

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

PERFORMING GENDER: HELL HATH NO FURY LIKE A WOMAN HORNED

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

GLENN FLANSBURG
Norman, Oklahoma
2021

PERFORMING GENDER: HELL HATH NO FURY LIKE A WOMAN HORNED

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Ralph Beliveau, Chair
Dr. Meta Carstarphen
Dr. Casey Gerber

© Copyright by GLENN FLANSBURG 2021
All Rights Reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	vi
Introduction	1
Heavy Metal Reigns...and Quickly Dies	1
Music as Discourse.....	2
The Hegemony of Heavy Metal	2
Theory	3
Encoding/Decoding Theory.....	3
Feminist Communication Theory.....	5
Definitions.....	6
Heavy Metal	6
Hair Metal	7
Symphonic Metal	8
Hegemony.....	8
Literature Review.....	10
The Birth of Metal as a Dominant Medium	10
Power, Masculinity, and Sexuality	11
No Girls Allowed!	13
White Lace and Black Leather.....	14
Lyrics as Communication	15
Metal Matriarchs	17
Conclusion.....	19
Rationale	21
Methodology.....	23
Design.....	23
Population.....	25
Instruments and Procedures	26
Ethical Considerations.....	28
Justification	29
Results.....	31
Text Example 1: “Call Me When You’re Sober”	32
Text Example 2: “All I Need”	35

Text Example 3: “What Have You Done”	36
Text Example 4: “Spellbound”	37
Text Example 5: “We Are the Others”	38
Text Example 6: “Here Come the Vultures”	39
Text Example 7: “Get the Fuck Out of Here”	41
Text Example 8: “You Don’t Know”	42
Summary	43
Discussion.....	45
Limitations.....	47
Recommendations for Future Research	47
Conclusions	50
Bibliography	51
Appendices.....	59
Appendix A.....	59
Appendix B.....	60
Appendix C.....	61
Appendix D.....	62
Appendix E	63
Appendix F	64
Appendix G.....	65
Appendix H.....	66
Appendix I	67
Appendix J.....	68
Appendix K	69
Appendix L.....	70
Table 1: Themes	71

ABSTRACT

Heavy metal has traditionally been a predominately masculine form of music and artistic expression. Many previous scholars have identified a lack of women in the genre to be one of the leading reasons for its misogynistic nature. Traditionally, heavy metal speaks primarily to young, white, working class, heterosexual men. Lyrical content varies from sexual to violent and to the occult. The last decade has seen strides with diversity within the heavy metal community and some scholars claim it is no longer hegemonically masculine, but in fact, in a constant state of flux and diverse in its expression (Scott, 2016). Utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study will examine heavy metal lyrics by women lyricists. I propose that Stuart Hall's encoding and decoding theory (1980) guided by feminist communication theory framework (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004) should offer the greatest potential for addressing how women within the heavy metal music genre use their lyrics as tools for highlighting dominant, hegemonic gender roles within the heavy metal community.

Performing Gender: Hell Hath No Fury Like a Woman Horned

INTRODUCTION

HEAVY METAL REIGNS...AND QUICKLY DIES

In 1988 two bands made their debuts onto the music scene. Vixen, an all-girls rock band, and Living Colour, an all-black rock band. Vixen's self-titled debut peaked at 41 on the US Billboard 200 chart, with their single, "Edge of a Broken Heart," making it to 26 on the Billboard Hot 100 (Billboard, 1988). Living Colour had even more success with their debut album, *Vivid*, peaking at number six on the US Billboard 200 chart (Billboard, 1989) and winning a Grammy Award for their single, "Cult of Personality" in 1990 (GRAMMY.com, 2017). Unfortunately, the inclusion of women and people of color into the performing ranks of heavy metal did not bring the world into the "universal harmony" as described in the 1989 pop culture film, *Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure*. By 1992, the Seattle "grunge" sound, pioneered by bands like Nirvana, started taking over and mainstream interest in heavy metal was eventually lost, which helped hasten the demise of metal (Weinstein, 2016). New acts by women were few and far between and mostly underground. Lita Ford, known famously for her tenure in the all-girls band "The Runaways", re-imaged herself into "hair metal" (a description applied to the 80s metal genre due to the androgynous look, long hair, and copious amounts of hair spray used during the decade) and then all but faded into obscurity. Even Doro Pesch, frontwoman for the German metal band Warlock and the so-called "Queen of Metal," dropped off the radar for most of the decade, even though she successfully released five albums during that time.

MUSIC AS DISCOURSE

Music plays a central role in people's lives (Lull, 1985). People select music for their own reasons and are personally invested with their favorite types of music on both physical and cognitive levels (Lull, 1985) and music has long been considered an important part of social life (Bryson, 1996). Weinstein (1991) demonstrates that heavy metal music generates community and solidarity among fans (a social community) and sends that unmistakable message to its detractors. A large proportion of rock and roll lyrics are written by members of the bands which sing them, suggesting that a specific message is being communicated (Carey, 1969). In fact, the music industry, in general, is rich in "portraying values, images, and ideas to listeners" which impact our dominant belief systems (Wilson, 2000). The lyrical discourse of heavy metal music, like all other forms of communication, is full of messages that need to be critically decoded in order to better understand the deeper, cultural impact of the discourse altogether.

THE HEGEMONY OF HEAVY METAL

Many scholars such as Walser and Weinstein have explored the history of heavy metal music. Both Weinstein (1991) and Walser (1993), as well as more recent scholars, Savigny and Slight (2015), agree that heavy metal music is inevitably sexist and has had a long reputation of being misogynistic. This is based on both the absence of women in the genre as well as the observation that women 'do' gender, but on men's terms. During the 1960s, the number of prominent rock performers who were women or of color was observably very small (Auslander, 2006). The women's movement that started in 1963 with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* was distrusted and contrasted with the predominantly held beliefs of what the idea of

the *natural* woman is and what her *organic* role entailed (Auslander, 2006). This thesis will discuss how hegemony relates to gender roles found in heavy metal music, the importance of examining this relationship, and how critical discourse analysis can be used to examine how current popular women metal artists both resist and reinforce hegemonic gender roles through their music.

THEORY

When examining subject matter as rich and diverse as music lyrics, an equally rich and diverse theoretical framework should be chosen as a guiding force. In order to better understand the relationship between women, gender roles, and heavy metal music Hall's cultural study theory of encoding/decoding is explored. Another influential theory which guides this study is feminist communication theory, particularly the idea of voice. Rackow and Wackwitz (2004) explore the importance of voice in both feminist theory and feminist communication theory, concluding that it is one of the most important concepts associated with these schools of thought.

ENCODING/DECODING THEORY

Stuart Hall, who was critical to the development of cultural theory, developed a way of analyzing cultural texts in order to translate a message so that it is easily understood. Hall (1980) explains, "The 'theory of culture' is defined as the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life. 'Culture' is not a practice, it is threaded through all social

practices, and is the sum of their inter-relationships.” One of the key principles of Hall’s (1980) encoding/decoding theory revolves around the idea that:

Before [a] message can have an ‘effect’ (however defined), satisfy a ‘need’, or be put to a ‘use’, it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded. It is this set of decoded meanings which ‘have an effect’, influence, entertain, instruct, or persuade, with very complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological behavioral consequences (Hall, 1980).

In other words, all communicated messages contain some form of encoded meaning that intends to influence the receiver. Hall (1980) argues there are three positions that may be used for decoding messages: Dominant/hegemonic (agreement), negotiated, and oppositional. The dominant/hegemonic position suggests the consumer takes the actual meaning directly and decodes the message exactly the way it was intended. The negotiated position is a mixture of accepting and rejecting elements. The dominant message is acknowledged, but consumers do not completely accept the message the way the encoder originally intended. The final position, oppositional, suggests that a consumer recognizes that their interpretation of the message is not the dominant meaning, or what was intended, but instead interprets the message in a way that fits their pre-existing framework of reference and rejects the dominant meaning. Though initially used to explain how messages are strategically created and received through television, this theory translates well to other types of media, including popular music, and since this study aims to critically examine, or decode, the gendered messages found within heavy metal lyrics, it allows this theory to be especially useful. The songs analyzed rely entirely on expressing

meaning through written language, ala lyrics. These lyrics are to be viewed as the vehicles that mediate reality, including, but not limited to, gender ideologies.

FEMINIST COMMUNICATION THEORY

Feminist communication theory attempts to address the connections between gender, sex, and styles of communication. According to Littlejohn and Foss (2009), early scholars such as Dale Spender, Julia Penelope Wolf, Cheri Kramarae, Robin Lakoff, Helene Cixous, and Luce Irigaray, among others, argued that language is “man-made” and that it has been controlled by men for centuries and reflects a bias toward masculine styles of communication as well as masculine ideologies. Heavy metal music reflects this attitude within its lyrics with themes of sex, violence, as well as the occult. According to these early scholars, women are prone to use more tentative language while men are prone to use more forceful language (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Feminist communication theory also suggests that women are supposed to communicate in a more masculine style in the workplace (e.g., band), but when they do, they are often deemed unfeminine (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Feminist communication theory also addresses how the performance of feminine versus masculine styles of communication are constructed (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) break down feminist communication into three concepts: difference, voice, and representation. They argue that voice is one of the most important concepts; “we advocate using the term *voice* to mean the means and ability to speak and to have one’s speech heard and be taken into account in social and political life” (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004). This notion of women’s voice expressing meaning and resistance is also true in forms of artwork, such as popular music. When women

participate in public discourse, they are consequently participating in asserting women's voice (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004). By critically examining the lyrics of popular women metal artists, I am also examining the voice of these women, the experiences they have undergone, and the ways in which they resist subordination.

DEFINITIONS

HEAVY METAL

"Heavy metal" is a rock subgenre that was developed during the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United Kingdom by disenfranchised white, male, heterosexual youths as factories began to close and those subsequent jobs were outsourced out of country. The genres most prominent pioneers were Led Zeppelin, Deep Purple, and Black Sabbath. Tony Iommi, guitarist for Black Sabbath, is credited for creating the heavy metal sound after an industrial accident in which he lost the tips of his fingers on his left hand and after complaining that the tension on the strings hurt his finger stubs too much, down tuned his guitar and heavy metal was created. Robert Plant, vocalist for Led Zeppelin, is credited with creating the iconic heavy metal scream. Heavy metal denotes a variety of musical discourses, social practices, and cultural meanings, all of which revolve around concepts, images, and experiences of power (Walser, 1993). At its roots, heavy metal is a subgenre of rock music that is driven by the aggressive sounds of the distorted electric guitar and contains musical styles that are intense, loud, fast, virtuosic, and powerful. For this study, the term "heavy metal" and "metal" are interchangeable, and "metal" may be used for brevity. In addition, the subgenres of "power metal" and "symphonic metal" shall also be used interchangeably. Power metal is a subgenre of metal that includes elements

of traditional heavy metal, speed metal (technical, fast, and articulate finger work), strong clean vocals, and often, symphonic elements. Its style can be described as “epic,” with long songs and many lyrics about mythology, fantasy, and metaphysical topics (Walser, 1993). The Roland company did not invent the true digital keyboard until 1982 and, prior to this, many early artists, like Manowar, did not include a keyboardist or incorporate symphonic elements into their music. Afterwards, with the availability, the smaller size of the equipment, and the cost of digital keyboards becoming more affordable, some artists began to include a keyboardist and/or incorporate symphonic elements, leading many to classify them as symphonic metal instead of traditional power metal. In Sam Dunn’s (2011) documentary series, “Metal Evolution,” Dunn traces the origins of power metal to the late 1970s, specifically to the lyrical style of Ronnie James Dio, of Rainbow and Black Sabbath fame, as well as the vocal style of Rob Halford of Judas Priest. Other bands, such as Iron Maiden and early German pioneers, Scorpions and Accept, as well as Swedish guitar prodigy, Yngwie Malmsteen, with his accurate and fast neo-classical style (a style that borrows elements from classical music), helped to define the discourse of the subgenre (Dunn, 2011). The title of the subgenre, “power metal,” suggests the hegemonically masculinity of the music.

HAIR METAL

Hair metal, also known as glam metal or pop metal, is a subgenre of heavy metal, which features pop-influenced hooks and guitar riffs, and borrows heavily from the fashion and image of 1970s glam rock. This term applies to the popular 80s metal genre style, particularly the bands from Los Angeles, due to the androgynous look, long hair, and copious amounts of hair

spray they used during the decade. The popularity of hair metal rapidly declined after nearly a decade of success partly due to the rise of “grunge” music from Seattle (Konow, 2002).

SYMPHONIC METAL

After the demise of “hair metal” in the 1990s, mainstream metal was no longer comprised of just one subgenre (Weinstein, 2016). Many different subgenres splintered off, each attempting to assert its dominance. Sonically, the subgenre of symphonic metal mirrors symbolically the combination of genders, whereas the subgenres of death and extreme metal, in contrast, has maintained its hyper-masculinity (Weinstein, 2016). One journalist contends that symphonic metal’s appeal is grounded in this duality “of angelic female vocals, melodic keyboards, and orchestral strings with heavy guitars and propulsive rhythms” (Reesman, 2007). Walser (1993) explains that the prevalence of some styles such as romance, allow for the increased participation of female metal fans.

HEGEMONY

Deriving from the Greek word “egemon”, which denotes the domination or leadership of one state over another, hegemony indicates an interactional dimension. Gramsci described hegemony as “a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership” (Simon, 1991). More succinctly, hegemony is the political and ideological “organization of consent” (Simon, 1991). According to Gramsci, a hegemon will make predominant use of influence to create consensus. In other words, hegemony occurs when one social group dominates another, thus making the dominant group’s belief systems

the prevailing ideological norm (Conrad, 1988) which allows the power holders to remain in control, while the subordinate groups remain complacent. Hegemony can operate in political, economic, and cultural settings, in large national groups, or in small-scale organizations; hegemonic thought permeates all aspects of a society (Allen, 2011). According to Lull (2000), the mass media are powerful tools that the “ruling elites” use in order to spread and gain support of their messages in the public area. Lull continues by arguing that by integrating cultural ideologies through our various forms of media and entertainment, those in positions of power are able to disguise their influence, thus allowing hegemony to “easily go undetected” (Lull, 2000). Van Dijk (1993) defines dominance as “the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial, and gender inequality. It is especially useful when researching issues in various forms of media, such as popular music, because it provides strong theoretical foundations for examining different cultural issues, particularly those concerned with the struggle for, and maintenance, of power and dominance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

THE BIRTH OF METAL AS A DOMINANT MEDIUM

The 1980s saw the rise of heavy metal music into the mainstream with bands like Poison and Bon Jovi (Walser, 1993). The dominant metal subgenre of the 1980s, by album sales, was mainly identified as heavy metal, although it was also, and still is, known as “hair metal” or “glam metal” (Auslander, 2006; Blush, 2006; Darnielle, 2004; Konow, 2002). Def Leppard’s *Pyromania* was one of the most successful albums of the 1980s, selling nine million copies in the US alone and becoming the number two album of the year in 1983 (Konow, 2002). In an interview with Konow (2002), Def Leppard vocalist Joe Elliott said, “It was only Michael Jackson keeping it off the no. 1 spot, and that was a hell of an only!” In June of 1987, the number one band with an album on the Billboard 200 chart was U2, however, the next five places were the metal bands Whitesnake, Bon Jovi, Poison, Mötley Crüe, and Ozzy Osbourne (Walser, 1993). By 1989, 40% of all recorded music sold was heavy metal (Walser, 1993). Heavy metal usually accounted for at least half of the top twenty albums on the Billboard chart for the rest of the decade (Walser, 1993).

While heavy metal has always had a reputation of being misogynistic and sexist, the rise of “glam metal” into the mainstream can be attributed to several factors (Weinstein, 2016). According to Weinstein (2016), it was heavy enough for traditional head-bangers, yet catchy enough to be radio friendly and appeal to a wider audience. Lyrically, the songs were about girls, partying, and rocking out. It annoyed your parents but was not “evil” enough to get your LPs thrown away. Weinstein (2016) adds that the androgynous look with the big hair, makeup, and brightly colored outfits was a stark contrast to the denim and leather that popularized the

image of heavy metal bands coming out of Great Britain in the 1970s. Konow (2002) claims that Poison's look was very feminine and that many people could not tell from their photographs if they were male or female. "We're not ashamed of a little hairspray and makeup. We've always said it takes a real man to wear makeup" (Bret Michaels, Poison 1988). Some feel the margin between men and women attending heavy metal shows changed in favor of women with the power of MTV and the promotion of the power ballad. By the mid-'80s, it was believed MTV had a larger female audience than male (Konow, 2002). MTV, launched in 1981, originally aired music videos and was primarily a visual medium. However, it played a significant role in the popularity of "hair metal." In fact, Mötley Crüe's "Home Sweet Home" (1985) was the most-requested video for four months and became so frequently requested that MTV devised the unwritten "Crüe Rule," which stated that no video could hold the status of most-requested for more than three months (Aaron, 2003; Konow, 2002). In 1986, MTV increased the amount of heavy metal videos in rotation when they added the show, *Headbanger's Ball*, which helped bring heavy metal into the mainstream.

POWER, MASCULINITY, AND SEXUALITY

Many of the early acts of mainstream metal were notorious for their sexism and misogyny. Mötley Crüe vocalist Vince Neil's priorities were "getting paid and getting laid" and "making records for him was just a vehicle for getting pussy and getting more money to buy pussy" (Konow, 2002). Like Vince Neil, Ratt vocalist Stephen Pearcy was the most sexually driven of the group. His top priorities were the three Ps: pussy, partying, and paycheck (Konow, 2002). However, with the success of Poison (and to a certain extent Bon Jovi), the attendance

demographics of hard rock and heavy metal concerts changed. “Sexy” women were now coming to metal (Konow, 2002). Konow (2002) continues by saying women did in fact go to heavy metal shows throughout the 1970s and 1980s, however, they “looked very masculine, making it difficult to tell them apart from the men, and the men who did go to the shows still outnumbered them by a large margin.” As stated before, MTV is believed to have played a part in that. Poison, however, is not a good example of gender friendliness. As Konow (2002) explains, Poison listed their sexual “conquests” on a computer by name, city, hair color, and what sex acts they were particularly skilled at performing. Some other notorious examples exist, such as:

In May 1969, Led Zeppelin and Vanilla Fudge were staying at the Edgewater Inn in Seattle. The hotel was unique in that it rented fishing poles in the lobby and you could literally fish out of your hotel window. It was here that the now-infamous “shark” incident took place. The story goes that a red-haired groupie was tied to a bed and with both bands watching, road manager Richard Cole took a freshly caught live red snapper, whipped her with it, and stuck its nose in her vagina (Konow, 2002).

Deep Purple became known for their long jams, and like Led Zeppelin, put them to similar use. One night when Ritchie Blackmore went into a seventeen-minute guitar solo, Ian Gillan snuck a groupie underneath Jon Lord’s Hammond organ and had sex with time to spare. To this day he doesn’t know the girl’s name, stating, “We weren’t properly introduced” (Konow, 2002).

There are countless other examples of masculine hegemony, such as the sexual exploitation and objectification of women, from numerous rock bands. The 2019 film, “The Dirt,” about the band Mötley Crüe proves that point within the first 30 seconds of the film.

NO GIRLS ALLOWED!

By understanding the nature of hegemony, researchers are better able to explore how hegemonic beliefs operate in everyday day life and how they can influence social identity. One way of exploring this is to research how hegemony relates to traditional gender roles, and how these roles are depicted in the media we consume. Since the early 1990’s, a plethora of research has been performed relating to gender roles and presentation in heavy metal, as well as popular music in general (Click & Kramer, 2007). Data from this research illustrates how the music industry often constructs and perpetuates gender roles in traditional, stereotypical manners in both the music’s lyrics and videos (Click & Kramer, 2007). Click and Kramer (2007) highlight primary gendered difference between men and women in contemporary popular music, including: women’s underrepresentation versus male dominance, women being highlighted for their physical appearance and beauty versus men being highlighted for their musical ability, and women being portrayed as staying the same/never maturing over the years while men mature and gain increased responsibility over time. Heavy metal is no exception by any means. It is well documented that heavy metal has long been dominated by men, in both its articulation and its fan base, but even with its storied past the latter is changing (Savigny & Sleight, 2015). Weinstein (2016) claims that in the last decade women have started to populate all metal genres and the number of female fans has grown considerably. Women are not

supposed to like “naughty” things, and hard-rocking music is naughty (Guerriero, 2002). Guerriero (2002) explains that hard rock and heavy metal music are power, aggression, and a way to give the middle finger to the proverbial everything that is going on in one’s life, not something that “ladies” would do. As such, it is estimated that around one-third of metal fans are women (Hill, 2016) even though society disapproves. In addition to more women fans, more women have joined heavy metal bands, mostly as vocalists, than in any other period in metal’s history. However, mainstream metal’s gender play in the new millennium has not reversed metal’s traditional gender hierarchy (Weinstein, 2016). Traditional metal bands have a dual focus on the singer and lead guitarist, yet Weinstein (2016) argues that neither the female vocalist nor the male instrumentalist is clearly dominant when the vocalist is a woman. It is also well documented that women are under-represented across a wide range of media and settings, including heavy metal (Collins, 2011). Collins also says women in metal are no different than other media, such as in journalism, in that they are shown in stereotyped feminine roles, including their language, i.e. fashion column. In addition, many journalists, both male and female, using their positions as creative initiators, have helped to undermine women musicians when writing their assessments of their body of work, such as describing them as a “gimmick” (Collins, 2011; Weinstein, 2016).

WHITE LACE AND BLACK LEATHER

Women in metal during the 1980s were frequently described as sexy, taking the heterosexual male gaze as the standard, whether the writer or reader was male or not (Weinstein, 2016). Weinstein (2016) argues that women performers in the 1980s were not one

of boys, but merely playing with masculinity just as the men were playing with femininity with their “glamorous” looks. Weinstein (2016) states that women musicians have long been ignored and overlooked within the community of heavy metal and have often been regarded as a “gimmick” or as getting by on their looks. According to Hall (2017), there are only two roles for women to fill in heavy metal: pretend to be “like the boys” to fit in, or to be a sex object. These rules hold women in positions of subordination within the heavy metal community. However, within mainstream metal today, a dominant female performer and the large female fan base she attracts can give an infusion of power to women (Weinstein, 2016). However, not all female performers play a dominant role within the band. What is important is how she uses that power for changing the masculine hegemony of the genre. In addition to her words, a strong-voiced female playing with a femininity that is not an object for the male gaze, not objectified or sexualized for the sole purpose of entertaining a man, clearly cannot be understood in terms of hegemonic masculinity (Weinstein, 2016). Weinstein (2016) adds that neither can the gender play of the inversion of power, where the power positions of the genders are reversed, where hegemonic femininity trumps hegemonic masculinity within the group.

LYRICS AS COMMUNICATION

Heavy metal subgenres do share similar stylistic elements such as vocalization patterns and instrumentation. Music contains a complex set of dimensions, sounds, lyrics, visual cues, social relations, and physical acts (Bryson, 1996). Wannamaker and Reznikoff (1989), state that it is possible that heavy metal or aggressive rock music, which is often associated with violent

lyrics, may influence listeners more than the lyrics that are written for them. Owing to such stylistic elements, a heavy metal song with nonaggressive or unintelligible lyrics still sounds angry or aggressive. One study found that only 30% of teenagers knew the lyrics to their favorite songs, and even when they did, their comprehension of them varied greatly (Hogan, et al., 1996). However, Rubin, West, and Mitchell (2001) still concluded that heavy metal listeners had greater aggressive tendencies and lesser regard for women, although, they admit that their use of broad genres of popular music (e.g., heavy metal) instead of subgenres, which may vary considerably in lyrical content, deserves further research. Heavy metal has come under public scrutiny for presumed negative effects on its listeners, such as antisocial attitudes and behaviors, and critics argue that these genres contain messages that subordinate women to men (Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001). In addition, men with lower self-esteem or a disposition to be angered easily, both as musicians and fans, may prefer musical genres such as metal that provide messages with solutions to perceived problems, and they may exhibit symmetrical attitudes such as distrust or lesser regard for women (Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001). Content analyses of music lyrics have found specific themes associated with different types of rock music such as distrust, assault, and a negative regard for women (Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001). Even without reading the musical lyrics, novice heavy metal listeners can extract themes of sex, suicide, violence, and the occult from songs (Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001). Rubin, West, and Mitchell (2001) further describe that lyrics labeled as heavy metal were less likely to inspire prosocial behavior than the same lyrics labeled as pop and country. Furthermore, shouted lyrics, whether intelligible or not, may add to the violent emotional quality of the song, thereby increasing the possibility that the song will induce a negative mood in the listener.

Many songs with violent lyrics tend to have a fast, driving beat, and loud music that overpowers the vocalists, thereby rendering the words nearly impossible to hear (Wanamaker & Reznikoff, 1989).

Bearing this in mind, it is entirely plausible that listeners of heavy metal music may not actually decode the lyrics properly, or at all, and thereby lose the original meaning of the artist's message, which makes it that much more difficult for women to use their voice for resisting hegemonic masculinity within the genre.

METAL MATRIARCHS

According to Weinstein (2016), mainstream metal's women, mainly in symphonic metal, resemble classical music singers with their long flowing dresses and hair, and their strong well-trained soprano voices, and are universally good looking. They cast themselves as romantic heroines, and like the heroines of romance novels, they are icons for the female gaze, not the male gaze. They often sing about tragic themes and/or conjure with the occult. Their band mates are stereotypical metal males with long-hair and dressed in black, playing metal instruments with virtuosity and power. Sometimes one of the male musicians will duet with the singer using a deep, often growling, voice, known as "beauty and the beast," underscoring traditional gender roles (Weinstein, 2016). Weinstein (2016) observes that more and more of these "female-fronted" metal bands have been making headway, especially in Europe, and as so, it is women who have increasingly become these storytellers, while at the same time, their uniquely feminine perspectives have been marginalized. While metal's musicians have been traditionally male, there have always been a few female musicians in every genre. However, the

new women in metal are post-feminist performance artists and exemplars of Judith Butler's (1990) view of gender roles as performative, who play with femininity, affirming their own way of representing it by combining feminist self-assertion with the persona of the modern romantic heroine, or in other words, the pick-and-choose approach of post-feminism (Weinstein, 2016). However, Savigny and Sleight (2015) argue that heavy metal can be both empowering and problematic for women. The difference between objectification and empowerment is most easily determined by who has agency in the situation. However, it is called the "music business" for a reason, everyone knows that sex sells, and they are trying to sell a product after all. Again, this is based on both the absence of women (Walser, 1993; Weinstein, 2000) and the observation that women "do" gender, but only on men's terms (Krenske & McKay 2000; Vasan, 2011). "Post-feminism" has been used to signify an era where feminism is seen on the one hand as both no longer necessary (the earlier goals of feminism achieved) yet on the other hand as urgent as ever (McRobbie, 1994); where women are constructed as "empowered," while at the same time this empowerment becomes more and more narrowly positioned around their sexualization. However, Vasan (2011) argues that women who are visible in heavy metal as performers and as fans, understand the masculine codes of conduct; that understanding enables their rejection of these codes. Riches (2015) states that heavy metal can provide a site where gender norms can be negotiated, challenged, and reconstituted, which suggests, according to Hall's (1980) encoding/decoding theory negotiated position, a compromise between the dominant hegemony of the genre and oppositional views to the genre's gender norms. Women feel empowered to be a part of the heavy metal subculture. They feel that heavy metal ultimately allows them to resist

mainstream society, which allows them to emphasize their uniqueness as a female heavy metal fan (Kummer, 2016). In addition, Kummer (2016) says that it is unnecessary to say “female-fronted” because it separates female fans from the male fans. When women are “othered” within the group, it challenges their notion of being empowered, strong, and independent. However, Berkers and Schaap (2015) point out that music scenes in general, and metal scenes particularly, are highly stratified along gender lines. Vasan (2011) states that it remains to be seen whether increasing numbers of female metal fans will correct the imbalance of power in the scene, or whether the new waves of women who choose to join the subculture will conform to the existing patriarchy. According to Hill (2016), metal is inclusive, and so women can be participants if they “love the music, are prepared to wear the uniform (jeans, black t-shirt), refrain from desiring metal men, and adopt the same value system.” In other words, women can participate in metal if they are prepared to be more like men. This study will strive to shed light on the ways in which they embrace and challenge their gender roles, and how current female musicians are using their lyrics as important discursive tools in redefining hegemonic thought.

CONCLUSION

Music is an important cultural and communicative medium. It plays a variety of roles as an agent as both a social utility and a source of entertainment. Most of the literature indicates that heavy metal is misogynistic and sexist and that it has been that way since its inception. Women participating in metal have been marginalized and objectified during its nearly 50-year existence. Much of the literature suggests that women who participate in heavy metal do so by

playing by men's rules. As such, it implies that lyrics written and performed by women will follow masculine themes of language. However, in line with feminist communication theory, other literature suggests the opposite, in which women who speak in feminist language can bring an equalizing amount of feminist themed language into heavy metal, even if the music itself sounds angry and violent. In addition, post-feminist women have begun to understand these masculine codes and to reject them, giving them a new sense of empowerment, a rejection of mainstream society, and challenging traditional gender norms.

Existing research on women, as well as lyrics, in symphonic metal is severely lacking. Given all the strides women have made in the last decade, what research that does exist is outdated. Ultimately, this study aims, through its analysis, to interpret how popular female heavy metal musicians and music can be used as a mechanism for both perpetuating and challenging hegemonic gender roles.

RATIONALE

According to Steeves (2009), more feminist research on audience perceptions and reactions is needed, both on the media products and the dominant media (e.g. heavy metal music) and the music industry in general. Female artists are not only judged by their talent, but also by their appearance, more so than male artists (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011). Women are likely to be evaluated primarily as women when performing metal music, which results in the often-articulated phrase, "You play pretty well, for a girl" (Berkers & Schaap, 2015). These trends are acutely important since researchers suggest "a link between adolescents" beliefs about women as sex objects and their exposure to homogenous media depictions of objectified/sexualized women and sexually explicit materials (Turner, 2008). It becomes valuable then to link media consumption with the generation of gender stereotypes and ideologies, which over time become hegemonic views of how male and female genders should be represented.

Gender equality and diversity are mainstream concerns, and policies that recognize these issues are structured into the Western workplace and political institutions (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). Even the growing recognition and acceptance of same-sex marriage equality represents a potential shift in how generations of the future might tackle the issues of gender equality (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2016). The global prevalence of the internet has changed the way gender is discussed in the media and in public institutions such as the United Nations. It allows casual remarks to go global in minutes and generate responses that cannot always be predicted, à la social movements like #MeToo and #NoMore. Considering recent sexual improprieties and harassment allegations against prominent media moguls, entertainment executives and actors, as well as politicians, one can argue that the study of gender equality is

more important now than it has ever been. Pilcher and Whelehan (2016) argue that feminism and gender studies have changed and evolved over the last decade and that issues relating to gender identity, sexuality, and feminism must remain current. Nail Scott (2016) argues that Walser's (1993) simplistic views of masculinity in heavy metal culture of a heavy metal fan as white, male, teenage, and alienated is no longer applicable to the modern heavy metal music culture. He continues by stating that Walser's (1993) presentation of masculinity in heavy metal, where such identities are rooted in myths about masculine identity, is an oversimplified and outdated perspective and is a prime example of masculinity in crisis. Scott (2016) holds that heavy metal culture is well situated to show that masculinity is in a constant state of flux and it is diverse in its expression, rejecting the trappings of a hegemonic description and offers a spectrum of identities that is multifaceted and constructed. In contrast to other scholars, Scott (2016) also claims that descriptions of masculinity in heavy metal as being restricted or limited to hegemonic notions of masculinity are poorly observed myths that deserve to be corrected. In addition, while previous research does demonstrate that stereotypical gender roles are prominent across many genres of music, it has also been determined that different genres use different tactics in order to convey this message (Moncrief, 2004).

METHODOLOGY

Stereotypes and ideologies in the media, and particularly in contemporary music, can be used in order to perpetuate traditional gender roles, often resulting in males being viewed as the more powerful, more dominant gender and females being submissive or overly sexualized. Hegemony and its relationship to gender and media are issues that affect people worldwide, regardless of age, race, class, or ethnicity (Click & Kramer, 2007). Through the careful analysis of different modern female-fronted metal band's musical texts, utilizing the research methodology of critical discourse analysis, these research questions were explored:

RQ1: How do female metal lyricists challenge hegemonic feminine gender roles in their lyrics?

RQ2: How do female metal lyricists reinforce hegemonic masculine gender roles in their lyrics?

The scope of this study is limited using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as its chosen methodology, with only the written lyrics being examined, keeping true to the parameters set forth in CDA. Investigating issues of power and gender as they relate to hegemony is the final element in the scope of this study. Any other cultural topics that may be present within the discourse (such as elements of race, class, status, etc.) would require additional investigation and research, as they fall outside the scope of this study.

DESIGN

In order to best address the research questions about how female metal artists challenge and reinforce hegemonic feminine gender roles in the lyrics of their music, the

chosen research design for this study was the implementation of critical discourse analysis or CDA. Qualitative in nature, this critical perspective proves to be the best fit research methodology for many reasons, the first of which is illustrated in the very definition of critical discourse analysis. Kovalainen and Eriksson (2008) define the broader term discourse analysis as a “research methodology within qualitative studies, which focus on the cultural meanings attached to people, artifacts, events, and experiences”, while highlighting how the more specific critical discourse analysis “focuses on the ways that social and political dominance are reproduced in written texts and spoken language of individuals and institutions.” CDA, therefore, is concerned with evaluating how discourse – including written texts and artifacts – contributes to power and dominance struggles found within different groups. CDA studies the relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality (Van Dijk, 1993). This struggle for power is at the core of hegemony and dominance; topics which are critical components in this study’s research question.

A second reason why critical discourse analysis is an appropriate design choice for this study is because CDA requires an evaluation of multiple texts. CDA almost always looks at more than one text because you want to be able to look for themes that emerge across multiple texts.

A third and final reason why critical discourse analysis was chosen as the preferred research design for this study is based on this method’s real-world applicability (Kovalainen & Eriksson, 2008). Kovalainen and Eriksson (2008) explain how research that utilizes CDA often results in “making direct recommendations about change” and “involves the production of critique towards current practices.” CDA allows for change to occur as a result of a study and

does not simply explain why things are the way they are. “Critical theories, thus also CDA, want to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection” (Wodak, *Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology*, 2009).

POPULATION

Just as critical discourse analysis is a unique, multidisciplinary method of research, so too are the ways in which CDA data is sampled (Wodak, 2009). This study does not focus on all metal lyricists, but rather is interested in only those lyricists identified as female. Performance rights organizations (PRO), such as ASCAP, BMI, and SESAC were used to verify authorship. In addition, this study does not evaluate all women of heavy metal music, only those deemed to have gained popularity within the last decade. In addition to the lyricist requirement, the vocalist must also be female, as a male vocalist performing a libretto written by a female does not further this study. These particular parameters were put into place since most of the scholarly research on women in heavy metal music is dated, having occurred prior to 2005.

Due to these specific requirements, a purposive sample was drawn. Specific lyrics were deliberately selected in order to best fit the requirements of the research questions of this study. Analysis will continue until all possible candidates for analysis have been exhausted or repetition becomes apparent and nothing new is being added to the corpus. Neuman (2006) defines purposive sampling as “a nonrandom sample in which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of a highly specific and difficult-to reach population.” Using Spotify’s Application Program Interface (API), I will query their database using genre

names such as “symphonic metal”, “power metal”, and “female-fronted metal.” These data were loaded into a database and sorted by popularity as defined by Spotify. Artists that are identified as having a male vocalist were stricken from the list unless they are part of one of the aforementioned “beauty and the beast” bands. Once a population of only bands and artists with female vocalists has been compiled, I will carefully review their catalogues in search for songs with lyrical discourse that, on the surface, appear to challenge traditional gender roles or reinforce traditional general stereotypes. Clifford-Napoleone (2015) uses a Butlerian performance framework and argues that masculinity in metal is nothing more than a performance, one that is imposed upon us by normative heterosexuality and is socially constructed and shaped by relations of power. Emphasis was placed on choosing songs with lyrics that outwardly seem to celebrate power, violence, and/or dominance; all of which are characteristics typically associated with men and masculine performance.

INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURES

Because critical discourse analysis does not enforce a way in which data is sampled, it may come as no surprise to learn that the instrumentation and procedures for this methodology are also adaptable based on individual research interests. Fairclough’s (1995) model for CDA consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis. This three-step approach of measuring data is the chosen approach for this study.

The first level of analysis is decoding the very texts themselves, i.e., text analysis (description). Using the chosen song lyrics, I will look for: word choice (with emphasis on gendered words), patterns in vocabulary, attitude, and the ways in which the text and the text structure work together to develop information. The second level of analysis is investigating the discursive practices used within the chosen texts, i.e., processing analysis (interpretation). I will then document the speech acts, coherence, composition of words, and intertextuality of the chosen song lyrics. The third and final level of CDA analysis is identifying the larger, social practices found within the texts, i.e., social analysis (explanation). For the purposes of this research project I will then analyze and explain the ideological effects of the selected texts, with special regard to gender roles, while further noting how these ideologies manifest into greater hegemonic gender processes within the heavy metal community. Data for this study was collected in the form of direct quotes from the sampled texts.

It is important to note the significant role the aforementioned communication theories play in informing the analysis of this study. In order to illustrate how the discursive data translates into greater ideology and/or subtle hegemony, I will rely heavily on concepts found within cultural studies, encoding and decoding theory, and feminist communication theory. Each of these examples will highlight the significance of media in the performer's lives, as well as the powerful role that forms of media play in shaping culture, which in turn shape ideologies and greater hegemonic viewpoints. Therefore, when using critical discourse analysis, it is crucial that I view the discursive patterns found within the analyzed texts through a theoretical lens to exhibit how discourse and ideology are interwoven.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As has been established above, it is the intent of this study to identify how female lyricist/vocalists within the heavy metal music genre use their lyrics as tools for highlighting dominant, hegemonic gender roles within the heavy metal community. Critical discourse analysis is considered a highly ethical form of research in and of itself since a major objective of CDA is to uncover power struggles between social groups and give voice to the oppressed and underrepresented. Kovalainen and Eriksson (2008) explain this by noting the aim of CDA is to “address the issues of social power by elites, institutions or groups that result in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender equality” and as such, that “performing CDA, therefore, is a moral project, as it impinges on uncovering the ways and forms of power relations and ideologies.” Through the process of identifying and uncovering ideologies and power relations in everyday communication, critical discourse analysis provides many positive ethical benefits. While CDA may not pose any of the traditional negative participant ethical concerns associated with other methodologies with living participants, it is important to note that, even with the purest intentions there are still some ethical risks involved.

The largest ethical considerations that will surround this research study was my ability to properly acknowledge my own personal biases. Wodak and Meyer (2009) caution, “CDA researchers have to be aware that their own work is driven by social, economic, and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position.” Since the end results and research quality of a CDA research project are dependent upon the researcher, it is important to be as transparent as possible, regarding one’s personal biases,

within the text of the final report. Therefore, it is incumbent upon myself to acknowledge that I identify my gender as male and that I have a history of performing in a band with a female vocalist/lyricist. Additionally, I personally hope to see many of the gender ideologies and hegemony present in heavy metal, as well as mass media in general, more openly challenged and resisted. By being forthcoming and acknowledging personal biases in a transparent manner, I can ensure stronger, more ethical results bloom from this study.

JUSTIFICATION

Evidence shows that women, in the past, have been disproportionately underrepresented within in the heavy metal community, both as content creators, as well as content consumers. However, with the rise of women to the position of protagonists in heavy metal's gender play, as seen in many prominent mainstream bands, it is possible that the circle of gender play in metal has been closed, or at least reduced. This study is a qualitative critical discourse analysis of lyrics written by female lyricists of the "symphonic metal" subgenre to identify how women within the heavy metal music genre use their lyrics as tools for highlighting dominant, hegemonic gender roles within the heavy metal community. Post-feminism shows a strong cultural indication that, at least for many younger women in the middle-class West, that gender is no longer as salient an issue as it has been through much of the twentieth century (Weinstein, 2016). Magnus Nilsson (2016) argues that heavy metal has developed into a globalized and postmodern phenomenon and that some aspects closely related to Western Europe and North America create a mismatch between certain important aspects of the received understanding of heavy metal; that understanding of heavy metal is received very

differently in different countries outside of Western Europe and North America. Weinstein (2016) argues that heavy metal's postmodern gender play is lavish when seen from the perspective of the genre's four-decade history. After all, she says, heavy metal began in the wake of the Sixties' challenges to hegemonic culture. Weinstein (2016), as well, argues that the duets of beauty and the beast (male vocalist growlers with female vocalist singers) symbolize a form of post-gender play. In fact, since post-feminism has been replacing feminism in women's gender culture, men have been in the process of adjusting to this new balance of power. In this new environment men have been able to develop all forms of heavy metal in any direction they wish, just as women are as well. Weinstein (2016) also argues that heavy metal's gender play, from its origins, since the mid-60s, is a result of, and a response to, not only the weakening of hegemonic gender roles but also a cause of the women's rights and gay rights movements.

Not only is there little scholarly research on the topic of metal music, which by itself is reason enough to justify that more research be done but re-examining the existing research that has previously been done about the genre has been long overdue as the majority of existing research is prior to 2005. In addition, even less research has been centered on the analysis of the female metal artist which would add to the growing body of work on women's studies.

RESULTS

To best address the research questions outlined above, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to evaluate the lyrics of heavy metal bands written and performed by women. Since CDA focuses on the ways in which power is gained and maintained in society through language, this method is beneficial in examining how female metal musicians challenge hegemonic gender roles and stereotypes through their lyrical discourse. Understanding the ways women use their voice, particularly in popular music, as a tool to both challenge and reinforce hegemony can be deeply meaningful in the quest for equality among genders.

The following research suggests that there are indeed female metal artists who actively engage in discourse that challenges stereotypical gender roles. Much of this opposition is rooted in aggressive and violent discourse that is often associated with male behavior that has become a staple of the heavy metal genre. While the analyses do indicate that some female artists actively challenge hegemonic feminine gender roles, others simultaneously reinforce them.

1,394 artists with 4,444 tracks were gathered on January 10th, 2020 from Spotify using their application programming interface (API). To get the most robust list, multiple sub-genre names were used, such as "Power Metal," "Symphonic Power Metal," "Symphonic Metal," "Gothic Metal," and "Fallen Angel." After eliminating artists that have only a male vocalist, 159 artists were left for analysis. Additional filtering of sub-genres occurred, eliminating artists from sub-genres such as "Japanese Power Metal" and "Symphonic Death Metal," sub-genres that do not fit the scope of this study. Artists were sorted by popularity according to Spotify's algorithm with the assumption that having a larger following would allow the artist to deliver

their message to a larger audience. Up to 10 songs (a limitation of the API) were analyzed from each artist. Older, established artists with a longer repertoire, sometimes had less than 10 songs as many of their more popular songs were released prior to 2005. An API from MusixMatch.com was used to gather lyrics and attribution. Songs were flagged for further analysis that, at first glance, either reinforced or rejected gender stereotypes, which were in turn identified as having either a female or male lyricist, leaving 49 artists and 113 texts (N = 113).

The following eight texts were chosen as examples in the order they appeared after sorting by artist popularity and number of fans. Consideration was given not to focus too much on any single artist. As such, a purposive sample was drawn for the purposes of examples for this study.

TEXT EXAMPLE 1: “CALL ME WHEN YOU’RE SOBER”

Hailing from Little Rock, Arkansas, Evanescence tops the list. As mentioned earlier most female-fronted metal bands have originated in Europe making Evanescence one of the only artists from the United States to make the cut. Released on the 2006 album *The Open Door*, which spent 48 weeks on the U.S. Billboard Top 200 and peaked at the number one spot, “Call Me When You’re Sober,” the first single from the album, spent four weeks on the U.S. Billboard chart peaking at number five (Billboard, 2006). It is important to note that while Spotify identifies Evanescence’s genre as “Alternative Metal,” the inclusion of Evanescence into this study could not be ignored and are worthy of further, critical examination. In fact, Evanescence’s popularity on Spotify, with 2,634,175 followers, are greater than even that of

their male counterparts, such as British heavy metal veterans Judas Priest (1,916,460 followers), American progressive metal artist Dream Theater (981,163 followers), British power metal artist DragonForce (568,287 followers), credited with having the most difficult song on the video game Guitar Hero (The Top Tens, 2008), and American power metal pioneers Manowar (500,005 followers).

Amy Lee begins with just her voice accompanied by a piano playing simple whole note chords. From the first three lines it is instantly apparent she is singing about a former lover. Lee laments, "Don't cry to me. If you loved me, you would be here with me." At first it may appear that Lee is singing about another romance that has gone wrong, pining for the return of their former lover, which is a common theme within feminist communication theory (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004), until the tone of the song quickly changes from melancholy to rage. The listener soon hears Lee sing about how the relationship is over and her lover's narcissism, with lines such as "you can't play the victim this time," "you never call me when you're sober," and "you only want it 'cause it's over," before finally culminating with "Just get your things. I've made up your mind." The theme of this song challenges typical feminine discourse in that a strong woman is deciding for her lover and declaring her independence, reversing the power structure.

Amy Lee is quoted in many interviews that this song is about the breakup with her former boyfriend, Seether lead singer Shaun Morgan. In a 2008 *Kerrang!* magazine interview, Morgan claimed the song was "very one-sided. Like I was a horrible drunk, always hammered, but I wasn't. I drank to cope when I was unhappy in the relationship. I was angry and trapped," (Rampton, 2008). Morgan was clearly placing his alcohol problem squarely on Lee's shoulders.

Coincidentally, Morgan checked himself into rehab the day the song was released. In a 2011 interview with Spin magazine, Lee explains that “it’s mostly a chick anthem. I definitely get a lot of girls who are like, that’s my song. I assigned that ringtone to my ex-boyfriend (Dodero, 2011).

The song repeats the chorus a total of four times with only the last repeat being slightly different. In the first three repeats Lee ends the chorus with “You want me, come find me. Make up your mind.” However, by the fourth time Lee changes her position with, “Don’t lie to me. Just get your things. I’ve made up your mind,” ending nearly the same as it began, with only Lee’s voice and a piano outro. The actual line of the title is only repeated once during the song’s bridge. In each of the two verses, Lee discusses issues with their relationship:

1. Deceit – “We’re only deceiving ourselves”
2. Lies – “I’m sick of the lie”
3. Shame – “Couldn’t take the blame, sick with shame”
4. Victim blaming – “You can’t play the victim this time”

Each of these lines paint a picture of a toxic relationship in their own right, but when combined together the lyrics paint a mental picture of a woman who is fed up and ready to take control of her own situation and gain her independence, which is quite contrary to how women are traditionally supposed to behave (Moncrief, 2004). Three points can be made from the repeated chorus:

1. people who love each other should be together, not apart
2. men are indecisive
3. strong women can make difficult decisions too.

TEXT EXAMPLE 2: “ALL I NEED”

Hailing from the Netherlands, Dutch symphonic rockers Within Temptation’s 2007 album *The Heart of Everything* debuted at number one on the Dutch charts and was their first album to make it on to the U.S. Billboard Heatseekers Albums chart, peaking at number one (Billboard, 2007). It should be noted that vocalist Sharon den Adel and guitarist Robert Westerholt are married and provide the bulk of the songwriting duties. Upon hearing Within Temptation for the first time it is easy to draw comparisons to Evanescence, even though Within Temptation has been around a lot longer with their first album, *Enter*, released in 1997 and Evanescence’s first full length album, *Fallen*, released in 2003.

“All I Need” is a typical power ballad, an emotional style of music that often deals with romantic and intimate relationships, usually in a solemn manner. Within seconds of the song beginning we hear the unmistakable melancholy vocals of den Adel accompanied with a violin, “Oh why don’t I ever learn? I’ve lost all my trust.” Immediately following the opening verse is a pre-chorus. In addition to the chorus repeating, which repeats six times, the pre-chorus is the only other piece of the text that repeats more than once. “Can you still see the heart of me? All my agony fades away when you hold me in your embrace.” Immediately we can hear the sad story of a woman who has opened her heart to others in the past only to have her heart broken every time. Her past relationship failures have her pleading with her current lover that this relationship finally be the one that lasts.

The chorus reinforces two main points:

1. Men break women’s hearts – “Don’t tear me down, what’s left of me”

2. Women need men to help them – “Make my heart a better place,” “Save me from my fear,” “Give me something I can believe”

Like “Call Me When You’re Sober,” the woman protagonist is in a romantic relationship.

However, Lee’s protagonist took control of the situation while den Adel’s relies on a male savior.

TEXT EXAMPLE 3: “WHAT HAVE YOU DONE”

From the same album, *The Heart of Everything*, comes Within Temptation’s “What Have You Done”, the first and most successful single from the album. This listener is immediately setup with the story, “Would you mind if I hurt you? Understand that I need to. Wish that I had other choices than to harm the one I love.” The protagonist is again in an abusive relationship but has taken it for the final time.

And just as in a Romeo and Juliet story, den Adel asks these questions:

1. Pain and suffering – “Why does fate make us suffer? There’s a curse between us, between me and you.”
2. Retaliation – “Would you mind if I killed you? Would you mind if I tried to?”

The phrase, “What have you done” is repeated in the song 27 times, a constant reminder that whatever it was, it was the final straw. The actual chorus is repeated four times, “I’ve been waiting for someone like you but now you are slipping away.” While she still loves him, his feelings are not reciprocated.

Compared to the previous song, “All I Need,” from the same album, den Adel rejects the gender stereotype by suggesting the woman treat the man the same way by reversing the power dynamic, “I won’t show mercy on you now. It’s over now, what have you done?” Like

Evanescence's "Call Me When You're Sober," the power dynamic is flipped, as violence is a typically masculine thing to do and is not considered very feminine.

TEXT EXAMPLE 4: "SPELLBOUND"

Italian gothic metal band Lacuna Coil's fifth album, 2009's *Shallow Life*, peaked at number 16 on the Billboard 200 (Billboard, 2009), its first single being "Spellbound." Lacuna Coil is one of the beforementioned "Beauty & The Beast" bands, bands that utilize both a male and female lead vocalist. It should also be mentioned that the vocalists Cristina Scabbia and Andrea Ferro share the lyric writing duties and that Scabbia and bassist, Marco Coti Zelati, dated for a period. "Spellbound" tells the story of addiction, withdrawal, and the perseverance to break the addiction.

Three lines of text provide evidence for the theme of addiction and withdrawal.

1. Withdrawal – "Burning here in the room. Feeling that the walls are moving closer," describes the burning skin and the feeling that everything around you is collapsing.
2. Addiction – "Silent whispers of words inside of my head," talks of the nagging of the addiction controlling your actions.
3. Reoccurring – "The night that comes, it waits for me. Lifts me to the ending of another day. I'm haunted," suggests that the addiction is something that recurs daily.

The chorus is repeated four times and stresses two points:

1. Resistance – "You cannot have this control on me"

2. Purpose – “I will break the spell you put on me”

While resistance is not new to rock music, resistance is typically not associated with feminine behavior. Women are supposed to be submissive (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004). Again, by asserting her desire to “break the spell” she is choosing to take control and gain her independence. Resistance is also the result of rejecting the power and control that something or someone holds over a person or group, i.e. the main theme of this study, hegemony.

TEXT EXAMPLE 5: “WE ARE THE OTHERS”

Again, from the Netherlands come Dutch rockers Delain and their 2012 album, *We Are the Others*. While the album did not make the U.S. Billboard chart, it did peak on the Dutch charts at number four (Dutch Charts, 2012). Delain was co-founded by vocalist Charlotte Wessels and keyboardist Martijn Westerholt, brother of Within Temptation’s co-founder Robert Westerholt, after Martijn left Within Temptation upon being diagnosed with mononucleosis and being replaced by another keyboardist.

The title track, “We Are the Others,” begins with “I’m walking with Sophie tonight,” a reference to Sophie Lancaster, a young girl who was murdered in England in 2007, and which it has been speculated that the motivation behind the attack was her and her boyfriend’s choice of gothic clothing and being members of the goth subculture. The song continues, “I can’t get it out of my mind how you were left to bleed. Was it how you dressed? Or how you act? I can’t believe how they could act so violently without regret.”

The chorus is repeated three times and makes these three main points:

1. Othering – “We are the others,” “We are the cast outs,” “We’re the outsiders”

2. Acceptance – “You are not alone”
3. Resistance – “But you can’t hide us”

Once again, the theme of resistance rises to the surface, highlighting the theme of this study. No longer will the “mistreated” hide and cower, “how with our heads up high, we’ll carry on and carry out. That we won’t let them get us down or wear us out ‘case we are not alone,” there is strength in numbers.

The second verse immediately conjures images of recent racial unrest surrounding the death of George Floyd at the hands of Minneapolis police officers. “As simple as air in your lungs. As simple as words on your lips. And no one should take that way. No one should have to argue this.” The bridge of the song breaks down the main theme of acceptance, “Normal is not the norm, it is just a uniform. Forget about the norms, take off your uniform. We are beautiful,” suggesting that underneath all our exteriors, whether it is how we think or how we dress, we are all the same underneath.

TEXT EXAMPLE 6: “HERE COME THE VULTURES”

Coming again from Dutch rockers Delain, this time from their 2014 album, *The Human Contradiction* is their first single, “Here Come the Vultures.” Delain finally makes it onto the U.S. Billboard Top Rock Albums chart, peaking at 19 but only staying for one week (Billboard, 2014). On the Dutch charts, the album only peaked at 25 (Dutch Charts, 2014). The song begins with Wessels’ melancholy vocals accompanied by a music box and later a piano before finally exploding with, arguably, some of Delain’s heaviest riffs.

The chorus is repeated four times including at the very beginning and the very ending. “I once had an understanding that everything would go my way. But now we’ve come too far along for me to hold on to my own believes.” *The Human Contradiction* is Delain’s fourth album, and here, Wessels is painting a picture of life on the stage as a musician.

The main points of evidence are derived from these lines of text:

1. Difficulty and stress – “I’m not in it for the fun of it but for the pain,” suggests that life on the road is not all that fun but quite stressful and difficult.
2. Fame and glory – “I’m not at all interested in your temporary fame,” suggests that Wessels is not a musician for fame and glory.
3. Sharing and openness – “I just want to see you stare as I lay my soul bare for you,” suggests that Wessels just wants to share her music, the music that comes from her very being, to as many fans as possible.
4. Strength and power – Wessels then adds, “to crush upon with heavy feet. I’m in it for the beat.” Here Wessels implies the energy she feeds from when the crowd is synchronized with the music and the strength and power it gives her.

In the pre-chorus, Wessels describes a typical night, “It’s just a black murder of crows across the sky. The moon announces that it will soon be night. The light does down, the spot goes on as loveless lips break into song.” Again, Wessels is possibly suggesting that perhaps she does not love the monotony of the road so much.

Upon first read it does not appear that Wessels is rejecting or reinforcing any gender stereotypes within the genre. However, the second verse is where Wessels takes her stand. “They said you cannot sing the blues when you’re pretty and young. Let me show you a face

that fits to neither one. This heart is black like blood that has dried. This song is blue like bruises bright.” Here, Wessels is rejecting the idea that pretty and young girls cannot play metal. She stresses that her heart is just as black as others within the genre, suggesting that she is not pretty or young, and that she should be treated no differently. By the end of the song, the listener is left with the impression that life on the road has jaded Wessels and that she is just going through the motion’s night after night.

TEXT EXAMPLE 7: “GET THE FUCK OUT OF HERE”

Hailing from Calgary, Alberta, nicknamed “Cowtown” and “Stampede City” and which is better known for its country music and oil and gas industry, comes Kobra and the Lotus (KATL) and their 2019 album, *Evolution*. While *Evolution* is KATL’s sixth studio album, they are still a relatively unknown artist having only 36 thousand followers compared to Evanescence’s 2.6 million. KATL rise to prominence started in 2015 when the band toured in Europe with American power metal veterans Kamelot and later the vocalist, Kobra Paige, becoming a guest singer with Kamelot for their subsequent North American tour. Incidentally, Paige and Kamelot vocalist, Tommy Karevik, were married in early 2020 (Blabbermouth, 2020), which isn’t that uncommon as Kamelot keyboardist, Oliver Palotai, is married to Dutch symphonic metal band Epica vocalist, Simone Simons. KATL, to date, has only one track that has charted (Billboard, 2018).

Paige immediately sets the stage in the first verse with, “this isn’t gonna turn out well.” Which does not bode well, and she continues, “Pretty pretty girls aren’t always nice. A kiss so sweet but a heart of ice.” Paige paints a picture that runs against the old saying that “girls are

made from sugar and spice and everything nice.” In fact, in the second verse Paige once again reiterates that point, “Picture-perfect, sugar and spice, tastes so good it’ll cost your life.” The chorus, which is repeated four times again suggests a reversal of power. Paige says the song is about getting rid of predatory relationships that suck all your energy dry and is actually meant to be an anthem for “charging up” others to do the same (Blabbermouth, 2020). The chorus reflects this by telling the problem actor to “run, run, run, get the fuck out of here! Don’t look back, it’ll be the end I swear. I’ll warn you once, I’ll warn you twice that if you stay, you’ll pay the price.” Just as Evanescence’s “Call Me When You’re Sober” and Within Temptation’s “What Have You Done,” Paige is also making a call to action for women to take control of their toxic relationships, an action that is quite contrary to the “stand by your man” culture associated with country music and the western culture of Calgary.

The phrase “get the fuck out of here” is repeated a total of six times. The use of profanity, while not uncommon within the music of the genre, is not a form of discourse associated with femininity (Rakow & Wackwitz, 2004) and suggests that while Paige is resisting one gender stereotype she is, at the same time, reinforcing the rules of the genre.

TEXT EXAMPLE 8: “YOU DON’T KNOW”

Appearing on Kobra and the Lotus’ fourth studio album, 2017’s *Prevail I*, is the third single, “You Don’t Know.” As with many songs of the genre, the first few lines immediately set up the theme of the story, “Did you ever think for a second I’m only human too? You have no perception of all the struggles that I have been through.” Paige lays out an argument of being

misunderstood and it comes at a time in her career when she was doubting the future of the band (Paige, 2017).

This argument is supported by these lines of text:

1. Spurn – In the first verse Paige admits to ignoring the empty words of her partner, “Listening to the nothingness I’m hearing while I watch your lips move.”
2. Rejection – Here Paige rejects the pattern of having her partner make her decisions, “If you really knew me, you’d think twice about creating my truth.”
3. Anger – Paige hammers it home, “I’m sick and tired of feeling my face on fire when you don’t know what you are talking about.”
4. Ignorance – In the second verse Paige continues, “Empty conversations, we know nothing of each other’s solitude. You don’t know the reasons that made me, and I don’t know you.”
5. More anger – Again, Paige expresses her anger, “I’m sick and tired of feeling my faith expire in the lies we keep on telling ourselves.”

Paige repeats the line, “You don’t know what it’s like to be me” six times, a rallying cry to others who are misunderstood to stand up and take control of their situation against a toxic relationship and gain their independence.

SUMMARY

1,394 artists with 4,444 songs were selected from Spotify, both male and female vocalists. After filtering out artists whose genre did not apply and only tracks since 2005, the list was reduced to 399 artists, with 159, or 39.8%, bands with female vocalists. However, only

49 of the artists, or 30.8%, wrote lyrics that either reinforces or rejects gender stereotypes. 1,478 songs were performed by female vocalists while only 418, or 28.3%, were written by women. However, only 113 songs, or 7.6%, contained lyrics that either reinforces or rejects gender stereotypes. Of those 113 texts, only 37, or 32.7%, reject gender stereotypes. When compared to all songs written by women only 8.8% of the songs reject gender stereotypes and only 2.5% of all songs performed by women reject gender stereotypes.

Several patterns emerged during the analysis. While challenging gender stereotypes were not common among all female vocalists, resistance against other types of societal issues flourished, such as racial inequality, bullying, poverty, and the biggest one, war. Interestingly, sex, a common trope of the metal genre, was not a theme that arose from the analysis of the texts. In addition, most songs are still written by men and while lyrics written by men were not critically analyzed for this study, lyrics were pulled and examined while determining attribution and, on the surface, suggest that lyrics written by men that touch upon gender stereotypes tend to reinforce them. More established artists, those with more than 10,000 followers, tend to write more songs, 72.6%, that touch upon gender stereotypes than less established bands.

DISCUSSION

The analyzed lyrics create a discourse that challenges typical views of femininity in heavy metal music, views that are often associated with hegemony – the dominance of one social group over another – allowing a negotiated position. In other words, rejecting some themes of hegemony and interjecting some themes to the contrary. While the fantasy of the young and beautiful heroine being rescued by a “knight in shining armor” is still alive and well in the discourse presented, some artists do represent independent, self-reliant women in their songs. However, while the genre, over the past 20 years, has become more inclusive of women and women performers, the evidence shows that women lyricists and artists are missing out on the opportunity to use their voice and platform as a vehicle for fighting gender hegemony and inequality within the masculine social fabric of the metal culture. Additionally, younger artists appear even more reluctant to resist gender stereotypes. This could be explained as a pure financial reason. Rocky Gray, ex-drummer for Evanescence, recommends that up-and-coming bands should shy away from controversial or political subjects, not only in their music, but also on their social media platforms, explaining that promoting polarized subjects, including feminist topics, is the quickest and surest way to alienate potential fans (Gray, 2017). Once you are more established with a large following, it is usually safe to use your platform for political discourse, Gray continues, although admitting that even then, the artist will lose some followers, such as what happened with country music artists, The Dixie Chicks in 2003 when, while on stage at a London nightclub, criticized President George W. Bush over the Iraq War.

While much of the discourse analysis of the previous texts illustrates women in metal challenging dominant feminine ideology, many also simultaneously reinforce masculine

hegemony through their very same discourse. This can be problematic as it sends a mixed message to the listener. In addition, men in the songs are described in negative, heteronormative, stereotypical manners, reinforcing masculine ideology. Many of the lyrics portray men as violent and physically abusive to their partners, yet these are many of the examples of what it means to be a “man” found within the texts. Prior research shows that the gendered ideology of men being powerful, promiscuous, as well as the primary subjects is prominent in many genres of music, including heavy metal (Click & Kramer, 2007; Moncrief, 2004). This also aligns with the classic definition of hegemony, e.g. the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will as power and dominance are usually organized and institutionalized (Van Dijk, 1993). Van Dijk (1993) explains that “subtle forms of dominance seem to be so persistent that they seem natural until they begin to be challenged.” While it is important for artists to challenge and resist outdated forms of feminine ideology, it is just as important to challenge and resist outdated forms of masculine ideology. Rackow and Wackwitz (2004) state in their feminist communication theory, “women’s story telling is valuable for women in constructing their lives by giving shape to their experiences, creating community, by sharing their differences from and similarities with other women, giving witness to the forces that shape gender and women’s experiences, and telling the truth about their lives for the beneficial impact of talking about both painful and joyful experiences” and that “women, with or without the impetus of feminism, have been telling their stories as a means to heal and make change – whether or not feminist scholars have been there to hear and record them” (p. 103). This study shows, that while the tides are shifting and female metal musicians are making a

conscientious effort to resist outdated feminine ideology, there are still a lot of inroads to make.

LIMITATIONS

Limitations of this study include what is considered a “top” or “popular” metal artist and what is considered “metal.” Which bands, songs, sounds, and sights that get to count as heavy metal continue to be debated among fans (Walser, 1993). For example, many fans continue to debate whether Evanescence is a metal band or a hard rock band. Both genres are very similar in their instrumentation and style. Both utilize “hard” and “heavy” guitars with loud, strong vocals. Both utilize similar instrumentation setups. Both utilize the same subject matter within their lyrics. And sometimes they blur the lines a bit. Rocky Gray, former drummer for Evanescence says, “Evanescence were a pop goth rock band with metal influences” (Gray, 2017).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The scope of this study focused on lyrics written and performed by women in the sub-genre of heavy metal, “Symphonic Metal.” An interesting study would be to compare the results with the same analysis of lyrics of other hegemonically masculine genres of music such as country and hip-hop. In addition to other genres, analysis of other sub-genres of heavy metal, that do not appear to be as inclusive to women, should be examined as well. Lyrics written by men and performed by women were not included in the scope of this project. Examining lyrics written by men that touch upon gender stereotypes should also be examined.

In addition, lyrics written in a language other than English were dropped from the study. Given more time and resources lyrics in other languages should be analyzed as well. English speaking nations are not the only nations with gender stereotypes and issues with inequality. While this study focused on gender participation in heavy metal, additional research needs to be done concerning musicians of color. Following in the footsteps of In Living Colour, Skinflint from Botswana, Sepultura from Brazil, Light the Torch (Howard Jones, formally of Killswitch Engage) from the United States, among others, all have vocalists of color. Additional research could focus on how musicians of color reject or reinforce the hegemony of the heavy metal genre. Additionally, rock and metal cultures are performative, with more than then lyrics defining the culture, such as the music, costumes, performances, and off-stage antics. A more complete analysis, considering these other variables, should be explored.

It was discovered that many of the female artists analyzed had relationships with men within the genre, most of the time with members of their own band. More research should be conducted to discover if these relationships create a spiral of silence, effectively silencing discourse that contradicts the rules of the genre. In addition, with the aforementioned “beauty and the beast” bands, more research should consider the power dynamics these dual roles serve, as well as how those power dynamics are influenced by other male, as well as female, members of the band.

Another consideration is to study the motivations of lyricists for why they choose the topics they do. Merriam (1964) explains reasons why and how different people participate using music in different cultures and societies. These reasons range from expressing ideas and human emotions, aesthetic enjoyment, entertainment, symbolic representation,

communication, conformity to social norms, and validation of social institutions (Merriam, 1964). In an interview I conducted with Britney Slayes, lead vocalist for the Canadian metal band, Unleash the Archers, in 2017, Slayes explains that she does not write her lyrics to push for any lasting change, simply for entertainment. This also agrees with the sentiments of another interview I conducted in 2017 with Jarvis Leatherby of the metal band Night Demon. Leatherby explain, "It's not very personal and it's not political for sure. I'm not one of those guys who are like, 'it's my music, it's my soul man, don't screw with my soul, it's my art.' It's heavy metal man. It's evil and it's darkness and it's party. All the cliches are there that you love" (Leatherby, 2017).

Research should be conducted exploring if women in heavy metal promote other women within the genre. In a study conducted in 2015, Kaiser and Spalding found that women's gender identification predicted whether they stalled or accelerated the advancement of other ingroup members, contradicting assumptions that women who advance in male-dominated domains will promote other women. It was found that women who succeed in male-dominated domains may likely be weakly gender identified and impede other women. This weak gender identity could result in women within the group to align themselves with the male dominated majority group (Kaiser & Spalding, 2015). Metal Female Voices Fest, a popular music festival in Belgium, announced in 2017 that the festival was put on indefinite hold, and their official website has since gone dead, eliminating one of the last available venues for female metal artists and fans to co-mingle.

CONCLUSIONS

This study highlights the complex ways in which gender ideologies operate in the media, thus, creating cultural norms and greater hegemonic power of one gender over another. Many of the artists analyzed give voice to women who have been marginalized at the hands of the men in their lives. These women are empowered by assuming qualities that are traditionally associated with men: strength, aggression, and independence. Furthermore, the lyrical discourse in the analyzed texts seems to reinforce negative aspects of masculinity. Obviously, not all men are abusive, unfaithful, or immoral, though this is how they are being portrayed in the lyrics.

In conclusion, this study explores how female metal musicians use their lyrics as tools for challenging dominant, hegemonic gender roles in culture. Common discursive themes of the texts were strength, independence, and resistance against men who have wronged them. And while it has been found that women are challenging feminine gender ideology, they are also simultaneously reinforcing masculine gender ideology with fewer new artists challenging feminine gender ideology than older, more established artists. Overall, most lyrics written by women follow the rules of the metal genre with topics of such as fantasy, demons, and war; themes that are typically associated with hegemonic masculinity, keeping within the theme of hegemony, that the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will. By examining lyrics that touch on societal issues, listeners can think about social issues in an entirely new way and perhaps that can lead to helping to influence behavior changes to social structures that impede social progress.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, C. (2003). Don't fight the power. In J. Lethem, *Da Capo Best Music Writing* (pp. 127-134). New York, NY, NY: Da Capo.
- Allen, B. J. (2011). *Difference Matters: Communicating Social Identity*. Longrove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Aubrey, J. S., & Frisby, C. M. (2011). Sexual Objectification in Music Videos: A Content Analysis Comparing Gender and Genre. *Mass Communication and Society, 14*, 475-501.
- Auslander, P. (2006). *Performing glam rock: Gender and theatricality in popular music*. Ann Arbor, MI, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Berger, J., Blomberg, S., Fox, C., Dibb, M., & Hollis, R. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books.
- Berkers, P., & Schaap, J. (2015). YouTube as a Virtual Springboard: Circumventing Gender Dynamics in Offline and Online Metal Music Careers. *Metal Music Studies, 1*(3), 303-318.
- Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure*. (1989, February 17). Retrieved from IMDb:
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0096928/>
- Billboard. (1988, November 19). *Vixen*. Retrieved from Billboard:
<https://www.billboard.com/music/vixen>
- Billboard. (1989, May 6). *Living Colour*. Retrieved from Billboard:
<https://www.billboard.com/music/living-colour/chart-history/billboard-200>
- Billboard. (2006, September 8). *Call Me When You're Sober*. Retrieved from Billboard:
<https://www.billboard.com/music/evanescence/chart-history/CNS/song/555720>

Billboard. (2006, October 20). *Evanescence*. Retrieved from Billboard:

<https://www.billboard.com/music/evanescence/chart-history/billboard-200>

Billboard. (2007, August 7). *Heatseekers Albums*. Retrieved from Billboard:

<https://www.billboard.com/charts/heatseekers-albums/2007-08-10>

Billboard. (2009, May 8). *Lacuna Coil*. Retrieved from Billboard:

<https://www.billboard.com/music/lacuna-coil/chart-history>

Billboard. (2014, April 25). *Delain*. Retrieved from Billboard:

<https://www.billboard.com/music/Delain/chart-history/hard-rock-albums/song/840397>

Billboard. (2018, January 2). *Kobra and the Lotus*. Retrieved from Billboard:

<https://www.billboard.com/music/kobra-and-the-lotus>

Blabbermouth. (2020, April 26). *KAMELOT and KOBRA AND THE LOTUS Singers are Officially Married*. Retrieved from Blabbermouth.Net:

<https://archive.blabbermouth.net/news/kamelot-and-kobra-and-the-lotus-singers-are-officially-married/>

Blabbermouth. (2020, August 23). *KOBRA AND THE LOTUS: Lyric Video For New Song 'Get The F*ck Out Of Here'*. Retrieved from Blabbermouth.Net:

<https://www.blabbermouth.net/news/kobra-and-the-lotus-lyric-video-for-new-song-get-the-fck-out-of-here/>

Blush, S. (2006). *American Hair Metal*. Los Angeles, CA, CA: Feral House.

Brown, A. R. (2016). Girls Like Metal, Too! In F. Heesch, & N. Scott, *Heavy Metal, Gender and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (pp. 163-181). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Bryson, B. (1996). Anything But Heavy Metal: Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes. *American Sociological Association*, 884-899.
- Buzzanell, P. M. (1994). Gaining A Voice: Feminist Organizational Communication Theorizing. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 339-383.
- Carey, J. T. (1969). The Ideology of Autonomy in Popular Lyrics: A Content Analysis. *Psychiatry*, 32(2), 150-164.
- Click, M. A., & Kramer, M. W. (2007). Reflections on a Century of Living: Gendered Differences in Mainstream Popular Songs. *Popular Communication*, 5(4), 241-262.
- Clifford-Napoleone, A. (2015). *Queerness in Heavy Metal Music: Metal Bent*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Collins, R. L. (2011). Content Analysis of Gender Roles in Media: Where Are We Now and Where Should We Go? *Sex Roles*.
- Conrad, C. (1988). Work songs, hegemony, and illusions of self. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 5(3), 179-201.
- Darnielle, J. (2004). *The persistence of hair*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dodero, C. (2011, October 5). *Tough Questions for Evanescence's Amy Lee*. Retrieved from Spin: <https://www.spin.com/2011/10/tough-questions-evanescences-amy-lee/>
- Dunn, S. (Director). (2011). *Metal Evolution* [Motion Picture]. Retrieved from Banger TV.
- Dutch Charts. (2012, September 6). *Delain - We Are The Others*. Retrieved from Dutch Charts: [https://dutchcharts.nl/showitem.asp?interpret=Delain&titel=We+Are+The+Others&cat](https://dutchcharts.nl/showitem.asp?interpret=Delain&titel=We+Are+The+Others&cat=a)
=a

Dutch Charts. (2014, December 4). *Delain - The Human Contradiction*. Retrieved from Dutch

Charts:

<https://dutchcharts.nl/showitem.asp?interpret=Delain&titel=The+Human+Contradiction&cat=a>

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. New York: Longman Publishing.

GRAMMY.com. (2017, 11 28). *32nd Annual GRAMMY Awards (1989)*. Retrieved from

GRAMMY.com: <https://www.grammy.com/grammys/awards/32nd-annual-grammy-awards>

Gray, R. (2017, March 2). KXOU - Crimson Metal Show. (G. Flansburg, J. Burcham, & E. Taylor, Interviewers)

Guerriero, M. (2002). Chix Dig Metal: How a Lady Copes With the Selling Out. *Sojourner: The Women's Forum*, 27(12), 6.

Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis, *Culture, Media, Language: Working papers in cultural studies, 1972-79* (pp. 128-138). New York, NY: Routledge.

Harp, D., & Tremayne, M. (2006). The Gendered Blogosphere: Examining Inequality Using Network and Feminist Theory. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 247-264.

Hill, R. L. (2016). *Gender, Metal and the Media: Women Fans and the Gendered Experience of Music*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Hill, R. L. (2016). Power Has a Penis: Cost reduction, social exchange and sexism in metal. *Metal Music Studies*, 263-271.

- Hogan, M., Bar-on, M., Beard, L., Corigan, S., Holroyd, J., Sherry, N., . . . Strasburger, V. (1996). Impact of Music Lyrics and Music Videos on Children and Youth. *American Academy of Pediatrics, 98*(6), 1219-1221.
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 18*(3), 329-342.
- Kaiser, C. R., & Spalding, K. E. (2015). Do women who succeed in male-dominated domains help other women? The moderating role of gender identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 599*-608.
- Kearney, M. C. (2017). *Gender and Rock*. New York, NY, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Konow, D. (2002). *Bang Your Head: The Rise and Fall of Heavy Metal*. New York, NY, NY: Three Rivers Press.
- Kovalainen, A., & Eriksson, P. (2008). *Qualitative Methods in Business Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kummer, J. (2016). Powerslaves? Navigating Femininity in Heavy Metal. *Heavy Metal Studies and Popular Culture*.
- Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (2009). *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lull, J. (1985). On the communicative properties of music. *Communication Research, 363*-372.
- Lull, J. (2000). *Media, Communication and Culture*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- MacIntosh, D. (2016, October 13). *Amy Lee of Evanescence*. Retrieved from Songfacts: <https://www.songfacts.com/blog/interviews/amy-lee-of-evanescence>
- Metzer, D. (2012). The Power Balad. *Popular Music*.

- Moncrief, K. A. (2004). Media Stereotypes: Images of Gender within Rock, Country, and Hip Hop Music Videos. *Conference Papers - International Communication Association*, 1-25.
- Neuman, W. (1994). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Nilsson, M. (2016). Race and gender in globalized and postmodern metal. In F. Heesch, & N. Scott, *Heavy Metal, Gender and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (pp. 258-271). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Paige, K. (2017, June 1). KXOU - Crimson Metal Show (2017). (G. Flansburg, Interviewer)
- Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. (2016). *Key Concepts In Gender Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Rakow, L. F., & Wackwitz, L. A. (2004). *Feminist Communication Theory: Selections in Context*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Rampton, M. (2008). *12 More Songs That Bands Have Written About Other Artists*. Retrieved from Kerrang!: <https://www.kerrang.com/features/12-more-songs-that-bands-have-written-about-other-artists/>
- Reesman, B. (2007, November 1). *They Will Rise: Metal's Female Ranks on the Move*. Retrieved from GRAMMY.com: <http://grammy.com>
- Riches, G. (2015). Re-conceptualizing women's marginalization in heavy metal: A feminist post-structuralist perspective. *Metal Music Studies*, 263-270.
- Rossmann, G. (2004). Elites, Masses, and Media Blacklists: The Dixie Chicks Controversy. *Special Forces*, 61-78.

- Rubin, A. M., West, D. V., & Mitchell, W. S. (2001). Differences in Agression, Attitudes Toward Women, and Distrust as Reflected in Popular Music Preferences. *Media Psychology*, 25-42.
- Savigny, H., & Sleight, S. (2015). Postfeminism and heavy metal in the United Kingdom: Sexy or sexist? *Metal Music Studies*, 341-356.
- Scott, N. (2016). The Monstrous Male and Myths of Masculinity In Heavy Metal. In F. Heesch, & N. Scott, *Heavy Metal, Gender and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (pp. 121-130). New Your, NY: Routledge.
- Simon, R. (1991). *Gramsci's political thought: An Introduction*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Steeves, H. L. (2009). Feminist Theories and Media Studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*.
- The Top Tens. (2008, April 19). *Hardest Guitar Hero Songs*. Retrieved from The Top Tens: <https://www.thetoptens.com/hardest-guitar-hero-songs/>
- Turner, J. (2008). Hegemony, Hedonism, and Hip-Hop: An Examination of the Portrayal of Race and Sexuality in Music Videos. *Conference Papers - International Communication Association*, 1-26.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993, April 1). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
- Vasan, S. (2010). *Women's Participation In The Death Metal Subculture*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI.
- Vasan, S. (2011). The Price of Rebellion: Gender Boundaries in the Death Metal Scene. *Journal For Cultural Research*, 333-349.

- Wallis, C. (2011). Performing Gender: A Content Analysis of Gender Display in Music Videos. *Sex Roles*.
- Walser, R. (1993). *Running with the devil: Power, gender and madness in heavy metal music*. Middletown, CT, NH: Wesleyan University Press.
- Wanamaker, C. E., & Reznikoff, M. (1989). Effects of aggressive and non- aggressive rock songs on projective and structured tests. *Journal of Psychology*, 561-570.
- Weinstein, D. (1991). *Heavy metal: A cultural sociology*. New York, NY, NY: Lexington.
- Weinstein, D. (2000). *Heavy Metal: The Music and its Culture*. Da Capo Press.
- Weinstein, D. (2016). Playing With Metal In The Key of Gender. In F. Heesch, & S. Niall, *Heavy Metal, Gender and Sexuality: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (pp. 11-25). New York, NY, NY: Routledge.
- Wilson, J. (2000). Women in Country Music Videos. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 57(3), 290.
- Wodak, R. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer, *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 1-33). London: Sage.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

APPENDIX A

“Call Me When You’re Sober”

Evanescence

Amy Lee/Terry P Balsamo

2006

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Evanescence/Call-Me-When-You-re-Sober>

APPENDIX B

“All I Need”

Within Temptation

Sharon J. Den Adel/Robert Westerholt

2007

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Within-Temptation/All-I-Need>

APPENDIX C

“What Have You Done”

Within Temptation

Sharon J. Den Adel/Robert Westerholt/Daniel Gibson

2007

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Within-Temptation/What-Have-You-Done-feat-Keith-Caputo-US-Edit>

APPENDIX D**"Spellbound"****Lacuna Coil****Cristina Scabbia/Andrea Gaetano Ferro/Marco Coti Zelati****2009**

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Lacuna-Coil/Spellbound>

APPENDIX E**“We Are the Others”****Delain****Charlotte Wessels/Martijn Westerholt****2012**

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Delain/We-Are-the-Others>

APPENDIX F**“Here Come the Vultures”****Delain****Charlotte Wessels/Martijn Westerholt****2014**

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Delain/Here-Come-the-Vultures>

APPENDIX G

“Get the Fuck Out of Here”

Kobra & The Lotus

Kobra Paige/Jasio Kulakowski/Ronny Gutierrez

2019

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Kobra-and-the-Lotus/Get-the-F-ck-out-of-Here>

APPENDIX H

“You Don’t Know”

Kobra & The Lotus

Kobra Paige/Jasio Kulakowski/Jake Dreyer

2017

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Kobra-and-the-Lotus/You-Don-t-Know>

APPENDIX I**“Lost Innocence”****UnSun****Anna Aya Napiorkowska/Maurycy Mauser Stefanowicz****2008**

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/UnSun/Lost-Innocence>

APPENDIX J**“Awake the Fire”****Forever Still****Maja Schoenning /Mikkel Hastrup****2016**

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Forever-Still-2/Awake-the-Fire>

APPENDIX K

“Six Feet Under’s Not Deep Enough”

Angtoria

Sarah Jezebel Deva/Chris Rehn

2006

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Angtoria/Six-Feet-Under-s-Not-Deep-Enough>

APPENDIX L

“Hell Hath No Fury Like a Woman Scorned”

Angtoria

Sarah Jezebel Deva/Chris Rehn

2006

<https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Angtoria/Hell-Hath-No-Fury-Like-a-Woman-Scorned>

TABLE 1: THEMES

death	judgement	retribution
denial	love	revolution
desire	morality	romance
despair	pain	self-loathing
existence	power	slavery/imprisonment
failure	regret	solace
freedom	relationships	subordination
hate	religion/occult	suffering
hope	rescue	violence
image	resistance	war