The extract conveys an impression of an inspirational talk, aimed at other soldiers: *This is our time, we've made our mark* and *we'll fight till we fall*. The lyrics also bring forth the solidarity and the team spirit among the soldiers by emphasizing that no-one can understand what they are experiencing, expressed in *You don't know what's in our hearts, And you can't understand*. However, none of the strategies of legitimation or delegitimation seem applicable here. One could argue that this is an example of legitimation through explanation: the actors – or the soldiers in this case – are explained through their habitual or characteristic behavior. It is habitual to soldiers to *fight till [they] fall*, but relying on this single expression seems somewhat futile. On the other hand, example [31] could be seen as a representation of goal orientation, where the purposeful action would be fighting and the goal would be to win the war. Be that as it may, fitting the example under the category of goal orientation seems artificial as there is no actual evidence of this goal, although it might be the goal in the real world. In this case, a new category could be useful. Example [31] could be seen as an instance of appealing to team spirit or focusing on the group. Team spirit is somewhat distinct from van Leeuwen's moral evaluation and rationalization (van Leeuwen 2008: 109-112, 113-117). The main function of elevating or enhancing team spirit is to help the group to strive towards their goal. In this example, elevating team spirit aims at enhancing the group's or the military unit's chances of victory. For this reason, the strategy in this extract could be seen as similar to goal orientation, but the case is not as simple.

With a larger corpus, the two examples above might have been easier to analyse, as there might have been similar cases. However, due to the scope of the present study, the number of songs was limited to the current number. In the following chapter, the findings presented in the analysis are discussed, and the functionality of legitimation theory in connection with the material is evaluated.



## 6. Discussion

### 6.1. The material and the research questions

In this section I discuss the research questions which were set at the beginning of the present study, and investigate if the material provides answers. The research questions are:

1. What strategies are used in metal lyrics either to criticise or justify war?
2. Does the lyrical/musical genre of metal music affect the choice of strategy?

The first set out to find the different strategies, which would either criticise war or present it as something glorious. To discover the different strategies, the theory of legitimation was used. As the legitimation strategies can be used both to criticise and to justify war, the theory suited the purposes of the present study well. The four main categories of legitimation are *authorization*, *moral evaluation*, *rationalization* and *mythopoesis*. The material provides examples from all of the four main categories, but some of the categories were less frequent and some of the subcategories were not found in the material at all.

In the search of the song lyrics, it became evident that the songs with an anti-war statement were much more frequent than the songs glorifying war. However, the choice of the strategies was not as evident, as some of the strategies were used by both categories of songs. The instances where a certain strategy of legitimation was used only by one of the two categories were very few. The second research question will be explored in the following sections in connection with each individual strategy of legitimation.

### 6.2. The strategies of legitimation in the context of war-themed metal lyrics

The strategy of **authorization** is the one with the least examples. In fact, the material only provides one case of delegitimation through personal authorization (example

[1]). However, this finding cannot be deemed unexpected when the thematic of war as well as the genre of metal music are taken into consideration. Firstly, the criticism toward war is very often based on the effect war has on the individual and the society. As for the justification of war, it is not likely to refer to an authority to highlight the positive outcome or characteristics of war. Rather, the aspect which is most often emphasised is freedom and honour and the justification stems from these values more likely than from authorization. Secondly, the genre of metal is renowned for its distaste for authorities and its rebellious nature and reputation. Thus it is not surprising, that metal lyrics do not rely on authorities either in justifying or in criticising war.

In van Leeuwen's own material the strategy of authorization is far more prominent (van Leeuwen 2008: 106-109). In the pedagogical context and in the field of education – which is what van Leeuwen's material focuses on – appealing to authorities is much more reasonable. If a parent or a teacher is unsure about their methods, the opinion or statement of an authority might convince them to act in a certain way. Similarly, the advice of an authority might prevent the parent or teacher from doing certain activities, and thus delegitimise harmful pursuits.

In conclusion, the strategy of authorization is rare in the material of the present study, as it is not as functional in the thematic framework of war and metal music as it would be relating to education and pedagogy. Authorization might function well also in connection with other types of text written about war, as for example in public speeches. Presidential speeches for example have the power to influence public opinion about the necessity of war. Similarly, propagandist music might appeal to authorities, but it is rarely the case with popular music, and even rarer within the genre of metal music, which is reinforced by the material of the present study.

Compared to the strategy of authorization, **moral evaluation** was much more prominent as a strategy of both legitimation and delegitimation. The material provided 14 instances of de/legitimation through moral evaluation. The subcategories are *evaluation*, *abstraction* and *analogies*, and examples from all of these

subcategories were found in the material. The strategy of *evaluation* was discovered in five instances; three times it was used to criticise war, and on two instances it was used to legitimise war. The extracts of lyrics which were determined as instances of evaluation were chosen based on the number of the evaluative words in the extract. Some other examples included several evaluative words as well, but they were not classified as examples of evaluation if they were clearly more representative of another strategy. Example [22] is categorized as an instance of rationalization, and more specifically effect orientation (more on rationalization in the following section), as it discusses the physical and psychological effects of war on the soldiers. However, the example could also be seen as an instance of evaluation. The other example of overlapping is example [2], which is classified as an instance of evaluation, but which could as well be classified as effect orientation.

These two examples illustrate that the different strategies of legitimation can easily overlap and that it is occasionally difficult to tell them apart. In fact, the strategy of evaluation seems to be one which coexists with the other strategies. It is rarely the case that legitimation or delegitimation occurs only on the level of vocabulary, especially in the material of the present study. The cultural context plays a more important role than the level of lexis. All of the instances of delegitimation by way of evaluation could be seen as cases in which the effect of war is emphasised, and the choice of strong evaluative words is included in this strategy. This being the case, the strategy of evaluation is not especially relevant or crucial for the present study, or at least not independently. Evaluation of course exists as an element within the other strategies.

The case of *analogies* is more straightforward. As the name suggests, de/legitimation through analogies occurs by way of comparison. The moral or immoral qualities of a social practice are highlighted when it is being compared to another social practice, which is deemed either moral or immoral. There are altogether five instances of analogy in the analysis. What seems peculiar is the lack of examples of legitimation through analogies. All of the five examples are criticizing war by comparing it to another social practice. In the examples, warfare is compared to sports and games, and humans are compared to animals and machines. As was explained in the analysis section in connection with these comparisons, the cultural context determines the

moral aspect. Example [7] – in which the main analogy is between war and sports – reveals the importance of considering the cultural context. The expressions which denote the comparison of war to sports are *Supreme art of strategy*, *Playing on the minds*, *Bombard till submission*, *Sport the war*, *war support*, *The sport is war* and *victory's a massacre*. As was discussed earlier, the context determines the extract as an instance of delegitimation. Analogies and metaphors are rhetorical devices which occur frequently in poetry and in music lyrics, and metal music lyrics are no exception. By using the strategy of analogy, the lyrics exploit the imagery and the ideas that are connected to both practices, and highlight the negative meaning of war in this extract. When the massacre caused by war (*when victory's a massacre*) is connected with the aspect of competition and strategic nature of sports, the result is an idea where war is a competition between different parties, and victory is a massacre and defeat equals death.

The strategy of analogy is not really one which can be said to especially be used by metal music, but one which is especially used by music lyrics (and poetry) in general. All of the instances of analogies in the material criticise war and thus represent cases of delegitimation. It would have been interesting to see, if analogy would work equally well with cases of legitimation. One possible example of legitimation by way of analogies would be the comparison of war to the encounters and conflicts of animals. Within this comparison, there would be the assumption that encounters that occur between different animal species are natural, and that these conflicts also include winners, losers and casualties. The aspect of something being natural is very often deemed something positive. War could be legitimised by saying that conflicts are a natural phenomenon in the world. There is a case of comparison between humans and animals in the material of the present study, but the inherent meaning in this analogy is negative (example [10]). One reason for this is the aspect of individuality, which was discussed in chapter 5. In metal music, individuality is a frequent theme. Comparing people to animals emphasises the aspect of belonging to a flock or a herd rather than existing as an individual. As for the legitimation through analogies in general, it is rather difficult to produce examples, so one might conclude, that in connection with the thematic of warfare, analogies are most commonly used to delegitimise war.

The last category of moral evaluation is *abstraction*. There were four examples of abstraction in the material, but opposite to examples of analogies, the majority (three) of the examples were cases of legitimation. The only example of delegitimation through abstraction is example [12], in which the abstraction is realised through the expressions *Bombs to set the people free, blood to feed the dollar tree* and *Army of liberation, gunpoint indoctrination*. The first expression is ironic: setting people free is a positive articulation, but as the subject is *bombs*, the positive expression turns into a criticism. Similarly, the word *liberation* is generally considered something positive, but in connection with *gunpoint indoctrination*, it becomes a negative expression. Context is ultimately the aspect which reveals the inherent negative meaning.

While example [12] represents a case of delegitimation, example [15] is an instance of legitimation through abstraction, as it emphasises the noble and virtuous aspects of war in the expressions such as *endless peace, glory* and *defend our freedom*. To legitimise war, the extract focuses on the *glory* of *defending freedom* and ensuring *endless peace*. When the two examples – one of delegitimation and one of legitimation – are compared, the one aspect which is common is the use of the concepts of freedom and liberation. This aspect is worthy of noting, as the examples use the same thematic to promote opposite views of war. The first example emphasises that freedom is reached by using bombs and guns, and that the cost of freedom is *blood*. The other example discusses freedom in a more conventional way: freedom is one of the most important motivations and driving forces for the soldiers. The example of legitimation uses an idealistic approach, while the example of delegitimation uses a realistic approach.

One possible reason for the outnumbering of the cases of legitimation over the cases of delegitimation through abstraction is that abstraction works better as a strategy of legitimation in connection with war. The only example in the material, which uses abstraction as a means to delegitimise, uses a similar vocabulary and thematic as the ones which aim to legitimise war, but uses irony to promote a negative view of war. This reveals that it is a common rhetorical tool to emphasise the aspect of freedom when justifying war. Abstractions such as *freedom* work well because they take the focus away from the concrete images and numbers related to war: the images of the

devastations of war, number of deaths and the violations to human rights. By focusing on the abstract values and ultimate goals such as freedom, the aspects worth criticism are pushed aside. For this reason, abstraction is a successful strategy in the legitimation of war.

Moral evaluation in general proved to be quite a successful strategy in connection with war. All of the subcategories were represented in the material of the present study, and instances of both legitimation and delegitimation were found. The theme of war definitely has an effect on the choice of strategy within the frame of moral evaluation, as there were clear tendencies with for some strategies to be used more as tools of legitimation and as tools of delegitimation for the others. In general, warfare is always tightly connected with moral evaluation, as the motives, causes and consequences of war are constantly debated both in the media and in the public opinion. For this reason, it seems reasonable that these aspects are reflected in popular culture and music as well. As for the influence of metal music, the conclusions are not as straightforward. Metal music does discuss issues of morality and immorality, but same can be said of any other genre of music as well. In chapter 3 I presented some of the recurrent thematic issues discussed by metal music, including the thematic of alienation, power and individual, societal or global demise (p.19). In connection with these issues, moral evaluation does seem to fit in well, especially with the latter thematic. It can be argued that war, on some level, represents societal or global demise, as it can devastate cultures and societies. Thus appealing to moral values seems reasonable. Together with the aggressive style of the music, metal lyrics can address aggressively the moral dilemmas or questions related to war. Whether or not the genre of music plays an important role in the functionality of moral evaluation is somewhat more complicated a question, and requires more material and research.

The strategy of **rationalization** is the second most extensively used strategy in the present study, with 12 instances altogether (the strategy of moral evaluation being the most used strategy, with 14 instances). Unlike with moral evaluation, not all of the subcategories of rationalization were represented in the material of the present study.

This does not mean that rationalization is not a useful strategy, but rather that all of the subcategories did not prove useful in the specific connection of metal lyrics about war. Most of the instances of rationalization were cases of delegitimation, as the pro-war lyrics in the material tend to rely on emotion rather than reason. The material will be discussed in the same order as in the analysis section, as the same order was used in the analysis section.

The first strategy is that of *goal orientation*, which is included in the *instrumental rationalization*. This strategy proved to be somewhat problematic, as it was sometimes difficult to distinguish it from the other element of instrumental rationalization, namely the *effect orientation*. While goal orientation focuses on the purposeful action which will hopefully result in a specific goal, effect orientation focuses on the effect which will necessarily follow if a specific action is taken. The only instance of goal orientation, example [16] in the material could also represent another strategy. In the analysis, the example is classified as legitimation through goal orientation, as it introduces the motivation for or the goal of fighting, which is *freedom*. However, the example could also be categorised as an instance of abstraction, which accentuates the moral or immoral, abstract qualities of an activity rather than concrete features. Example [16] also emphasises the aspect of freedom, but what makes it different is that it does not hide the aspect of fighting and death, which is revealed by the expression *Blood will flow*. The promise of freedom seems to overpower its cost, which is blood. It is not determined whether the blood is that of the enemy or that of the protagonist's side, but nevertheless, it is all worthwhile because the goal is freedom.

It is difficult to make any conclusions about the category of goal orientation, as this problematic example is the only instance of goal orientation in the material. However, it could be argued, that the elements which are usually found in an instance of goal orientation are a certain sense of uncertainty expressed by either future tense or conditional expression, and an expression of a desired outcome. With only one example, no further conclusions can be made of the disposition of goal orientation within the specific framework of the present study. A study with a more extensive corpus might be able to make more valid conclusions about the functionality of goal orientation.

The second strategy of instrumental rationalization in van Leeuwen's theory is *means orientation*, but no instances of this strategy were found in the material. Means orientation emphasises the purposeful action rather than the goal or the effect. In van Leeuwen's corpus, means orientation was represented for example the following sentence, which was presented in section 2.3.3. of the present study: "The skillful teacher can save the new entrant's face by showing herself to be on his side" (van Leeuwen 2008: 115). In connection with van Leeuwen's corpus, means orientation proved to be more useful. The reason for the non-existence of means orientation in the material of the present study might be similar to goal orientation's scarceness: the thematic of war does not provide examples which could be analysed as instances of means orientation. Focusing on the means in war-related texts would be somewhat unrelated. An example of means orientation could be 'peace was ensured by the self-sacrifice of the brave soldier'. In this example, the purposeful action is the self-sacrifice of the soldier, because the purposeful action leads to a desired effect. In addition, means orientation would probably work better with other textual genres than lyrics, such as a news report: in a news report it might be very useful to discuss the means or the actions which ensured the victory or caused the defeat. In this connection, means orientation might be practical. However, as no instances of this strategy were found in the material, the suggested conclusion is that it is more meaningful to focus on other strategies when criticising or justifying war.

The final subcategory of instrumental rationalization is *effect orientation*, which is the one with the most representative instances in the material. With altogether ten instances of effect orientation, this strategy seems to be the most relevant one for the thematic of the present study. Effect orientation focuses on the outcome of the purposeful action, and as the outcomes of war are widely discussed in the media as well as in popular culture, it is only natural that effect orientation is also well represented in the material of the present study. In the analysis, the instances of effect orientation were divided into different thematic groups, which are the threat of nuclear war, physical suffering and psychological suffering. All of the instances of effect orientation are examples of delegitimation. This suggests that the negative effects of war are generally concrete ones, such as the number of deaths and damages to physical and mental health. When war is viewed positively, it is commonly in



connection with more abstract values, such as the idea of freedom, which was discussed previously in connection with abstraction, or democracy. Of course there can be instances of effect orientation which aim to legitimise war, but the material of the present study shows that the cases of delegitimation are a great deal more common in metal lyrics.

As for the influence of the musical genre, metal music seems to match well with the strategy of effect orientation. As was established in chapter 1 and in connection with the recurrent themes of metal music, the genre is known to utilise imagery of death and darkness in the lyrics. Therefore discussing the effects of war in a detailed manner suits the characteristics of the genre well. Van Leeuwen discusses effect orientation only briefly (van Leeuwen 2008: 115), which gives the impression that it is not one of the most prominent strategies for his corpus. Consequently it can be argued, that effect orientation is very successful as a strategy in connection with metal lyrics about war.

Now that the strategies of instrumental rationalization are discussed, the instances of theoretical rationalization, which are definition, explanation and prediction (van Leeuwen 2008: 115-117) will be discussed. Definition describes an activity in terms of another activity, which is either moral or immoral. The category of explanation concentrates on the characteristic features of the actor and legitimises or delegitimises the behaviour by referring to these characteristic features, while prediction relies on expertise. Of these three subcategories, only one instance of explanation was found and the other two categories were not represented in the material at all. This finding is probably again related to the topic of both van Leeuwen's corpus and this study. The field of education and pedagogy is more suitable than war in terms of analysing definition and prediction, as it is easier to find cases of legitimation and delegitimation there. The only instance where explanation was used as a delegitimation strategy in the material is in example [27]. As was described in the analysis, the actor which is explained in this case is war, which is personified, and the characteristic behaviour is hurting and killing. This interpretation seems somewhat artificial, however, and does not really fit well with van Leeuwen's idea of explanation, which further demonstrates that the categories of theoretical rationalization are not the most useful strategies for the thematic of war.

Overall, the category of rationalization produced the subcategory with more instances than any other subcategory, but then again, most of the other subcategories were not represented at all in the material. Therefore, the strategy of rationalization functions either very well or very poorly with the material depending on the chosen subcategory. As for the aspect of the chosen genre – metal lyrics – the choice of rationalization as a strategy seems to be more connected with the characteristics of lyrics as a form of literature rather than the characteristics of metal music. It could be that effect orientation is so successful in metal lyrics about war because it is characteristic of metal music to provoke and to discuss even difficult or shocking issues, and focusing on the horrors of war and describing them in detail fits the style of metal lyrics well. For this reason, effect orientation is a successful strategy in the material.

The final category in van Leeuwen's theory is **mythopoesis**, which is divided into cautionary tales and moral tales. The strategy of mythopoesis is to de/legitimise through narration. There were only two instances of mythopoesis, and they both were cases of delegitimation through cautionary tales. Some of the extracts, which were categorised as another strategy, could have been classified as cases of mythopoesis, but I decided to include only the cases where the narrative aspect was explicit, or in other words, showed evidence of a narrator and a structure which resembles narration. A traditional narration has beginning, middle and an end. In addition, a traditional story has a narrator, who is often a first person narrator. As the material of the present study consists of lyrics, the traditional features and structures of narration are not as prototypical representations of stories, but artistic representations.

Example [28] includes a first person narration, and the narrative structure is evident both in the use of the past tense and the movement in chronological order. Rather than expressing emotions and feeling, the narrator is telling the expected audience his story. The example is a cautionary tale as it warns the reader not to think of war as something glorious and honourable, which the narrator admits having done (*Eager for life and ahead of the game / Ready for history's pages*), as it will ultimately result in death (*And I fell by his side, and that's how we died*). The narrator is reminding

the reader that death is a constant companion for a soldier: *And that's how it is for a soldier*. This example of mythopoesis appears to be very effective as it illustrates the aspect of being a soldier both as an ideological as well as a concrete concept. This type of strategy would also work very well in connection with the genre, as narration allows very dramatic expressions. For this reason, it is peculiar that the examples of mythopoesis are so few. Perhaps with a more extensive corpus the instances of mythopoesis would be more frequent.

With any theory, which is put to practice, there are cases which do not fit the frame well, and so there are **ambiguous cases** with van Leeuwen's theory of legitimation as well. As has been illustrated throughout the discussion section, some of the cases could be categorised into two or several different categories of de/legitimation. This section, however, discusses the cases which are difficult to place in any of the four main categories of legitimation. Examples [30] and [31] represent those cases. The reason for the difficulties in categorising these examples might be the thematic of the present study, or more likely the fact that no theory can ever be fully comprehensive and all-inclusive. There were some similarities and parallels between the two ambiguous cases and the rest of the examples. However, the two ambiguous examples lacked the most crucial aspects, which would help categorising them.

In search of the songs for the present study, several songs which were difficult to categorise were discovered: they clearly promoted either a negative or a positive viewpoint of war, but showed even less evidence of the four strategies of de/legitimation than the two songs above. For this reason, those songs were excluded from the material. Because there were so many songs which could not be categorised in a meaningful way into any of the four main strategies or their subcategories, the conclusion is either that a new category or subcategory ought to be developed, or that the strategies of de/legitimation function best with a different thematic or corpus. One must bear in mind, that van Leeuwen's (2008) corpus is very different from the material of the present study. Also, the theory of legitimation has been more prominent within the field of sociology. Perhaps some alterations would be necessary in order for the theory to function better with for example textual analysis.

## 7. Conclusion

The present study set out to examine van Leeuwen's theory of legitimation in the specific context of metal lyrics related to war. The purpose was first of all to see if the theory is functional with a corpus such as the one in the present study, as van Leeuwen's theory of legitimation is to a great deal tied to the thematic of his corpus, which is education and pedagogy. All of the subcategories of the four main strategies are represented in his corpus, and it appears that the strategies originate from the corpus rather than the other way round. For this reason, the theory of legitimation might not work as well with other themes. Secondly, the present study aimed at discovering the characteristics of metal lyrics and their role in textual analysis.

It was noted that the functionality of legitimation theory was connected to whether it was used to legitimise or to delegitimise. The single most frequent strategy of legitimation was one which focuses on the outcome of the purposeful action, effect orientation. It was noted that all of the instances of effect orientation were used to delegitimise, whereas the strategy of abstraction was used primarily to legitimise. The conclusion was reached, that the material of the present study has an equally important effect on the selection of strategy as does the definition of each individual category. Seeing that several overlapping situations as well as a few ambiguous cases emerged, it can be concluded that either a larger corpus would be required to have more comprehensible results, or that the legitimation theory does not function as adequately with other kinds of subjects. In any event, a further study into the functionality of legitimation theory in connection with song lyrics might be able to answer some of the unresolved questions.

On the subject of metal lyrics, it was discovered that while they did have some influence to the choice of legitimation strategy, their role was not as profound as could have been expected. The genre had an effect on the one hand on the vocabulary – as it was pointed out that metal lyrics are often aggressive and provocative – and on the other hand, on the point of view taken towards war. The great majority of songs presented negative judgements of war, and it was difficult to even find metal lyrics which legitimise war. Whether or not metal lyrics played any

role in the choice of legitimation strategy could be discovered with a method of comparison and contrast, that is, if the genre of metal lyrics was compared to another genre of music lyrics.

Both the legitimation theory and the genre of metal offer possibilities for a countless number of studies. Legitimation theory has been prominent in the field of sociology, and has proven to be useful also with textual analysis. Metal music, on the other hand, evolves constantly and provides plentiful opportunities for analysis, textual and other. The present study invites further research on the issue, which has already proven to be a fruitful and interesting one.

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## Appendix 1: List of examples

- (1) Soldier boy, made of clay / Now an empty shell / Twenty one, only son / But he served us well / Bred to kill, not to care / Do just as we say / Finished here, Greeting Death / He's yours to take away / Back to the front / You will do what I say, when I say / Back to the front / You will die when I say, you must die / Back to the front / You coward / You servant / You blindman (Text 8)
- (2) A soldier's heart / Reflecting back at me / I keep seeing mutilated faces / Even in my dreams / Distorted images / Flashing rapidly / Psychotically abusing me / Devouring my brain (Text 17)
- (3) A soldier of misfortune / I owe my pain and suffering / To this hell / These demons / Ripping through my soul / Evil's relentless hostility / Won't let me sleep / Shellshocked / Battle mortise / Devastating insanity / Flashbacks / Panic attacks / Death's rotting / He's coming for me! (Text 17)
- (4) In the middle of a war that was not started by me / Deep depression of the nuclear remains / I've never thought of, I've never thought about / This happening to me / Proliferations of ignorance / Orders that stand to destroy / Battlefields and slaughter / Now they mean my home and my work / Who has won? / Who has died? / Beneath the remains (Text 6)
- (5) Let me feel the spirits soar / Destroy the enemy / Striking at the evil core / For all the world to see / This day will last forever / Deep in the hearts of men / Courage and victory / Remember, remember (Text 13)
- (6) They will not live to tell the tale / We'll strike at dusk and fight 'til dawn / Tonight our foe is bound to fail / Our time is now all ready at arms / Upon our chosen ground dead men marching / No sign of hope / Victory will be ours before the dawn breaks / Tonight we charge (Text 22)
- (7) Infiltration push reserves / Encircle the front lines / Supreme art of strategy / Playing on the minds / Bombard till submission / Take all to their graves / Indication of triumph / The number that are dead / Sport the war, war support / The sport is war, total war / When victory's a massacre / The final swing is not a drill / It's how many people I can kill (Text 24)
- (8) Cities in ruins / Bodies packed on minefields / Neurotic game of life and death / Now I can feel the end / Premonition about my final hour / A sad image of everything / Everything's so real / Who has won? / Who has died? (Text 6)
- (9) Generals gathered in their masses / Just like witches at black masses / Evil minds that plot destruction / Sorcerers of death's construction / In the fields the bodies burning / As the war machine keeps turning / Death and hatred to mankind / Poisoning their brainwashed minds / Oh lord yeah! (Text 27)

- (10) In the gloom the gathering storm abates / In the ships gimlet eyes await / The call to arms to hammer at the gates / To blow them wide throw evil to its fate / All summers long the drills to build the machine / To turn men from flesh and blood to steel / From paper soldiers to bodies on the beach / From summer sands to Armageddon's reach (Text 20)
- (11) Shepherds they herd the mindless trance / As the flock follows the puppet's dance / In a fatal romance / All that they needed was a pretext, war's next / Heads to the chopping blocks / And our necks are next / For those who died / Who fought for our rights / Whose children now slaves / They're turning in their graves (Text 2)
- (12) Bombs to set the people free, blood to feed the dollar tree / Flags for coffins on the screen, oil for the machine / Army of liberation, gunpoint indoctrination / The fires of sedation / Fulfil the prophecy (Text 11)
- (13) This is dedicated to all those who have given their lives to uphold their beliefs / Not to those who try to demean their sacrifices / You have no right / For those who fought for our rights and for those who gave their lives / And for the families whose loved ones died / It's their honor for which we still fight. (Text 28)
- (14) Pay for all of those in pain / For those who died in vain / Scars from battle nevermore / Still we march off to / War / War / War / War is my shepherd (Text 26)
- (15) A faithful world behind the war / Nothing remains but endless peace / That's what we'll always fighting for (sic) / The bad will fall at least / We should be proud of our glory / Because of our past / The time is right to realize We'll standing to the last (sic) / We've been called to defend our freedom / Our grief has turned to anger / We've seen the decency of loving people / Deliver them from foreign danger (Text 5)
- (16) When the eagle cries / Blood will flow / When the eagle cries / For freedom's fight / When the eagle cries / We love her so / When the eagle cries / We will sacrifice / Out of the ashes came a tempting vengeance / But we are focused, we seek redemption / We are free / We'll stay free / All they've done is make us stronger / The sleeping giant is asleep no longer / If need be / We'll die free (Text 29)
- (17) If none of us believe in war / Then can you tell me what the weapon's for / Listen to me everyone / If the button is pushed / There'll be nowhere to run / Giants, sleeping giants / Winning wars within their dreams / 'Till they wake when it's too late / And in God's name blaspheme (Text 18)
- (18) The day will come, you cannot run / White hot clouds fill the sky / See the red flare, blasting hot air / There's no place left to hide / Blinding our eyes as the sun turns to black / A world full of hatred and fear / All are committed, there's no going back / There'll be no one left to hear (Text 3)

- (19) The fear and all the sadness / Of what it has become / In this world of madness / Another soldier gone / Salute the highest honour / The folding of the flag / Finally the end is / Another bodybag / And all the time your comrades / Their backs against the wall / A band of brothers fighting / One by one they fall (Text 7)
- (20) Another battle's over / It's a million soldiers / Never rise again / We lost a million friends / You can't understand / If you weren't there / You felt different then / Marching Off To War (Text 10)
- (21) It's a stalemate at the frontline / Where the soldiers rest in mud / Roads and houses all is gone / There's no glory to be won / Know that many men will suffer / Know that many will die / Half a million lives at stake / At the fields of Paschendale / And as the night falls the general calls / And the battle carries on and on / What is the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile?  
[...]  
Know that many has suffered / Know that many has died / 6 miles of ground has been won / Half a million men are gone / And as the men crawled the general called / And the killing carried on and on / What was the purpose of it all? / What's the price of a mile? / There's no price for a mile (Text 21)
- (22) Without food or water / Not allowed to rest / Constant molestations / The heat intense / Executions / Bewildered men / With loss of thousands / Assembled in camp / Emaciated corpses / Depressed environment / Deteriorating carcasses / Malnutrition ailments / Nightmare of captivity / This condition is / Hell / General debilitation / Repulsive smells (Text 23)
- (23) Years and years of bloodshed and warfare / Our mission was only to get in and kill / A free vacation of palmtrees and shrapnel / Trading innocence for permanent psychotic hell / Hearing voices from miles away / Saying things never said / Seeing shadows in the light of the day / Waging a war inside my head (Text 25)
- (24) I know you raped me / And rocked my soul and life / You screwed my brain And offered me a line / You set my heart on fire / To make me stick like glue / You know I'm coming / Down to the point of fear / You make me eat myself / I scream in pain in vain / To lose the last bit of identity / And forget humanity (Text 15)
- (25) On the edge - spirit begins to break / Chances unsure - not much more you can take / Weakness grows - nerves start to crack / Far from safe - there is no turning back / A fine line - between victory and defeat / At the midpoint - uncertainty complete / Confusion prevails - unsure which way to move / Holding no hope - there is nothing more / nothing more to prove (Text 4)
- (26) But if they tell you that I've lost my mind / Baby it's not gone just a little hard to find / By the time this letter gets home / I'll be gone gone yeah gone / And if they tell you that I'm m.i.a. / Think a little less about me each day /

Cause if I ever get back / I'll be shell shocked whoa / Shell shocked yeah  
(Text 16)

- (27) Now that the war is through with me / I'm waking up, I cannot see / That there's not much left of me / Nothing is real but pain now (Text 12)
- (28) We all volunteered, and we wrote down our names / And we added two years to our ages / Eager for life and ahead of the game / Ready for history's pages / And we fought and we brawled and we whored 'til we stood / Ten thousand shoulder to shoulder / A thirst for the Hun, we were food for the gun / And that's what you are when you're soldiers / I heard my friend cry, and he sank to his knees / Coughing blood as he screamed for his mother / And I fell by his side, and that's how we died / Clinging like kids to each other / And I lay in the mud and the guts and the blood / And I wept as his body grew colder / And I called for my mother and she never came / Though it wasn't my fault and I wasn't to blame / The day not half over and ten thousand slain / And now there's nobody remembers our names / And that's how it is for a soldier.  
(Text 1)
- (29) In a foreign field, he lay / Lonely soldier, unknown grave / On his dying words, he prays / Tell the world of Paschendale / Relive all that he's been through / Last communion of his soul / Rust your bullets with his tears / Let me tell you 'bout his years / Laying low in a blood filled trench / Killing time 'til my very own death / On my face I can feel the falling rain / Never see my friends again / In the smoke, in the mud and lead / Smell of fear and the feeling of dread / Soon be time to go over the wall / Rapid fire and the end of us all / Whistles, shouts and more gun fire / Lifeless bodies hang on barbwire / Battlefield nothing but a bloody tomb / Be reunited with my dead friends soon / Many soldiers eighteen years / Drown in mud, no more tears / Surely a war no one can win / Killing time about to begin (Text 14)
- (30) Nothing seems to ease the pain, the reaper's shadow still remains / Sniper lets the bullet fly, in the distance someone die / The town becomes an empty shell, come and spend a day in hell / Forgotten what we're fighting for, no-one wins this bloody war (Text 9)
- (31) You don't know what's in our hearts / This is our time, we've made our mark / And you can't understand, we'll fight till we fall / But what do you want to do? / The time is right for you / To stand on your feet and answer the call / Stand up, for the first time, and shout it, woah-oh / The last command is heard across the land / Stand up, for the first time, and cry out, woah-oh / Hear the call we are, the Last Command (Text 19)

## Appendix 2: The songs

Code	Song title	Band/Artist	Origin	Album/Year
Text 1	<i>1916</i>	Motörhead	Britain	1916 (1991)
Text 2	<i>A Farewell to Arms</i>	Machine Head	United States	The Blackening (2007)
Text 3	<i>Aftershock</i>	Anthrax	United States	Spreading The Disease (1985)
Text 4	<i>Armageddon Bound</i>	Bolt Thrower	Britain	...For Victory (1994)
Text 5	<i>Axis of Evil</i>	Sodom	Germany	Sodom (2006)
Text 6	<i>Beneath the Remains</i>	Sepultura	Brazil	Beneath the Remains (1989)
Text 7	<i>Cry Soldier Cry</i>	U.D.O.	Germany	Mission No. X (2005)
Text 8	<i>Disposable Heroes</i>	Metallica	USA	Master of Puppets (1986)
Text 9	<i>Dogs of War</i>	Saxon	Britain	Dogs of War (1995)
Text 10	<i>Marching off to War</i>	Motörhead	Britain	Another Perfect Day (1983)
Text 11	<i>Now You've Got Something to Die for</i>	Lamb of God	United States	Ashes of the Wake (2004)
Text 12	<i>One</i>	Metallica	United States	...And Justice for All (1988)
Text 13	<i>One Shot at Glory</i>	Judas Priest	Britain	Painkiller (1990)
Text 14	<i>Paschendale</i>	Iron Maiden	Britain	Dance of Death (2003)
Text 15	<i>Russian Roulette</i>	Accept	Germany	Russian Roulette (1986)
Text 16	<i>Shell Shock</i>	Manowar	United States	Battle Hymns (1982)
Text 17	<i>The Eyes of the Insane</i>	Slayer	United States	Christ Illusion (2006)
Text 18	<i>The Killer of Giants</i>	Ozzy Osbourne	Britain	The Ultimate Sin (1986)
Text 19	<i>The Last Command</i>	W.A.S.P.	United States	The Last Command (1997)
Text 20	<i>The Longest Day</i>	Iron Maiden	Britain	A Matter of Life and Death (2006)
Text 21	<i>The Price of a Mile</i>	Sabatón	Sweden	The Art of War (2008)
Text 22	<i>Unbreakable</i>	Sabatón	Sweden	The Art of War (2008)
Text 23	<i>Unsung Heroes</i>	Hail of Bullets	Netherlands	On Divine Winds (2012)

Text 24	<i>War Ensemble</i>	Slayer	United States	Seasons in the Abyss (1990)
Text 25	<i>War Inside My Head</i>	Dream Theater	United States	Six Degrees of Inner Turbulence (2002)
Text 26	<i>War Is My Shepherd</i>	Exodus	United States	Tempo of the Damned (2004)
Text 27	<i>War Pigs</i>	Black Sabbath	Britain	Paranoid (1970)
Text 28	<i>We Still Fight</i>	Hatebreed	United States	Perseverance (2002)
Text 29	<i>When the Eagle Cries</i>	Iced Earth	United States	The Glorious Burden (2004)



## Finnish Summary

Metallimusiikkia on luonnehdittu mm. sensaationhakuiseksi, aggressiiviseksi, voimakkaaksi sekä intensiiviseksi. Se on kasvanut valtavirtamusiikkia vastustavasta vaihtoehtoisesta musiikkilajista itse valtavirtamusiikiksi kadottamatta kuitenkaan kapinallisuuttaan. Metallimusiikin sanotaan syntyneen 1960-luvun lopun Englannissa sikäläisten yhtyeiden kuten *Black Sabbath* kautta. Black Sabbath heijastaa sanoituksissaan mm. sodanjälkeisen teollisen yhteiskunnan karuja olosuhteita. Metallimusiikki on alusta asti herättänyt pahennusta aggressiivisesta tyylistään ja offensiivisista sanoituksistaan. Kiistanalaisten aiheiden lisäksi metallilyriikat pohtivat myös sosio-poliittisia aiheita osallistuen yhteiskunnalliseen keskusteluun.

Metallimusiikkia, erityisesti sen vaikutusta kuuntelijoihin, on tutkittu paljon muun muassa käyttäytymistieteissä, mutta tekstianalyysia on tutkittu vähemmän. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoitus on täydentää aukkoa tutkimuksessa, ja tarkastella metallisanoituksia spesifin sosio-poliittisen kontekstin yhteydessä. Lyyrikoiden aiheeksi on valittu sota, erityisesti moderni, länsimainen sota. Sota on hyvin yleinen aihe metallilyriikoissa, ja sodalle onkin omistettu yksittäisten kappaleiden lisäksi kokonaisia albumeja. Muutama yhtye on jopa omistanut koko tuotantonsa sotaan liittyvien aiheiden pohtimiseen. Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelun lähtökohtana on lyriikoiden esittämä näkökulma sotaan, eli se, esittävätkö lyriikat sodan kriittisessä valossa vai korostavatko ne sotaan liittyviä positiivisia näkökulmia. Tutkimus pohtii mm. seuraavia kysymyksiä: mitä strategioita sanoittajat käyttävät kritisoidessaan tai puolustaessaan sotaa, sekä miten metallimusiikki genrenä vaikuttaa tietyn strategian valitsemisessa?

Tutkimuksen teoria on Theo van Leeuwenin legitimaatioteoria (2008), jota on sovellettu toistaiseksi eniten yhteiskuntatieteellisissä tutkimuksissa. Legitimaation teoreettinen viitekehys on kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, ja yhteistä näille kahdelle teorialle on kontekstin merkitys sekä ideologisten rakenteiden ymmärtäminen. *Legitimaatio* pyrkii selittämään ja perustelemaan sosiaalisten rakenteiden ja käytäntöjen merkityksiä. Van Leeuwenin teorian yksi peruskäsityksistä on

sosiaalinen käytänte (*social practice*). Sosiaaliset käytänteet ovat tekstuaalisia representaatioita eri ilmiöistä, ja niitä määrittelevät tietyt tekijät, kuten osallistujat (*participants*), toiminnot (*actions*), ajat (*times*) ja lokaatiot (*locations*). Legitimaatioteoria tarjoaa neljä eri pääkategoriaa, jotka voivat joko kritisoida tai perustella sosiaalisia käytänteitä. Ne ovat auktoriteetteihin vetoaminen (*authorization*), moraalinen arviointi (*moral evaluation*), järkeistäminen (*rationalization*) ja mytopoeesi (*mythopoesis*). Auktoriteetteihin vetoamisen strategia toimii, kuten strategian nimi esittää, vetoamalla auktoriteettiin eli arvovaltaan, joka voi olla persoonallinen (*personal authority, expert authority & role model authority*) tai persoonaton (*impersonal authority, authority of tradition & authority of conformity*). Moraalinen arviointi pohjautuu yhteiseen arvojärjestelmään, joka on aina kulttuurikohtaisesti spesifi. Moraalisen arvioinnin alakategoriat ovat evaluaatio (*evaluation*), abstraktio (*abstraction*) sekä analogia (*analogy*).

Yhteisiin arvojärjestelmään perustuu myös järkeistäminen, joka tarvitsee tuekseen käsityksen moraalista. Järkeistämisen strategia toimii nimensä mukaisesti vetoamalla järjellisiin syihin, ja sen kaksi pääkategoriaan ovat instrumentaalinen järkeistäminen (*instrumental rationalization*) sekä teoreettinen järkeistäminen (*theoretical rationalization*). Instrumentaalinen järkeistäminen tarkastelee tarkoituksellisuutta, hyödyllisyyttä sekä tehokkuutta, ja se voidaan jakaa päämääräorientaation (*goal orientation*), keino-orientaatioon (*means orientation*) sekä vaikutusorientaatioon (*effect orientation*), kun taas teoreettisen järkeistämisen perusolettamuksena on totuusarvo, ja sen alakategoriat ovat määrittely (*definition*), selitys (*explanation*) sekä ennuste (*prediction*). Viimeinen neljästä strategiasta on mytopoeesi, joka legitimoii sosiaalisia käytäntöjä käyttäen apunaan kerronnallisia rakenteita. Mytopoeesi jakautuu kahteen kategoriaan, moraalisiin tarinoiden (*moral tales*) sekä varoittaviin tarinoiden (*cautionary tales*).

Legitimoitavat tekstit ovat tässä tutkimuksessa metallilyriikoita. Metallimusiikki on genrenä suhteellisen uusi. Moni tutkija sijoittaa metallimusiikin synnyn 1960-luvun lopun Englantiin. Yleisen mielipiteen mukaan ensimmäisiä metalliyhtyeitä olivat Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath ja Deep Purple. Metallilyriikö koostui – ja koostuu osittain vieläkin – pääasiallisesti nuorista valkoihoisista miehistä. Vaikutteina genrelle ovat

toimineet muun muassa afrikanamerikkalainen blues-musiikki sekä klassinen musiikki. Metallin nykyisessä muodossaan on hyvin laaja-alaista niin musikologisesti runsaslukuisine alagenreineen kuin sanoitusten osalta. Metallilyriikat käsittelevät useita eri aihealueita ja teemoja voimallisuudesta syrjäytymiseen ja kuolemasta hedonismiin. Yksittäisistä teemoista sota on hyvin yleinen.

Tutkimukseni materiaali koostuu 29 englanninkielisestä metallilyriikasta, jotka ajoittuvat vuosien 1970 ja 2012 välille. Lyriikat kerättiin muun muassa käyttäen apuna keskustelufoorumeja, joiden aiheena olivat sotaan liittyvät metallilyriikat, ja valintaperusteena oli kappaleen esittämä näkökulma – positiivinen tai negatiivinen – sotaa kohtaan. Lisäksi valintaan vaikutti minkä aikakauden sodasta lyriikat puhuivat. Yhteiseksi tekijäksi kaikkien lyriikoiden välillä muodostui länsimaisen ja modernin sodankäynnin kuvaus. Sopivia lyriikoita etsiessä kävi nopeasti selväksi, että sotaa kritisoivia kappaleita on huomattavasti helpompi löytää, ja niitä on huomattavasti enemmän. Tästä syystä sotaa kritisoivat lyriikat ovat tämän tutkimuksen materiaalissakin enemmistö. Valtaosa materiaalin yhtyeistä on amerikkalaisia (11) ja brittiläisiä (7). Lyriikat saatiin suurimmaksi osaksi yhtyeiden virallisilta nettisivuilta (18) ja yleisiltä lyriikka-sivustoilta (10).

Analyysissa käytettiin metodina lähilukua. Lyriikoista etsittiin sanoja ja ilmaisuja, jotka paljastavat suhdetta sotaan. Lisäksi valintaan vaikutti kulttuurinen konteksti. Eri legitimaatio-strategioiden käyttöä tutkittiin kritisointi/perustelu-aspektin kannalta. Lisäksi tutkimuksen tavoitteena oli kokeilla toimiiko van Leeuwenin legitimaatioteoria erilaisen korpuksen kanssa yhtä hyvin kuin alkuperäisen korpuksen kanssa. Sen aiheena on ensimmäinen koulupäivä (van Leeuwen 2008).

Analyysi tehtiin strategia kerrallaan alkaen auktoriteetteihin vetoamisesta ja päättyen epäselviin ja tulkinnanvaraisiin tapauksiin. Esimerkkejä analyysiin tuli 31. Tapauksista suurin osa liittyy vaikutus-orientaatioon. Analyysi osoitti, että esimerkit jakautuivat eri strategioiden välille hyvin epätasaisesti. Esimerkiksi auktoriteetteihin vetoamiseen perustuvia esimerkkejä löytyi vain yksi, kun taas moraalisen arvioinnin esimerkkejä löytyi 14 kappaletta. Moraalinen arviointi oli lisäksi ainoa strategia, jonka kaikista alakategorioista löytyi esimerkkejä materiaalista. Myös yksittäisten

strategioiden sisällä esimerkit jakautuivat hyvin epätasaisesti. Järkeistämisen strategioista vaikutus-orientaatio toimi de/legitimaationa kymmenessä esimerkissä. Se oli koko materiaalin eniten käytetty alakategoria. Järkeistämisen muut alakategoriat taas olivat hyvin aliedustettuja, ja keino-orientaatio, määrittely ja ennuste jäivät kokonaan ilman esimerkkejä. Mytopoeesi oli edustettuna kahden esimerkin myötä, ja molemmat olivat varoittavia tarinoita.

Lisäksi materiaalista löytyi kaksi esimerkkiä, joita ei voi sijoittaa mihinkään neljästä legitimaatiokategoriasta. Tämä selittyy joko materiaalin rajallisuudella tai sen aiheen soveltuvuudella legitimaatioteorian yhteydessä. Van Leeuwenin korpuksen yhteydessä kaikille strategioille ja niiden alakategorioille löytyi useita esimerkkejä. Tästä voi päätellä, että materiaalin tematiikka sekä genre vaikuttavat teorian toimivuuteen. Suurin vaikutus strategian valintaan tämän tutkimuksen materiaalissa johtuneen sen tematiikasta, mutta osansa on myös metallimusiikilla. Tuloksia pohdittaessa päädyttiin siihen, että esimerkiksi auktoriteetteihin vetoaminen ei ollut toimiva strategia, koska metallimusiikki on tunnettu auktoriteettien vastustamisesta. Tästä syystä auktoriteetteihin vetoaminen ei ole luontevaa. Toisaalta, metallimusiikin aggressiiviseen ja provokatiiviseen luonteeseen sopii sodan seurausten – kuoleman ja kärsimyksen – kuvaileminen, joten vaikutus-orientaation suuri edustus materiaalissa ei ole yllättävää.

Tutkimukseni pyrki kartoittamaan Theo van Leeuwenin legitimaatioteorian soveltuvuutta sodasta keskustelemissa metallilyriikoissa. Lisäksi tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tarkastella metallilyriikoiden ominaisuuksia ja roolia tekstuaalisessa analyysissä. Materiaalin analyysi paljasti useita päällekkäisyyksiä eri strategioiden ja kategorioiden välillä sekä muutaman tulkinnanvaraisen tapauksen. Tästä voidaan päätellä, että legitimaatioteoria ei sovellu kaikilta osin tutkimuksen materiaaliin. Pienillä muutoksilla tai uudella alakategorialla legitimaatioteoriasta voitaisiin saada soveltuvampi, tai sitten tutkimusmateriaalin tulisi olla laajempi. Joka tapauksessa legitimaatioteorian soveltuvuutta musiikkilyriikoiden yhteydessä tulisi tutkia enemmän.